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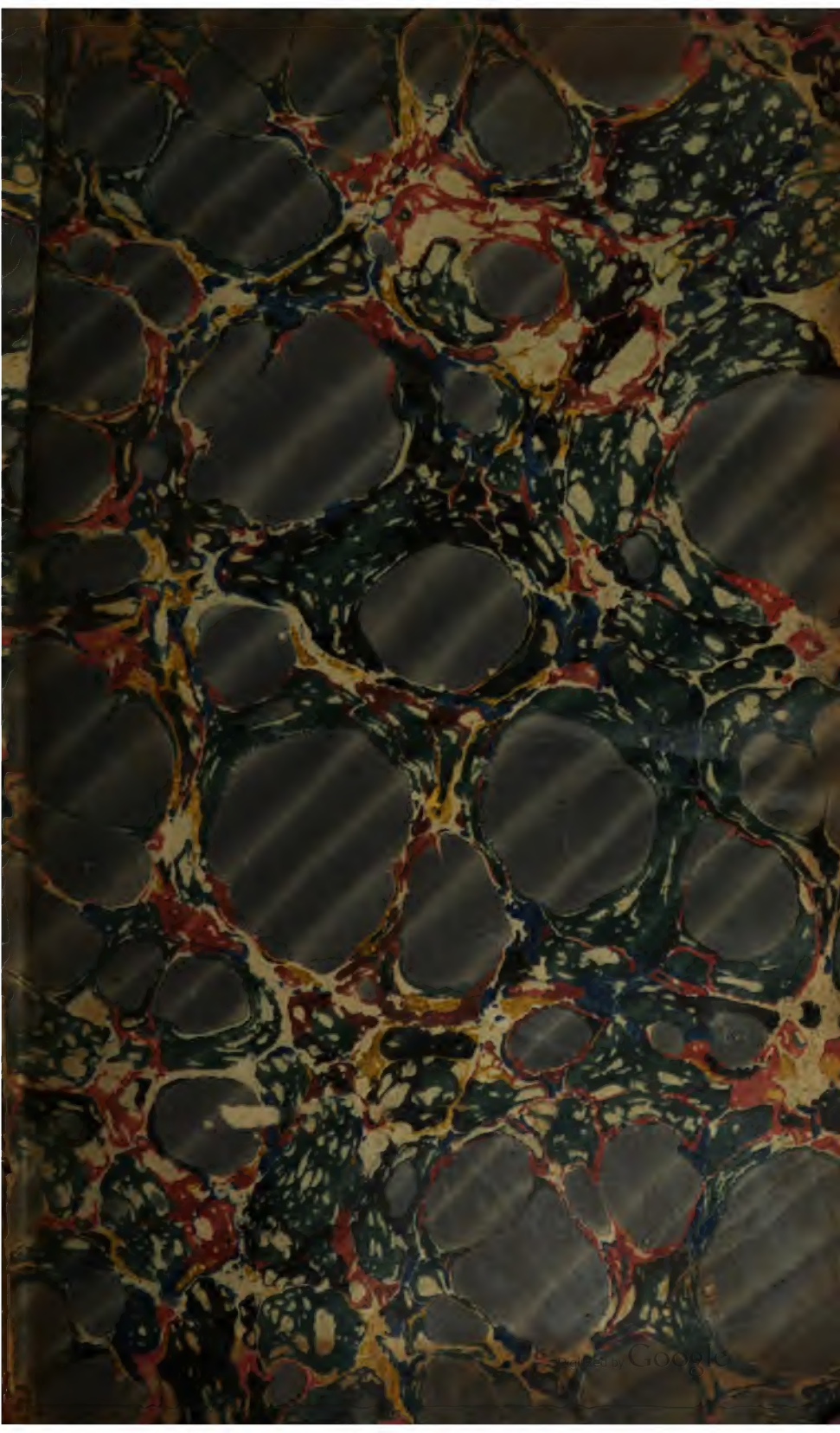
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INSTITUTES
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY;

ANCIENT AND MODERN,

IN

FOUR BOOKS,

MUCH CORRECTED, ENLARGED AND IMPROVED,

FROM THE

PRIMARY AUTHORITIES,

BY JOHN LAWRENCE VON MOSHEIM, D. D.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN.

**A NEW AND LITERAL TRANSLATION, FROM THE ORIGINAL
LATIN, WITH COPIOUS ADDITIONAL NOTES,
ORIGINAL AND SELECTED.**

BY JAMES MURDOCK, D. D.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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INSTITUTES
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,
UNDER THE
NEW TESTAMENT.
BOOK III.
EMBRACING EVENTS
FROM THE
TIMES OF CHARLEMAGNE,
TO THE
COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION
BY
LUTHER.

CENTURY EIGHTH.

PART I.

HISTORY OF THE OUTWARD STATE OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THIS CENTURY.

§ 1. Propagation of christianity in Hyrcania and Tartary.—§ 2. Conversion of the Germans by Boniface.—§ 3. Other expeditions and successes of Boniface.—§ 4. Estimate of his apostleship.—§ 5. Other apostles of Germany.—§ 6. Expedition of Charlemagne against the Saxons.—§ 7. Estimate of his conversions.—§ 8. The reputed miracles of this century.

§ 1. WHILE the Muhammedans were falling upon and subjugating the fairest provinces of Asia, and diminishing every where the lustre and reputation of christianity, the Nestorians of Chaldea were blessing with the knowledge of heavenly truth those barbarous nations, called Scythians by the ancients, and by the moderns, Tartars, living on this side mount Imaus, and not subject to the Saracens. It is now ascertained, that *Timotheus* the Nestorian pontiff, who attained that dignity AD. 778, imbued with a knowledge of christianity, by the ministry of *Subchal Jesu*, whom he created a bishop, first the Gelae and Dailamites, nations of Hyrcania; and afterwards, by other missionaries, the rest of the nations of Hyrcania, Bactria, Margiana, and Sogdiana.(1) It is

(1) *Thomas Margensis*, *Historiae Monasticae* Lib. iii. in *Jos. Sim. Asseman's* *Bibliotheca Orient. Vatic.* Tom. iii. P. i. p. 491. See also the *Bibliotheca*, Tom. iii. P. ii. cap. ix. § v. p. cccclxxviii. [*Dr. Mosheim*, in his *Historia Tartarorum ecclesiastica*, p. 13 &c. relying chiefly on the preceding authorities, states that *Timotheus*, who was patriarch of the Nestorians from AD. 777—to AD. 820, planned the mission to these nations inhabiting the shores of the Caspian sea; and selected for its execution one *Subchal Jesu*, a learned monk of the Nestorian monastery of Beth-Aben in Assyria, well skilled in the Syriac, Arabic, and Persian languages; ordained him bishop, and sent him forth. *Subchal* made numerous converts among the Gelae and Dailamites, formed them into churches, and ordained elders over them. This active missionary also traveled farther East, and spread the gospel extensively in Tartary, Chathai, and China; but on his return from his mission, to visit *Timotheus* and the monks of his convent, he was murdered by the Barbarians. *Timotheus* now ordained *Kardagus* and *Jabalaha*, two other monks of Beth-Aben, and sent them with fifteen assistant monks, into the same countries. These also were successful missionaries; and with the consent of *Timotheus*, the two bishops ordained seven of their com-

also certain, that christianity was firmly and permanently established in those countries, for several centuries, although it was sometimes disturbed by the Muhammedans; and that the bishops of these countries were always subject to the authority of the Nestorian pontiff.

§ 2. In Europe, most of the German nations were still involved in the darkness of superstition; the only exception being the tribes on the Rhine, the Bavarians, who are known to have received a knowledge of christianity under *Theodoric*, the son of Clovis the Great, and the Eastern Franks [or Franconians], with a few others. Attempts had been often made to enlighten the Germans, both by kings and princes, for whose interest it was, that those warlike tribes should become civilized, and also by some pious and holy men; but the attempts had met with little or no success. But in this century, *Winifrid*, an English Benedictine monk, of noble birth, who afterwards bore the name of *Boniface*, attempted this object with better success. In the year 715, he left his native country, with two companions, and first attempted in vain to disseminate christian doctrines among the Frieslanders, who were subjects of king Radbod. Afterwards in the year 719, having received a solemn commission from the Roman pontiff, *Gregory II*, he more successfully performed the functions of a christian teacher among the Thuringians, the Frieslanders, and the Hessians.(2)

panions to be bishops of the East; namely *Thomas* who went into India, *David* metropolitan of China, and *Zacchaeus*, *Semus*, *Ephraim*, *Simeon*, and *Ananias*. *Thomas Margensis* relates, that *Timotheus* directed the two ordaining bishops, first to ordain a third; and to supply the place of a third bishop at his ordination, by placing a copy of the Gospels on the seat near the right hand. Afterwards they would have the canonical number of three bishops, to ordain the others. These new bishops dispersed themselves widely over the countries of the East, and founded many churches in India, Chathai, and China. But after the death of *Timotheus* AD. 820, we learn nothing more respecting these churches, till AD. 1000, when the famous christian prince, called *Presbyter John*, came upon the stage. Tr.]

(2) All that could be said of this celebrated man, has been collected by *Hens. Phil. Gudenius*, in his *Diss. de S. Bonifacio Germanorum Apostolo*; Helms. 1722. 4to. Yet we may add *Jo. Alb. Fabricii*, *Biblioth. Latinae medii aevi*, Tom. i. p. 709. *Histoire litt. de la France*, Tom. iv. p. 92. *Jo. Mabillon*, *Annales Benedictini*: and others. [The church Histories of *Fleury*, *Schroeckh*, and *J. E. C. Schmidt*, give ample accounts of Boniface. *Milner*, (*Church Hist. Cent. viii. ch. iv.*) is an admirer of Boniface. The best among the original biographers of this famous man, are *Willibald*, one of his disciples; and a German monk named *Othlon*, who lived in the 11th century, and collected various letters of Boniface, which he has inserted in his narrative. Both these biographies, with valuable notes, are contained in *Mabilonii Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. iv. p. 1—84. ed. Venet. 1734. According to these writers, Boniface was born at *Kirton* in Devonshire, about AD. 680. When but four or five years old, he showed a strong inclination for a monastic life; which his father first endeavored to eradicate, but afterwards favored. He first entered a monastery at *Exeter*. From that, he removed after seven years to the monastery of *Nuscelle* in Hants, as a better place for study. Here he learned grammar, poetry, rhetoric, and biblical interpretation according to the threefold sense of scripture. After a short time, he was a teacher of these things. At the age of 30, he was ordained a presbyter. About AD 715, he undertook a voluntary mission to Friesland, with two monks for com-

§ 3. In the year 723, being ordained a bishop, at Rome, by Gregory II, and being supported by the authority and the aid of

panions. But *Radbod*, the pagan king of the country, being at war with the Franks, and hostile to the Christians, gave him no encouragement; and he returned again to his monastery. The abbacy of Nuscelle was now offered him; but he refused it, because he preferred a more active employment. Soon after, having projected a mission to the pagans in Germany, he set out for Rome, to obtain the papal sanction and support to his enterprise. *Daniel*, the bishop of Winchester, gave him a letter of introduction to the pontiff, who readily gave him a commission to preach the Gospel to the pagans, wherever he could find them. He now visited Germany, preached in Bavaria and Thuringia; and learning that *Radbod* was dead, he went to Friesland, and for three years assisted *Willibrord*, the aged bishop of Utrecht, in spreading the Gospel, and erecting churches, among the neighboring pagans. *Willibrord* proposed to him to become his permanent assistant and successor: but *Boniface* declined, on the ground that the pope had intended he should labor in the more eastern parts of Germany. He now visited Rome a second time, in the year 723; was closely examined by the pope, as to his faith, and his adherence to the see of Rome; and upon his swearing perpetual allegiance to the pope, he was created a bishop, and had his name changed from *Winifrid* to *Boniface*. With numerous letters of recommendation to princes, bishops, and others, and a good stock of holy relics, *Boniface* returned through France, where *Charles Martel* received him cordially, and furnished him with a safe conduct throughout the empire. He first went among the Hessians; where he suppressed the remains of idolatry, and intrepidly cut down the consecrated oak of *Jupiter*, which broke into four equal parts in its fall. This prodigy silenced all objections; and out of the wood of this tree, a chapel was built, dedicated to St. Peter. From Hesse, he went to Thuringia, where he effected a similar reform, and had contention with some who were accounted heretical. On the accession of *Gregory III* to the papal chair, AD. 731, *Boniface* sent an embassy to Rome, giving account of his proceedings, and proposing several questions respecting ecclesiastical law, for solution. The pope answered his enquiries, sent him a fresh supply of relics, and also the archiepiscopal pallium, with instructions when and how to wear it. In the year 738, he visited Rome a third time, attended by a large retinue of priests and monks, and was graciously received by the pope. On his return through Bavaria, as papal legate, he divided that country into four bishoprics, and placed bishops over them; namely *John* bishop of *Salzburg*, *Ehrenbert* bishop of *Freisingen*, *Gosbold* of *Regensburg*, and *Vivilo* of *Passau*. In the year 741, he erected four more bishoprics in Germany; namely, those of *Wurtzburg*, *Eichstadt*, *Buraburg*, and *Erfurt*; over which he placed four of his friends, *Burchard*, *Willebold*, *Albinus*, and *Adler*. Hitherto *Boniface* had been archbishop of no particular place; but in the year 745, he procured the deposition of *Gevilleb*, archbishop of Mentz, charging him, in a provincial council, with having slain in single combat, the man who had slain his own father in battle, and with having kept dogs and birds for sport. This council decreed the vacant see of Mentz to *Boniface*. As archbishop of Mentz, *Boniface* claimed jurisdiction over the bishop of Utrecht; which claim was contested by the archbishop of Cologne. *Boniface*, as archbishop, and as papal legate, presided in several councils in France and Germany, and was very active in enforcing uniformity of rites, and rigid adherence to the canons of the church of Rome. In the year 754, being far advanced in life, he left his bishopric at Mentz under the care of *Lullus*, whom he ordained his colleague and successor, and undertook a mission among the Frieslanders, who were but partially converted to Christianity. With the aid of several inferior clergymen and monks, he had brought many persons of both sexes to submit to baptism; and having appointed the 5th of June for a general meeting of the converts, to receive the rite of confirmation, at *Dockum* on the Bordne, between East and West Friesland; on the morning of the day appointed, and while the converts were expected to arrive, a party of pagan Frieslanders assaulted his camp. His young men began to prepare for battle; but *Boniface* forbid it, and exhorted all to resign themselves up to die as martyrs. He and his fifty two companions were all murdered; and their camp was plundered. But the banditti afterwards quarrelled among themselves, respecting the plunder; and being intoxicated with the wine they had gotten, they fought till several of their number were slain. The

Charles Martel, the Major Domus of the Franks, Boniface returned to his Hessians and Thuringians, and resumed his labors among them with much success. He was now assisted by several learned and pious persons of both sexes, who repaired to him out of England and France. In the year 738, having gathered more christian churches than one man alone could govern, he was advanced to the rank of an archbishop, by Gregory III; and by his authority, and with the aid of *Carloman* and *Pipin*, the sons of Charles Martel, he established various bishoprics in Germany; as those of *Würzburg*, *Buraburg* [near Fritzlar, in Hesse-Cassel], *Erfurt*, and *Eichstadt*; to which he added, in the year 744, the famous monastery of *Fulda*. The final reward of his labors, decreed to him in the year 746, by the Roman pontiff *Zacharias*, was, to be constituted archbishop of Mentz, and primate of Germany and Belgium. In his old age, he travelled once more among the Frieslanders, that his ministry might terminate with the people among whom it commenced: but, in the year 755, he was murdered, with fifty clergymen who attended him, by the people of that nation.

§ 4. On account of his vast labors in propagating christianity among the Germans, *Boniface* has gained the title of the *Apostle of Germany*; and a candid estimate of the magnitude of his achievements, will shew him to be not altogether unworthy of this title. (3) Yet as an apostle, he was widely different from that pattern, which the first and genuine apostles have left us. For, not to mention, that the honor and majesty of the Roman pontiff, whose minister and legate he was, was equally his care—nay more so, than the glory of *Christ* and his religion; (4) he did not op-

christian converts, enraged at the murderers of their teachers, collected forces, and attacking their villages, slew and dispersed the men, plundered their houses, and enslaved their wives and children. The murdered christians were removed to Utrecht, and there interred. Afterwards, the remains of Boniface were carried to Mentz, and thence to Fulda.—*Boniface* left behind him, 42 epistles; a set of ecclesiastical rules, 36 in number; 15 discourses; and a part of a work on penance. Tr.]

(3) [If the man deserves the title of an Apostle, who goes among the heathen, preaches to them the Gospel, according to his best knowledge of it, encounters many hardships, makes some inroad upon idolatry, gathers churches, erects houses of worship, founds monasteries, and spends his life in this business;—then *Boniface* justly merits this title. But if that man only, can be called an Apostle, who is in all respects like to *Peter* and *Paul*;—who, in all his efforts, looks only to the honor of *Christ*, and the dissemination of truth and virtue; and for attaining these ends, employs no means but such as the first apostles of *Christ* used;—then manifestly, *Boniface* was wholly unworthy of this name. He was rather an Apostle of the *Pope*, than of *Jesus Christ*: he had but one eye directed towards *Christ*; the other was fixed on the pope of Rome, and on his own fame which depended on him. Schl.]

(4) The French Benedictine monks ingenuously acknowledge, that *Boniface* was a sycophant of the Roman pontiff, and shewed him more deference than was fit and proper. See *Histoire litt. de la France*, Tome. iv. p. 106. “Il exprime son devouement pour le S. Siege quelquefois en des termes qui ne sont pas assez proportionnés à la dignité du caractere episcopal.” [We need only to read his epistles, to be satisfied on this point. He says, (Ep. xci. p. 126. ed. Serrar.) that all he had done, for six and thirty years, while legate of the holy see, was inten-

pose superstition with the weapons which the ancient apostles used, but he often coerced the minds of the people by violence and terrors, and at other times caught them by artifices and fraud.(5) His epistles also betray, here and there, an ambitious and arrogant spirit, a crafty and insidious disposition, an immoderate eagerness to increase the honors and extend the prerogatives of the clergy,(6) and a great degree of ignorance, not only of many things which an *apostle* ought to know, but in particular of the true character of the christian religion.(7)

ded for the advantage of the church at Rome; to the judgment of which, so far as he had erred in word or deed, he submitted himself with all humility.—Cringing enough for an archbishop of the German church!—In a letter to pope *Zacharias*, (Ep. Bonif. cxxxii. p. 181.) he writes, that he wished to maintain the general faith, and union with the church of Rome, and would not cease to urge and persuade all his pupils that were about him, to be obedient to the see of Rome.—In an other letter, addressed to *Stephen III*, (Ep. xcvi. p. 132.) upon occasion of his contest with the bishop of Cologne, respecting the bishopric of Utrecht, he represents the bishop of Cologne as wishing exclusively, to make the bishop who should preach to the Frieslanders, independent of the see of Rome; whereas *he*, (Boniface,) was exerting all his powers, to make the bishopric of Utrecht entirely dependent on the see of Rome. *Schl.*]

(5) [It is unquestionable, that this apostle of the Germans marched into Thuringia, at the head of an army; and that, at the time he was murdered by the Frieslanders, he had soldiers with him as his body guard: and so, in all his enterprises, he had the support of the civil arm, afforded to him by *Charles Martel*, *Carloman*, and *Pipin*.—His arguments also may have been not the best, if he followed the directions of *Daniel*, bishop of Winchester; for whom, as his epistles shew, he had a high respect. (See Ep. Bonif. iii. p. 5. and the Ep. of Daniel to him, Ep. lxxvii. p. 79 &c.) For here Daniel advises him, to ask the pagans, how they can believe, that the gods reward the righteous, and punish the wicked, in this life; since they see the christians, who have destroyed their images and prostrated their worship all over the world, remain unpunished?—And, how comes it to pass, that the christians possess the fruitful countries, which produce wine and oil in abundance; while the pagans inhabit the cold and barren corners of the earth?—He must also represent to the pagans, that the christians now ruled the whole world; whereas the pagans were few in number and powerless: and this great change in their condition, had taken place since the coming of *Christ*; for before that event, the pagans had vast dominion. It is likewise undeniable, that Boniface gloried in fictitious miracles and wonders. *Schl.*]

(6) [Consider only his conduct towards those bishops and presbyters, who had before received ordination, and refused to receive it again from him according to the Romish rites, and would not, in general, subject themselves to Romish supremacy and Romish forms of worship. These must be regarded as *false brethren*, *heretics*, *blasphemers*, *servants of the devil*, and *fore-runners of Antichrist*. They must be excommunicated, be cast into prisons, and receive corporal punishments. See with what violence he breaks out against *Adelbert*, *Clemens*, *Sampson*, *Gottschalk*, *Ehrenwolf*, *Virgilius*, and others, in his epistles;—how bitterly he accuses them, before the popes, and in presence of councils, &c. *Schl.*]

(7) [A large part of the questions, which Boniface submitted to the consideration of the popes, betray his ignorance. But still more so, does his decision of the case of conscience, when a Bavarian priest, who did not understand Latin, had baptized with these words: *Baptizo te in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti*; which baptism he pronounced to be null and void: and likewise his persecution of the priest *Virgilius* in Bavaria, who maintained, that the earth is globular, and consequently, inhabitable on the other side of it, and there enlightened by the sun and moon. Boniface looked upon this as a gross heresy; and he accused the man before the pope, who actually excommunicated him for a heretic. See the tenth Ep. of Zacharias, in *Harduin's* collection of Councils, Tom. iii. p. 1912. *Schl.*—In this, and the preceding notes, *Schlegel* has labored with the zeal of a prosecutor, to substantiate the heavy charges of *Dr. Mosheim*

§ 5. Besides Boniface, others also attempted, to rescue the unevangelized nations of Germany from the thralldom of superstition. Such was *Corbinian*, a French Benedictine monk, who, after various labors for the instruction of the Bavarians and other nations, became bishop of Freysingen.(8) Such also was *Pirmin*, a French monk, nearly contemporary with Boniface, who taught christianity amidst various sufferings in Helvetia, Alsace, and Bavaria, and presided over several monasteries.(9) Such likewise was *Lebwin*, an Englishman, who labored with earnestness and

against Boniface. I have carefully read the original lives of this missionary, and also a considerable part of his correspondence; and I must say, I think Dr. *Mosheim*, and his annotator *Schlegel*, have not done impartial justice to this eminent man. He appears to me, to have been one of the most sincere and honest men of his age; though he partook largely in the common faults of his time, an excessive attachment to monkery, and a superstitious regard for the canons of the church and the externals of religion. With all his imperfections, he deserves to be classed with those who followed *Christ*, according to the best light they had, and who did much to advance true religion among men. *Tr.*]

(8) *Caesar. Baronii Annales ecclesiast.* Tom. viii. ad ann. 716. § 10 &c. *C. Meichelbeck*, *Hist. Frisingensis*, Tom. i. [The life of saint *Corbinian*, in forty six chapters, was written by one of his pupils and successors, *Aribo*; and may be seen in *Mabillon's Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* Tom. iii. p. 470—485, and in *Meichelbeck*, *Hist. Frising.* Tom. i. Pt. ii. p. 3—21. *Corbinian* was born at Chartres, near Paris, about AD. 680. He early devoted himself to a monastic life, and acquired great fame by his miracles. To escape from society, and enjoy solitude, he travelled into Italy, about the year 717, and begged the pope to assign him some obscure retreat. But the pope ordained him a bishop, and sent him back to France. His miracles and his marvellous sanctity, now drew such crowds around him, that after seven years, he determined to go to Rome, and beg the pope to divest him of the episcopal dignity. On his way through Bavaria and the Tyrol, he caught a huge bear, which had killed one of his pack horses, whipped him soundly, and compelled him to serve in place of the pack horse. At Trent, and at Pavia, he had horses stolen; for which the thieves paid the forfeiture of their lives, by the hand of God. The pope would not release him from the episcopacy. He returned, by the way he came, as far as *Freisingen*, in Bavaria; where *Grimoald*, the reigning prince, detained him, for the benefit of himself and subjects. After six years labors at Freisingen, he died, somewhat like *Moses*, or at least in a very extraordinary manner. He foresaw his death, and having made arrangements for it, he arose in the morning, in perfect health, bathed, dressed himself in his pontificals, performed public service, returned, and placed himself upon his bed, drank a cup of wine, and immediately expired. His biographer makes no mention of his efforts to enlighten his flock, or to spread the knowledge of the Gospel. He was a most biggoted monk, and exceedingly irascible. Prince *Grimoald* once invited him to dine. *Corbinian* said grace before dinner, and made the sign of the cross over the food. While they were eating, *Grimoald* threw some of the food to his dog. *Corbinian* in a rage, kicked over the table, and left the room, declaring to the prince, that he deserved no blessings, who had given food that was blessed to his dog. *Tr.*]

(9) *Herm. Bruschii Chronologia Monaster. German.* p. 30. *Anton. Pagi*, *Critica in Annales Baronii*, Tom. ii. ad ann. 759. § 9 &c. *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tome iv. p. 124. [The life of St. *Pirmin*, written by *Warmann*, bishop of Constance at the beginning of the eleventh century, may be seen in *Mabillon's Acta Sanctor. ord. Benedict.* Tom. iv. p. 124—139. According to this biography, *Pirmin* was first the bishop of either *Meaux* or *Metz* in France, where he was a devout and zealous pastor. *Sintlax*, a Suabian prince, procured his removal to the neighborhood of Constance, where there was great need of an active and exemplary preacher. He established the monastery of *Reichenau*, in an island near Constance; and afterwards nine or ten other monasteries in Swabia, Alsatia and Switzerland; and was very active in promoting monastic piety in those countries. He is supposed to have died about AD. 758. *Tr.*]

zeal, though with little success, to persuade the warlike Saxon nation, the Frieslanders, the Belgae, and other nations, to embrace christianity. (10) Others of less notoriety, are omitted. (11) Neither shall I mention *Willibrord* and others, who commenced their missionary labors in the preceding century, and continued them with great zeal in this.

§ 6. In the year 772, *Charlemagne*, king of the Franks, undertook to tame and to withdraw from idolatry the extensive nation of the Saxons, who occupied a large portion of Germany, and were almost perpetually at war with the Franks, respecting their boundaries and other things; for he hoped, if their minds should become imbued with the christian doctrines, they would gradually lay aside their ferocity, and learn to yield submission to the empire of the Franks. The first attack upon their heathenism, produced little effect; being made, not with force and arms, but by some bishops and monks, whom the victor had left for that purpose among the vanquished nation. But much better success

(10) *Hucbaldi Vita S. Lebvini*; in *L. Surii Vitis Sanctor. die 12. Novem. p. 277. Jo. Mölleri Cimbria litterata, Tom. ii p. 464.* [*Lebwin* was an English Benedictine monk and presbyter, of Ripon, in Northumberland, about AD. 690, with twelve companions, he went over to West Friesland, on the borders of the pagan Saxons; and for several years travelled and preached in that region, and in Heligoland. He once travelled to the borders of Denmark. At length, he settled down at Deventer, in Overijssel, where he preached with considerable success till his death, about AD. 740. See *Mölleri Cimb. Litt. ubi supra. Tr.*]

(11) [Among these were the following. *Othmar*, a German monk, founder of the monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland. At the close of a long and exemplary life, he was maliciously accused of unchastity, by some noblemen who had robbed his monastery, and was thrown into prison, where he languished four years, and then died. Numerous miracles were wrought, at his tomb. His life, written by *Walafrid Strabo*, is in *Mabillon's Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. vol. iv. p. 139 &c.*—*Willibald*, bishop of Eichstadt, was an Anglo-Saxon monk, of honorable birth, educated in a monastery near Winchester. When arrived at manhood, he and his younger brother *Wunobald* left England, travelled through France and Italy, sailed to Asia Minor, and the Holy Land, where they spent seven years. Returning to Italy, they took residence in the monastery of Mons Cassinus, during ten years, or till AD. 739. The pope then sent them into Germany, to assist St. Boniface. *Willibald* was placed at Eichstadt, ordained priest AD. 740, and bishop the year following. His death is placed AD. 786. His life, written by a kinswoman, a contemporary nun of Heidenheim, is extant in *Mabillon's Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. iv. p. 330—354.*—Saint *Alto*, a Scotch monk, who travelled into Bavaria, and there established the monastery, called from him, *Altomunster*. The monastery was endowed by king *Pipin*, and dedicated by St. Boniface. The life of *Alto*, is in *Mabillon, l. c. p. 196 &c.*—St. *Sturmius*, a native of Noricum, and follower of St. Boniface. Under the direction of that archbishop he erected, and presided over, the monastery of Fulda, from AD. 744, till his death AD. 779, except one year, which he spent in Italy, to learn more perfectly the rules of St. Benedict; and two other years, in which *Pipin* king of the Franks held him prisoner, under false accusations of disloyalty. In the last years of his life, he aided Charlemagne in compelling the Saxons to embrace christianity. His life, well written by *Egil*, his pupil and successor, is extant in *Mabillon, l. c. p. 242—259.*—St. *Virgilius*, whom Boniface accused of heresy, for believing the world to be globular, was an Irishman, of good education and talents. He went to France in the reign of *Pipin*; who patronized him, and in the year 766 procured for him the bishopric of Salzburg, which he held till his death AD. 780. While at Salzburg, he did much to extend christianity to the eastward of him, among the Slavonians and Huns. His life is in *Mabillon, l. c. p. 279 &c. Tr.*]

attended the subsequent wars, which Charlemagne undertook in the years 775, 776, and 780, against that heroic people, so fond of liberty, and so impatient especially of sacerdotal domination.(12) For now, those people who were attached to the superstitions of their ancestors, were so effectually assailed with both rewards and the sword and punishments, that they reluctantly ceased to resist, and suffered themselves to be baptized by the teachers whom Charles sent among them.(13) *Widekind* and *Albion*, indeed, who were two of the most valiant Saxon chiefs, renewed their former insurrections; and attempted to prostrate once more, by violence and war, that christianity which had been set up by violence. But the martial courage and the liberality of Charles, at length, brought them, in the year 785, solemnly to declare, that they *were* christians, and would continue to be so.(14) Nor did the Saxons apostatize from the religion, which they unwillingly professed; and in various parts of their country, bishops were established, schools were set up, and monasteries were erected. The *Huns*, inhabiting Pannonia, were treated in the same way as the Saxons: for Charles so exhausted and humbled them, by successive wars, as to compel them to prefer becoming christians to being slaves.(15)

(12) I cannot dispense with quoting a passage from a very credible author, *Alcuin*, which shows, what it was especially, that rendered the Saxons averse from christianity, and how preposterously the missionaries sent among them, conducted. *Alcuin*, Ep. civ. in his Opp. p. 1647, says: Si tanta instantia leve Christi jugum et onus ejus leve durissimo Saxonum populo praedicaretur, quanta decimarum redditio vel legalis pro parvissimis quibuslibet culpa edictis necessitas exigebatur, forte baptismatis sacramenta non abhorrent. SINT TANDEM ALIQUANDO DOCTORES FIDEI APOSTOLICIS ERUDITI EXEMPLIS. SINT PRAEDICATORES, NON PRAEDATORES. [Had the easy yoke of Christ, with his light burthen, been preached to the stubborn Saxons, with as much earnestness, as the payment of *tithes*, and legal satisfaction for the very smallest faults, were exacted; perhaps they would not have abominated the sacrament of Baptism. Let the christian teachers learn from the example of the Apostles. Let them be preachers, not plunderers.] Look at this portrait of the Apostles, that lived in this century!—Yet they are said, to have wrought great miracles.

(13) *Alcuin*, as cited by *William* of Malmesbury, de gestis Regum Anglorum, Lib. i. c. 4. published in the *Rerum Anglicar. scriptores*, Francf. 1601. Fol. uses this language: "The ancient Saxons and all the Frieslanders, being urged to it by king *Charles*, who plied some of them with *rewards*, and others with *threats*, (instanti rege Carolo, alios *praemiis*, et alios *minis* sollicitante,) were converted to the christian faith." See also the *Capitularia Regum Francor.* Tom. i. p. 246. and p. 252. From the first of these passages, it appears, that the Saxons who would renounce idolatry, were restored to their ancient freedom, forfeited by conquest, and were freed from all tribute to the king. The last of these passages, contains this law: If any person, of the Saxon race, shall contemptuously refuse to come to baptism, and shall resolve to continue a pagan, let him be put to death.—By such penalties and rewards, the whole world might be constrained to profess christianity, without miracles. But what sort of christians, the Saxons so converted, must have been, we need not be told. See *Jo. Launoy*, de veteri more baptizandi Judaeos et infideles, cap. v, vi. p. 703 &c. Opp. Tom. ii. Pt. ii. where he tells us, that the Roman pontiff, *Hadrian* I. approved of this mode of converting the Saxons to christianity.

(14) *Eginhard*, de Vita Caroli Magni: *Adami* Bremens. Lib. i. cap. viii. p. 3 &c. and all the historians of the achievements of Charlemagne; who are enumerated by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, Biblioth. Lat. medii aevi, Tom. i. p. 959 &c.

(15) Life of *St. Rudbert* in *Hen. Canisii* Lectionibus Antiquis, Tom. iii. Pt.

§ 7. For these achievements of Charlemagne in behalf of christianity, the gratitude of posterity decreed him the honors of a *saint*. And in the twelfth century, the emperor of the Romans, *Frederic I.* desired *Paschal III.*, whom he had created sovereign pontiff, to enroll him among the tutelary saints of the church.(16) And he undoubtedly merited this honor, according to the views which prevailed in what are called the middle ages; when a man was accounted a *saint*, who had enriched the priesthood with goods and possessions,(17) and had extended, by whatever means, the boundaries of the church. But to those who estimate sanctity, according to the views of *Christ*, Charlemagne must appear to be any thing, rather than a saint, and a devout man. For not to mention his other vices, which were certainly not inferior to his virtues, it is evident, that in compelling the Huns, Saxons, and Frieslanders to profess christianity, he did it more for the sake of gaining subjects to himself, than to Jesus Christ. And therefore he did not hesitate, to cultivate friendship with the Saracens, those enemies of the christian name, when he could hope to obtain from them some aid to weaken the empire of the Greeks, who were christians.(18)

§ 8. The numerous miracles, which the christian missionaries to the pagans are reported to have wrought in this age, have now wholly lost the credit that they once had. The corrupt moral principles of the times, allowed the use of what are improperly called *pious* frauds; and those heralds of christianity thought it no sin, to terrify or beguile, with fictitious miracles, those whom they were unable to convince by reasoning. Yet I do not suppose that *all*, who acquired fame by these miracles, practised imposition. For not only were the nations so rude and ignorant as to mistake almost any thing for a miracle, but their instructors also were so unlearned and so unacquainted with the laws of nature, as to look upon mere natural events, if they were rather unusual and came upon them by surprise, as special interpositions of divine power. This will be manifest, to one who will read with candor, and without superstitious emotions, the (*Acta Sanctorum*) Legends of the saints of this and the subsequent centuries.(19)

ii. p. 340 &c. *Pauli Debreceui Historia Ecclesiae reformat. in Hungar. et Transylvania; a Lampio edita; Pt. i. cap. ii. p. 10 &c.*

(16) *Henr. Canisii Lectiones Antiquae*, Tom. iii. Pt. ii. p. 207. *Dr. Walch*, [of Gottingen] *Tract. de Caroli Mag. canonizatione*.

(17) See the last Will of Charlemagne, in *Steph. Baluzii Capitularibus Regum Francor.* Tom. i. p. 487.

(18) See *Jac. Basmage*, *Histoire des Juifs*, Tome ix. cap. ii. p. 40 &c.

(19) [The miracles of this age are, many of them, altogether ridiculous. Take the following, as specimens. In the life of *St. Winneck*, (in *Mabillon's Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. iii. p. 195,) it is stated as a miracle, that his mill, when he let go of it, to say his prayers, would turn itself. And when an inquisitive monk looked through a crevice, to see the wonder, he was struck blind, for his presumption. The biographer of *St. Pardulphus* (*Ibid.* p. 541. § 18.)

'makes a child's cradle to rock day after day, without hands; while if touched, it would stop, and remain immoveable. In the life of *St. Guthlack* of Croyland, (Ibid. p. 263. § 19.) while the saint was praying, at his vigils, a vast number of devils entered his cell, rising out of the ground, and issuing through crevices, "of direful aspect, terrible in form, with huge heads, long necks, pale faces, sickly countenances, squalid beards, bristly ears, rinkled foreheads, malicious eyes, filthy mouths, horses' teeth, fire-emitting throats, lantern jaws, broad lips, terrific voices, singed hair, high cheek bones, prominent breasts, scaly thighs, knotty knees, crooked legs, swollen ancles, inverted feet, and opened mouths, hoarsely clamorous." These bound the saint fast, dragged him through hedges and briers, lifted him up from the earth, and carried him to the mouth of hell, where he saw all the torments of the damned. But while they were threatening to confine him there, *St. Bartholomew* appeared in glory to him; the devils were affrighted; and he was conducted back to his cell, by his celestial deliverer.—These are only a few, among scores of others, which might be adduced. Tr.]

CHAPTER II.

THE ADVERSITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

§ 1. In the East, from the Saracens and Turks.—§ 2. In the West, from the Saracens.

§ 1. The Byzantine empire experienced so many bloody revolutions, and so many intestine calamities, as necessarily produced a great diminution of its energies. No emperor there reigned securely. Three of them were hurled from the throne, treated with various contumelies, and sent into exile. Under *Leo III*, the Isaurian, and his son, *Constantine* Copronymus, the pernicious controversy respecting images and the worship of them, brought immense evils upon the community, and weakened incalculably the resources of the empire. Hence, the Saracens were able to roam freely through Asia and Africa, to subdue the fairest portions of the country, and every where to depress, and in various places wholly to exterminate, the christian faith. Moreover, about the middle of the century, a new enemy appeared, still more savage, namely the Turks; a tribe and progeny of the Tartars, a rough and uncivilized race, which issuing from the narrow passes of mount Caucasus and from inaccessible regions, burst upon Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, and then proceeding to Armenia, first subdued the Saracens, and afterwards the Greeks.(1)

§ 2. In the year 714, these Saracens crossed the sea which separates Spain from Africa, and count *Julian* acting the traitor, they routed the army of *Roderic*, the king of the Spanish Goths, and subdued the greater part of that country.(2) Thus was the kingdom of the West Goths in Spain, after it had stood more than three centuries, wholly obliterated, by this cruel and ferocious people. Moreover, all the sea coast of Gaul, from the Pyrenean mountains to the Rhone, was seized by these Saracens; who afterwards frequently laid waste the neighboring provinces, with fire and sword. *Charles Martel*, indeed, upon their invasion of Gaul in the year 732, gained a great victory over them at Poic-

(1) [See the historians of the Turkish empire; especially, *Deguigne*, History of the Huns and Turks. *Schl.*]

(2) *Jo. Mariana*, Rerum Hispanicar. Lib. vi. cap. 21 &c. *Euseb. Renaudot*, Historia Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 253. *Jo. de Ferreras*, Histoire de l'Espagne, Tom. ii. p. 425 &c.—[*J. S. Semler*, in his *Historiae eccles. selecta capita*, Tom. ii. p. 127 &c. conjectures, that the popes contributed to the invasion of Spain, by the Saracens. And it appears from *Baronius*, (Annales eccles. ad ann. 701. No. xi &c.) that the Spanish king and clergy were in some collision with his holiness. Still, I can see no evidence, that the popes had any concern with the Muhammedan invasion of Spain. Count *Julian*, a disaffected nobleman, was probably the sole cause of this calamity to his country. *Tr.*]

tiers : (3) but the vanquished soon after recovered their strength and courage. Therefore *Charlemagne*, in the year 778, marched a large army into Spain, with a design to rescue that country from them. But though he met with considerable success, he did not fully accomplish his wishes. (4) From this warlike people, not even Italy was safe ; for they reduced the island of Sardinia to subjection, and miserably laid waste Sicily. In Spain therefore, and in Sardinia, under these masters, the christian religion suffered a great defeat. In Germany and the adjacent countries, the nations that retained their former superstitions, inflicted vast evils and calamities upon the others who embraced christianity. (5) Hence, in several places, castles and fortresses were erected, to restrain the incursions of the barbarians.

(3) *Paulus Diaconus*, de Gestis Longobard. Lib. vi. cap. 46 et 53. *Jo. Mariana*, Rerum Hispanicar. Lib. vii. cap. 3. *Pet. Bayle*, Dictionaire historique, Article *Abderame*, Tom. i. p. 11. *Ferreras*, Histoire de l' Espagne, Tom. ii. p. 463 &c. [*Gibbon*, Hist. of the decline and fall of the Rom. Emp. ch. lii. Tr.]

(4) *Henr. de Bunau*, History of the German Emperors and empire, [in German,] vol. ii. p. 392 &c. *Ferreras*, Hist. de l' Espagne, Tom. ii. p. 506 &c.

(5) *Servati Lupi*, vita Wigberti, p. 304. and others.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.

§ 1. The state of learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. Progress of the Aristotelian philosophy.—§ 3. Learning among the Latins, restored by Charlemagne.—§ 4. Cathedral and monastic schools.—§ 5. They were not very successful.

§ 1. Among the Greeks, there were here and there individuals, both able and willing to retard the flight of learning, had they been supported; but in the perpetual commotions which threatened the extinction of both church and state, they were unpatronized. And hence, scarcely any can be named among the Greeks, who distinguished themselves, either by the graces of diction and genius, or by richness of thought and erudition, or acuteness of investigation. Frigid discourses to the people, insipid narratives of the lives of reputed saints, useless discussions of subjects of no importance, vehement declamations against the Latins, and the friends or the enemies of images, and histories composed without judgment;—such were the monuments, which the learned among the Greeks erected for their fame.

§ 2. Yet the Aristotelian method of philosophizing, made great progress every where, and was taught in all the schools. For, after the many public condemnations of the sentiments of *Origen*, and the rise of the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies, *Plato* was nearly banished from the schools to the retreats of the monks.(1) *John Damascenus* distinguished himself beyond others, in promoting Aristotelianism. He attempted to collect and to illustrate the dogmas of Aristotle, in several tracts designed for the less informed; and these led many persons in Greece and Syria, more readily to embrace those dogmas. The Nestorians and Jacobites were equally diligent, in giving currency to the principles of Aristotle, which enabled them to dispute more confidently with the Greeks, respecting the natures and the person of Christ.

§ 3. The history of the Latins abounds with so many examples of extreme ignorance, as almost surprise us.(2) Yet the fault

(1) [See *Brucker's Historia crit. Philosophiæ*, Tom. iii. p. 533. *Schl.*]

(2) See the annotations of *Steph. Baluze* on *Regino Prumiensis*, p. 540. [Learning, which appears to have been confined much to the clergy, began to be rare even among them. The clergy understood little or nothing of human science, or of languages; and the popes confirmed them in this state. For they

will readily be admitted, by those who survey the state of Europe in this century. In Rome, and in some of the cities of Italy, there remained some faint traces of learning and science ;(3) but with this exception, what learning there was, had abandoned the continent, and retired beyond sea, among the Britons and Irishers.(4) Those therefore among the Latins, who distinguished themselves at all by works of genius, with the exception of some few Franks and Italians, were nearly all Britons, or Scots, that is, Irishers ; such as *Alcuin*, *Beda*, *Egbert*, *Clemens*, *Dungal*, *Acca*, and others. Prompted by *Alcuin*, *Charlemagne*, who was himself a man of letters, attempted to dispel this ignorance. For he invited to his court grammarians and other learned men, first out of Italy, and afterwards from Britain and Ireland ; and he labored to rouse especially the clergy, or the bishops, priests, and monks, (whose patrimony, in this age, seemed to be learning,) and by means of his own example, the nobility also, and their sons, to the cultivation of divine and human science and learning.

§ 4. By his authority and requisition, most of the bishops connected with their respective primary churches, what were called *cathedral* schools ; in which children and youth devoted to the church, were taught the sciences. The more discerning *abbots*, or rulers of the monasteries, likewise opened schools ; in which some of the fraternity taught the Latin language, and other things deemed useful and necessary for a monk or a preacher.(5) It was formerly supposed, that *Charlemagne* was the patron and founder of the university of Paris ; but all impartial inquirers into the history of those times, deny him this honor : yet it is ascertained, that he laid a foundation, upon which this celebrated

required nothing more of them, at their ordination, than to be able to read, to sing, and to repeat the Lord's prayer, the creed, and Psalter, and to ascertain the feast days. The ignorance shown by *Boniface*, and even by pope *Zacharias*, in the controversy respecting antipodes, and the figure of the earth, has already been noticed. *Schl.*]

(3) *Lud. Ant. Muratorii* Antiquitt. Italiae medii aevi, Tom. iii. p. 811.

(4) *Ja. Usher*, Praefatio ad Syllogem epistolarum Hibernicar.

(5) *Steph. Baluzii* Capitularia Regum Francor. Tom. i. p. 101 &c. *Ja. Sirmond*, Concilia Galliae, Tom. ii. p. 121. *Caes. Egasse de Boulay*, Diss. de Scholis claustralibus et episcopalibus ; in his Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. i. p. 79. *Jo. Lavinoy*, de Scholis a Carolo M. per Occident. institutis. *Herm. Conringii* Antiquitates Academicae, p. 81, 315. Histoire litter. de la France, Tom. iv. p. 6 &c. and others. [In the year 787, *Charlemagne* addressed an injunction to the bishops and abbots, requiring them to set up schools ; which were not intended for little children, but for monks, who were to be taught the interpretation of Scripture, and the learning requisite for this purpose. He likewise often permitted monks to come to his court school. His commands, and the example he exhibited in his court school, were very efficient ; and soon after, the famous school of *Fulda* was founded ; the reputation of which spread over civilized Europe, and allured numerous foreigners to it. Next to *Fulda*, *Hirschau*, *Corvey*, *Prüm*, *Weissenburg*, *St. Gall*, and *Reichenau*, became famous for their good schools ; which might be called the high schools of that age, and were the resort of monks, designed for teachers in the inferior and poorer monasteries. *Charlemagne* also exercised the wits of the bishops, by proposing to them all sorts of learned questions, for them to answer either in writing or orally. *Schl.*]

school was afterwards erected.(6) To purge his court of ignorance, he established in it the famous school, called the *Palatine* school ; in which the children of Charlemagne and of his nobles, were instructed, by masters of great reputation.(7)

§ 5. But the youth left these schools, not much better or more learned, than when they entered them. The ability of the teachers was small ; and what they taught, was so meagre and dry, that it could not be very ornamental or useful to any man. The whole circle of knowledge was included in what they called, the seven liberal arts ; namely, grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy ;(8) of which, the three first were called the *Trivium*, and the four last, the *Quadrivium*. How miserably these sciences were taught, may be learned from the little work of *Alcuin* upon them ;(9) or from the tracts of *Augustine*, which were considered to be of the very first order. In most of the schools, the teachers did not venture to go beyond the *Trivium* : and an individual, who had mastered both the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, and wished to attempt something still higher, was directed to study *Cassiodorus* and *Boethius*.

(6) The arguments, to prove Charlemagne the founder of the university of Paris, are no where more fully stated, than in *C. E. de Boulay's* *Historia Acad. Par.* Tom. i. p. 91 &c. But several learned Frenchmen, *Mabillon*, (*Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. v. Praef. § 181, 182.) *Launoy*, *Claude Joly*, (de Scholis,) and many others, have confuted those arguments.

(7) *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*, Tom. i. p. 281. *Mabillon*, l. c. § 179, and others.

(8) *Herm. Conringii* *Antiquitates Academ.* Diss. iii. p. 80 &c. *Ja. Thomasius*, *Programmata*, p. 368. *Observationes Halenses*, Tom. vi. *Observ.* xiv. p. 118 &c.

(9) *Alcuini* *Opera*, Part. ii. p. 1245. ed. *Quercetani*. This little work is not only imperfect, but is almost entirely transcribed from *Cassiodorus*.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Vices of the religious teachers.—§ 2. Veneration for the clergy in the West.—§ 3. Increase of their wealth.—§ 4. They possessed royal domains.—§ 5. Causes of extravagant donations to the clergy.—§ 6 and especially to the pope.—§ 7. His good offices to Pipin.—§ 8. The rewards of his obsequiousness to the French kings. The donation of Pipin.—§ 9. Donation of Charlemagne.—§ 10. The grounds of it.—§ 11. Nature of the pope's jurisdiction.—§ 12. His prosperity checked by the Greeks; origin of the contests between the Greeks and Latins.—§ 13. The monastic discipline wholly corrupted.—§ 14. Origin of canons.—§ 15, 16. Power of the popes circumscribed by the emperors.—§ 17. Greek and oriental writers.—§ 18. Latin and occidental writers.

§ 1. That those, who in this age had the care of the church, both in the East, and in the West, were of very corrupt morals, is abundantly testified. The oriental bishops and doctors wasted their lives, in various controversies and quarrels; and disregarding the cause of religion and piety, they disquieted the state with their senseless clamors and seditions. Nor did they hesitate to imbrue their hands in the blood of their dissenting brethren. Those in the West, who pretended to be luminaries, gave themselves up wholly to various kinds of profligacy, to gluttony, to hunting, to lust, to sensuality, and to war.⁽¹⁾ Nor could they in any way be reclaimed, although *Carloman*, *Pipin*, and especially *Charlemagne* enacted various laws against their vices.⁽²⁾

§ 2. Although these vices, of the persons who ought to have been examples for others, were exceedingly offensive to all, and gave occasion to various complaints; yet they did not prevent the persons defiled with them, from being every where held in the highest honor, and being adored as a sort of deities by the vulgar. The veneration and submission paid to bishops, and to all the clergy, was however, far greater in the West, than in the East. The cause of this will be obvious to every one, who considers the state and the customs of the nations, at this time bear-

(1) *Steph. Baluze*, ad Reginon. Prumiensem, p. 563. *Wilkins'* *Concilia magnæ Britanniae*, Tom. i. p. 90 &c.

(2) *Steph. Baluze*, *Capitular. Regum Francor.* Tom. i. p. 180, 208, 275, 493 &c. [*Harduin*, *Concilia*, Tom. iii. p. 1919 &c. where the clergy are forbidden to bear arms in war, and to practice hunting; and severe laws are enacted against the whoredom of the clergy, monks, and nuns. These laws were enacted under *Carloman*, AD. 742. Among the *Capitularia of Charlemagne*, cited by *Harduin*, are laws, against Clergymen's loaning money for twelve per cent interest, (*Harduin*, vol. v. p. 827, c. 5.)—against their haunting taverns, (p. 830. c. 14.)—against their practising magic, (831. c. 18.)—against their receiving bribes, to ordain improper persons, (p. 831. c. 31.)—bishops, abbots, and abbesses, are forbidden to keep packs of hounds, or hawks and falcons, (p. 846. c. 15.)—Laws were also enacted against clerical drunkenness (p. 958. c. 14.)—concubinage (*ibid.* c. 15.)—tavern-haunting (p. 959. c. 19.)—and profane swearing (*ibid.* c. 20.) *Tr.*]

ing sway in Europe, anterior to their reception of christianity. For all these nations, before they became christian, were under the power of their priests ; and dared not attempt any thing important, either of a civil or military nature, without their concurrence.(3) When they became christian, they transferred the high prerogatives of their ancient priests, to the bishops and ministers of the new religion : and the christian prelates and clergy, craftily and eagerly, seized and arrogated to themselves these rights. And hence originated that monstrous authority of the priesthood, in the European churches.

§ 3. To the honors and prerogatives enjoyed by the bishops and priests, with the concurrence of the people in the West, were added, during this period, immense wealth and riches. The churches, monasteries, and bishops, had before been well supplied with goods and revenues ; but in this century, there arose a new and most convenient method of acquiring for them greater riches, and of amplifying them forever. Suddenly,—by whose instigation, is not known, the idea became universally prevalent, that the punishments for sin, which God threatens to inflict, may be bought off, by liberal gifts to God, to the saints, to the temples, and to the ministers of God and of glorified saints. This opinion being every where admitted, the rich and prosperous, whose lives were now most flagitious ; conferred their wealth, (which they had received by inheritance, or wrested from others by violence and war, according to the customs of the age,) upon the glorified saints, their ministers, and the guardians of their temples, most bountifully, for religious uses ; in order to avoid the very irksome penances, which were enjoined upon them by the priests,(4) and

(3) *Julius Caesar*, (de Bello Gallico, Lib. vi. c. 12, 13.)—says: “The *Druids* are in great honor among them: for they determine almost all controversies, public and private: and if any crime is perpetrated; if a murder is committed; if there is a contest about an inheritance, or territories; they decide, and determine the rewards or punishments. If any one, whether a private or a public character, will not submit to their decision; they debar him from the sacrifices.—The *Druids* are not accustomed to be present in battle; nor do they pay tribute, with the other citizens; but are exempt from military service, and from all other burdens. Allured by such privileges, and from inclination, many embrace their discipline, and are sent to it by their parents and friends.”—*Tacitus*, (de Moribus Germanor. c. 7. p. 384. ed. Gronov.) says: “Moreover, to judge, to imprison, and to scourge, is allowable for none, but the priests; and this, not under the idea of punishment, or by order of the prince, but as if *God* commanded it.”—Chap. 11. p. 291. “Silence [in the public councils] is enjoined by the *priests*, who there have coercive power.”—*Helmold*, Chron. Slavorum, Lib. i. c. 36. p. 90. says of the *Rugians*: “Greater is their respect for a priest, than for the king.”—*Idem* de de Slavis, Lib. ii. c. 12. p. 235. “With them, a king is in moderate estimation, compared with a priest. For the latter asks for responses.—The king and the people depend on his will.”—These customs, the people of Germany, Gaul, and of all Europe, retained, after their conversion to christianity; and it is therefore easy to answer the question, Whence originated that vast power of the priesthood in Europe, of which the christian religion has no knowledge?

(4) Such as, long and severe fasts, tortures of the body, frequent and long-continued prayers, pilgrimages to the tombs of the saints, and the like. These were the penances, imposed by the priests, on persons who confessed to them their sins; and they would be the most irksome, to such as had spent their lives,

yet be secure against the evils, that threatened to overtake them after death. This was the principal source of those immense treasures, which from this century onward, through all the subsequent ages, flowed in upon the clergy, the churches, and the monasteries.(5)

§ 4. The gifts moreover, by which the princes especially, and the noblemen, endeavored to satisfy the priests, and to expiate their past sins ; were not merely *private* possessions, which common citizens might own, and with which the churches and monasteries had often before been endowed ; but they were also *public* property, or such as may properly belong only to princes and to nations, *royal domains, (regalia,)* as they are called. For the emperors, kings, and princes, transferred to bishops, to churches, and to monasteries, whole provinces, cities, and castles, with all the rights of sovereignty over them. Thus the persons, whose business it was to teach contempt for the world, both by precept and example, unexpectedly became *Dukes, Counts, Marquisses, Judges, Legislators, sovereign Lords*, and not only administered justice to citizens, but even marched out to war, at the head of their own armies. And this was the origin of those great calamities, which afterwards afflicted Europe, the lamentable wars and contests about *investures*, and the *regalia*.

§ 5. Of this extraordinary liberality, which was never heard of out of Europe,—not the vestige of an example can be found, anterior to this century. There can, therefore, be no doubt that it grew out of the customs of the Europeans, and the form of government most common among these warlike nations. For the sovereigns of these nations, used to bind their friends and clients to their interests, by presenting to them large tracts of country, towns, and castles, in full sovereignty, reserving to themselves only the rights of supremacy, and a claim to military services. And the princes might think, they were obeying a rule of civil prudence, in thus enriching the priests and bishops : and it is not probable, that superstition was the sole cause of these extensive grants. For they might expect, that men who were under the bonds of religion, and consecrated to God, would be more faithful to them, than civil chieftains and military men, accustomed to rapine and slaughter : and moreover, they might hope to restrain their turbulent

without restraint, amidst pleasures and indulgences, and who wished to continue to live in the same way. Hence the opulent most eagerly embraced this new method of shunning, by the sacrifice of a part of their estates, penalties so irksome.

(5) Hence the well known phraseology, used by those who made offerings to the churches and the priests ; that they made the offering, *redemptionis animarum suarum causa, for the redemption of their souls*. The property given, was likewise, often called, *pretium peccatorum, the price of sin*. See *Lud. Ant. Muratorii Diss. de redemptione peccator. in his Antiquitates Ital. medii aevi, Tom. v. p. 712 &c.*

subjects, and keep them to their duty, by means of bishops, whose denunciations inspired so great terror.(6)

§ 6. This great aggrandizement of clergymen, in the countries of Europe, commenced with their head, the Roman pontiff; and thence extended to inferior bishops, priests, and fraternities of monks. For the barbarous nations of Europe, on their conversion to christianity, looked upon the Romish bishop, as succeeding to the place of the supreme head, or pontiff, of their *Druids*, or pagan priests; and as the latter had possessed immense influence in secular matters, and was exceedingly feared, they supposed the former, was to be revered and honored, in the same manner.(7) And what those nations spontaneously gave, the bishop of Rome willingly received; and lest perchance, on a change of circumstances, he might be despoiled of it, he supported his claims by arguments, drawn from ancient history, and from christianity. This was the origin of that vast preeminence, acquired by the Roman pontiffs in this century, and of their great power in regard to civil affairs. Thus that most pernicious opinion, the cause of so many wars and slaughters, and which established and increased surprisingly the power of the pontiff; namely, the belief that whoever is excluded from communion by him and his bishops, loses all his rights and privileges, not only as a citizen, but as a man, was derived to the christian church, from the ancient Druidic superstition; to the vast detriment of Europe.(8)

(6) I will here quote a noticeable passage from *William of Malmshury*, in his fifth Book de Gestis Regum Angliæ, p. 166, among the *Scriptores rerum Anglicanarum* post Bedam, Francf. 1601. Fol. He there gives the reason for those great donations to the bishops. "Charlemagne, in order to curb the ferocity of those nations, bestowed nearly all the lands on the churches, wisely considering, that men of the sacred order would not be so likely, as laymen, to renounce subjection to their sovereign; and moreover, if the laity should be rebellious, the clergy would be able to hold them in check, by the terrors of excommunication, and the severities of their discipline."—I doubt not, that here is stated the true reason, why Charlemagne, a prince by no means superstitious, or a slave of priests, heaped upon the Roman pontiff, and upon the bishops of Germany, Italy, and other countries which he subdued, so many estates, territories, and riches. That is, he enlarged, immoderately, the power and resources of the clergy, that he might, by means of the bishops, restrain and keep in subjection his dukes, counts and knights. For instance, from the dukes of Beneventum, Spoleto, Capua, and others in Italy, much was to be feared, after the extinction of the Lombard monarchy: and hence he conferred a large portion of Italy upon the Roman pontiff, so that by his authority, power, and menaces, he might deter those powerful and vindictive princes from sedition, or overcome them, if they dared rebel. That other kings and princes, in Europe, reasoned in the same manner as Charles did, will not be questioned, by one who considers well the political constitutions and forms of government of that age. That aggrandizement, therefore, of bishops and priests, which we should naturally ascribe wholly to superstition, was also the result of civil prudence, or state policy. On the subject of *excommunications*, mentioned by Malmshury, above, we shall have something to say hereafter.

(7) *Julius Caesar*, de Bello Gallico, vi. 13. His autem omnibus Druidibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos (Celtas) habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit. At si plures pares, suffragio Druidum adlegitur; nunquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt.

(8) Though *excommunication*, from the time of *Constantine* the Great, had, among christians every where, great influence, yet it had no where so great in,

§ 7. A striking example of the immense authority of the pontiff in this age, is found in the history of the French nation. *Pipin*, the viceroy or Major domus of *Childeric*, king of the Franks, and who already possessed the entire powers of the king, formed the design of divesting his sovereign of the title and the honors of royalty; and the French nobles, being assembled in council, AD. 751, to deliberate on the subject, demanded, that first of all, the pontiff should be consulted, whether it would be lawful and right, to do what *Pipin* desired. *Pipin* therefore dispatched envoys to *Zacharias*, who then presided over the church at Rome, with this enquiry: Whether a valiant and warlike nation might not dethrone an indolent and incompetent king, and substitute in his place, one more worthy, and who had already done great services to the nation, without breaking the divine law? *Zacharias*, at that time, needed the aid of *Pipin* and the Franks, against the Greeks and the Lombards, who were troublesome to him; and he answered the question, according to the wishes of those who consulted him. This response being known in France, no one resisted; the unhappy *Childeric* was divested of his royal dignity, and *Pipin* mounted the throne of his king and lord. Let the friends of the pontiff, consider how they can justify this decision of the vicar of *Jesus Christ*, which is so repugnant to the commands of the Savior.(9) *Zacharias*' successor, *Stephen II*, took

fluence, or was so terrific, and so distressing, as in Europe. And the difference between *European excommunication*, and that of other christians, from the eighth century onward, was immense. Those excluded from the sacred rites, or excommunicated, were indeed, every where, viewed as odious to God and to men; yet they did not forfeit their rights as men, and as citizens; and much less, were kings and princes supposed to lose their authority to rule, by being pronounced by bishops, to be unworthy of communion in sacred rites. But in Europe, from this century onward, a person excluded from the church by a bishop, and especially by the prince of bishops, was no longer regarded as a king, or a lord; nor as a citizen, a husband, a father, or even as a man, but was considered as a brute. What was the cause of this? Undoubtedly, the following is the true cause. Those new and ignorant proselytes, confounded christian *excommunication* with the old gentile excommunication, practiced by the pagan priests, or they supposed the former to have the same nature and effects, with the latter; and the pontiffs and bishops did all they could, to cherish and confirm this error, which was so useful to them. Read the following extract from *Julius Caesar*, de Bello Gallico, vi. c. 13, and then judge, whether I have mistaken the origin of European and papal excommunication? Si qui aut privatus aut publicus Druidum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum, sormoneque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur.

(9) See, on this momentous transaction, *Charles le Cointe*, *Annales ecclesiae Franciae*; and *Mezeray*, *Daniel*, and the other historians of France and Germany; but especially, *Ja. Ben. Bossuet*, *Defensio declarationis Cleri Gallicani*, Pt. i. p. 225. *Pet. Rivet*, *Dissertationes historicoe et criticae sur divers sujets*, Diss. ii. p. 70. Diss. iii. p. 156. Lond. 1726. 8vo. and the illustrious *Henr. de Bunsau*, *Historia imperii Germanici*, Tom. ii. p. 288. Yet the transaction is not stated, in the same manner, by all the writers: and by the sycophants of the Romish bishops, it is generally misrepresented; for they make *Zacharias*, by his pontifical power, to have deposed *Childeric*, and to have raised *Pipin* to the throne. This, the French deny; and on good grounds. Yet were it true, it would only make the pope's crime greater than it was. [See *Bower's Lives of the Popes*, Vol. iii. p. 331 &c. ed Lond. 1754. Tr.]

a journey to France, AD. 754; where he not only confirmed what was done, but also freed *Pipin*, who had now reigned three years, from his oath of allegiance to his sovereign, and anointed or crowned him, together with his wife and his two sons.(10)

§ 8. This attention paid by the Roman pontiffs to the Franks, was of great advantage to the church, over which they presided. For great commotions and insurrections having arisen, in that part of Italy which was still subject to the Greeks, in consequence of the decrees of *Leo* the Isaurian and *Constantine* Copronymus against images; the Lombard kings so managed those commotions by their counsel and arms, as gradually to get possession of the Grecian provinces in Italy, which were under the exarch stationed at Ravenna. *Aistulphus*, the king of the Lombards, elated by this success, endeavored also to get possession of Rome, and its territory; and affected the empire of all Italy. The pressure of these circumstances induced the pontiff, *Stephen II*, to apply for assistance to his great patron, *Pipin*, king of the Franks. In the year 754, *Pipin* marched an army over the Alps, and induced *Aistulphus* to promise, by a solemn oath, to restore the exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis,(11) and all that he had plundered. But the next year, the Lombard king having violated his promise, and also laid siege to Rome; *Pipin* again marched an army into Italy, compelled him to observe his promise; and with unparalleled liberality, bestowed on *St. Peter*, and his church, the Grecian provinces, namely the Exarchate and the Pentapolis, which he had wrested from the grasp of *Aistulphus*.(12)

(10) Among many writers, see the illustrious *Bünau*, *Historia imperii Germanici*, Tom. ii. p. 301, 366. [and *Bower*, *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 352. Tr.]

(11) [This territory lay along the Gulf of Venice, from the Po, southward as far as *Permo*; and extended back to the Apennines. According to *Sigonius*, the Exarchate included the cities of *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Inola*, *Faenza*, *Forimpoli*, *Forlì*, *Cesena*, *Bobbio*, *Ferrara*, *Commachio*, *Adria*, *Cervia*, and *Secchia*. The *Pentapolis*, now the *Marea d' Ancona*, comprehend *Rimini*, *Fesaro*, *Conca*, *Fano*, *Sinigaglia*, *Ancona*, *Osimo*, *Umana*, *Jesi*, *Fossombrone*, *Monteferetro*, *Urbino*, *Cagli*, *Luceoli*, and *Eugubio*. The whole territory might be 150 miles long, and from 60 to 80 miles broad. Tr.]

(12) See *Car. Sigonius*, de regno Italiae, Lib. iii. p. 202 &c. Opp. Tom. ii. *Henry* count de *Bünau*, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, Tom. ii. p. 391, 366. *Muratori*, *Annali d' Italia*, Tom. iv. p. 310 &c. and many others. But what were the boundaries of this exarchate, thus disposed of by *Pipin*, has been much controverted, and has been investigated with much industry in the present age. The Roman pontiffs extend the exarchate, given to them, as far as possible: others contract it, to the narrowest limits they can. See *Lud. Ant. Muratori*, *Droits de l' Empire sur l' Etat Ecclesiastique*, cap. i. ii. and *Antiqq. Italiae medii aevi*, Tom. i. p. 64—68, 986, 987. But he is more cautious, in Tom. v. p. 790. This controversy cannot easily be settled, except by recurrence to the deed of gift. *Just. Fontanini*, *Dominio della S. Sede sopra Comacchio*, Diss. i. c. 100. p. 346. c. 67. p. 242. represents the deed of gift as still in existence; and he quotes some words from it. The fact is scarcely credible: yet if it be true, it is unquestionably not for the interest of the Romish church, to have this important ancient document come to light. Nor could those who defended the interests of the pontiff against the emperor *Joseph*, in the controversy respecting the fortress of *Comachio*, in our age, be persuaded to bring it forward, though challenged to do it, by the emperor's advocates. *Francis Blanchinus*, however, in his *Prolegomena ad Anastasium de vitis Pontificum Rom.* p. 55. has given us a specimen of

§ 9. After the death of Pipin, *Desiderus* the king of the Lombards, again boldly invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, namely the territories given by the Franks to the Romish church. *Hadrian* I, who was then pontiff, had recourse to *Charles*, afterwards called the Great, [*Charlemagne*,] the son of Pipin. He crossed the Alps with a powerful army, in the year 774, overthrown the empire of the Lombards in Italy, which had stood more than two centuries, transported king *Desiderius* into France, and proclaimed himself king of the Lombards. In this expedition, when *Charles* arrived at Rome, he not only confirmed the donations of his father to St. Peter, but went farther; for he delivered over to the pontiffs, to be possessed and governed by them, some cities and provinces of Italy, which were not included in the grant of Pipin. But what portions of Italy, Charles thus annexed to the donation of his father, it is very difficult, at this day, to ascertain. (13)

§ 10. By this munificence, whether politic or impolitic, I

this grant, which bears the marks of antiquity. The motive which led Pipin to this great liberality, was, as appears from numerous testimonies, to make expiation for his sins, and especially, the great sin he had committed against his master *Childeric*.

(13) See *Car. Sigonius*, de regno Italiae, Lib. iii. p. 223 &c. Opp. Tom. ii. *Henry count de Bünau*, Historia Imperii German. Tom. ii. p. 368 &c. *Peter de Marca*, de Concordia sacerdotii et imperii, Lib. i. cap. xii. p. 67 &c. *Lud. Ant. Muratori*, Droits de l' Empire sur l' Etat Ecclesiastique. cap. ii. p. 147 &c. *Herm. Conringius*, de imperio Romano-German. cap. vi. [*Bower's* Lives of the Popes, vol. iii. Life of *Hadrian* I.] and numerous others. Concerning the extent of *Charlemagne's* new donation to the popes, there is the same warm contest between the patrons of the papacy and those of the empire, as there is, respecting *Pipin's* donation. The advocates for the pontiffs, maintain, that Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, the territory of Sabino, the duchy of Spoleto, besides many other tracts of country, were presented by the very pious *Charlemagne* to St. Peter. But the advocates for the claims of the emperors, diminish as far as they can the munificence of Charles, and confine this new grant within narrow limits. On this subject, the reader may consult the writers of the present age, who have published works on the claims of the emperors and the popes, to the cities of Commachio and Florence, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia; but especially, the very learned treatise of *Berret*, entitled Diss. chorographica de Italia medii aevi, p. 33 &c. The partialities of the writers, if I mistake not, have prevented them from discerning in all cases, the real facts; and it is easy to fall into mistakes; on subjects so long involved in obscurity. *Adrian* affirms, that the object of Charles in this new donation, was, to atone for his sins. For he thus writes to *Charlemagne*, in the ninety-second Epistle of the Caroline Codex, in *Muratori* Scriptor. rer. Italicar. Tom. iii. Pt. ii. p. 265. "Venientes ad nos de Capua, quam Beato Petro, Apostolorum Principi, pro mercede animae vestrae atque sempiterna memoria, cum caeteris civitatibus obtulistis." I have no doubt that Charles, who wished to be accounted pious according to the estimates of that age, expressed this design in his transfer, or deed of gift. But a person acquainted with Charles and with the history of those times, will not readily believe, that this was his only motive. By that donation, Charles aimed to prepare the way for attaining the empire of the West, which he was endeavoring to secure; (for he was most ambitious of glory and dominion,) but he could not honorably obtain his object, in the existing state of things, without the concurrence and aid of the Roman pontiff. Besides this, he aimed to secure and establish his new empire in Italy, by increasing the possessions of the holy see. On this point I have already touched, in a preceding note; and I think, whoever carefully considers all the circumstances of the case, will coincide with me in judgment.

leave to others to determine, *Charles* opened his way to the empire of the East; or rather, to the title of emperor of the West, and to supreme dominion over the city of Rome and its territory, on which the empire of the West was thought to depend.(14) He had doubtless, long had this object in view; and perhaps his father *Pipin* had also contemplated the same thing. But the circumstances of the times required procrastination, in an affair of such moment. But the power of the Greeks being embarrassed, after the death of *Leo IV*, and his son *Constantine*, and when the impious *Irene*, who was very odious to *Charles*, had grasped the sceptre, in the year 800, he did not hesitate to carry his designs into execution. For *Charles* coming to Rome, this year, the pontiff, *Leo III*, knowing his wishes, persuaded the Roman people, who were then supposed to be free, and to have the right of electing an emperor, to proclaim and constitute him emperor of the West.(15)

§ 11. *Charles*, being made emperor, and sovereign of Rome and its territory, reserved indeed to himself the supreme power, and the prerogatives of sovereignty; but the *beneficial* dominion, as it is called, and subordinate authority over the city and its territory, he seems to have conferred on the Romish church.(16)

(14) In reality, *Charles* was already emperor of the West; that is, the most powerful of the kings in Europe. He therefore only lacked the title of emperor, and sovereign power over the city of Rome, and the adjacent country; both of which he easily obtained, by the aid of *Leo III*.

(15) See the historians of those times, and especially, the best of them all, *Binæu*, *Historia Imperii Romano-Germanici*, Tom. ii. p. 537 &c. The advocates of the Roman pontiffs, tell us that *Leo III*, by virtue of the supreme power with which he was divinely clothed, conferred the empire of the West, after it was taken from the Greeks, upon the French nation, and upon *Charles* their king: and hence they infer, that the Roman pontiff, as the vicar of *Christ*, is the sovereign lord of the whole earth, as well as of the Roman empire; and that all emperors reign by his authority. The absurdity of this reasoning, is learnedly exposed by *Fred. Spanheim*, *de ficta translatione imperii in Carolum M. per Leonem III.* in his *Opp.* Tom. ii. p. 557. [See also *Bower's Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. *Life of Leo III.*] Other writers need not be named.

(16) That *Charles* retained the supreme power over the city Rome, and its territory, that he administered justice there by his judges, and inflicted punishments on malefactors, and that he exercised all the prerogatives of sovereignty; learned men have demonstrated, by the most unexceptionable testimony. See only *Muratori*, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Eccles.* cap. vi. p. 77 &c. Indeed, they only shroud the light in darkness, who maintain, with *Justus Fontanini*, (*Dominio della S. Sede sopra Comachio* Diss. i. c. 95, 96 &c.) and the other advocates of the Roman pontiffs, that *Charles* sustained at Rome, not the character of a sovereign, but that of *patron* of the Romish church, relinquishing the entire sovereignty to the pontiffs. And yet, to declare the whole truth, it is clear, that the power of the Roman pontiff, in the city and territory of Rome, was great; and that he decreed and performed many things, according to his pleasure, and as a sovereign. But the limits of his power, and the foundations of it, are little known, and much controverted. *Muratori*, (*Droits de l'Empire*, p. 102,) maintains, that the pontiff performed the functions of an *exarch*, or *viceroy* of the emperor. But this opinion was very offensive to *Clement XI*; nor do I regard it as correct. After considering all the circumstances, I suppose the Roman pontiff held the Roman province and city, by the same tenure, as he did the exarchate and the other territories given him by *Charles*, that is, as a *fief*; yet with less circumscribed powers, than ordinary feudal tenures, on account of the dignity of the city, which was once the capitol, or the seat of empire. This opinion re-

This plan was undoubtedly suggested to him by the Roman pontiff; who persuaded the emperor, perhaps by shewing him some ancient, though forged papers and documents, that *Constantine the Great*, (to whose place and authority Charles now succeeded,) when he removed the seat of empire to Constantinople, committed the old seat of empire, Rome and the adjacent territories, or the Roman dukedom, to the possession and government of the church, reserving however his imperial prerogatives over it; and that, from this arrangement and ordinance of *Constantine*, Charles could not depart, without incurring the wrath of God and St. Peter. (17)

§ 12. Amidst these various accessions to their power and influence, the Roman pontiffs experienced, from the Greek emper-

ceives much confirmation, from the statements which will be made in the following note; and it reconciles the jarring testimonies of the ancient writers and other documents.

(17) Most writers are of opinion, that *Constantine's* pretended grant, was posterior to this period; and that it was forged, perhaps in the tenth century. But I believe, it existed in this century; and that *Hadrian*, and his successor *Leo III.* made use of it, to persuade *Charles* to convey feudal power over the city Rome, and its territory, to the Romish church. For this opinion, we have the good authority of the Roman pontiff himself, *Hadrian I.* in his Epistle to *Charlemagne*; which is the xlix in the *Caroline Codex*, published in *Muratori's* *Rerum Italicar. Scriptores*, Tom. iii. Pt. ii. p. 194; and which well deserves a perusal. *Hadrian* there exhorts *Charles*, who was not yet emperor, to order the restitution of all the grants which had formerly been made to St. Peter and the church of Rome. And he very clearly distinguishes the grant of *Constantine*, from the donations of the other emperors and princes; and, what deserves particular notice, he distinguishes it from the donation of *Pipin*, which embraced the exarchate, and from the additions made to his father's grants, by *Charlemagne*: whence it follows, legitimately, that *Hadrian* understood *Constantine's* grant, to embrace the city of Rome, and the territory dependent on it. He first mentions the grant of *Constantine the Great*, thus: *Deprecamur vestram excellentiam—pro Dei amore et ipsius clavigeri regni coelorum—ut secundum promissionem, quam polliciti estis eidem Dei Apostolo, pro animae vestrae mercede et stabilitate regni vestri, omnia nostris temporibus adimplere jubeatis.—Et sicut temporibus Beati Silvestri Romani Pontificis, a sanctae recordationis piissimo Constantino Magno, Imperatore, per ejus largitatem* (see the grant of *Constantine* itself) *sancta Dei catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia elevata atque exaltata est, et potestatem in his Hesperiae partibus largiri dignatus est: ita et in his vestris felicissimis temporibus atque nostris, sancta Dei ecclesia germinet—et amplius, atque amplius exaltata permaneat—Quia ecce novus Christianissimus Dei Constantinus Imperator* (N. B. Here the pontiff denominates *Charles*, who was then only a king, an emperor, and compares him with *Constantine*) *his temporibus surrexit, per quem omnia Deus sanctae suae ecclesiae—largiri dignatus est. Thus far, he speaks of Constantine's donation. Next, the pontiff notices the other donations; which he clearly discriminates from this. Sed et cuncta alia, quae per diversos Imperatores, patricos, etiam et alios Deum timentes, pro eorum animae mercede et venia peccatorum, in partibus Tusciae, Spoletio seu Benevento, atque Corsica, simul et Pavinensi patrimonio, Beato Petro Apostolo,—concessa sunt, et per nefandam gentem Longobardorum per annorum spatia abstracta atque ablata sunt, vestris temporibus restituantur. The pontiff adds, in the close, that all those grants were preserved in the archives of the Lateran; and that he had sent them, by his ambassadors, to *Charlemagne*. Unde et plures donationes in sacro nostro scrinio Lateranensi reconditas habemus; tamen et pro satisfactione christianissimi regni vestri, per jam fatis viros, ad demonstrandum eas vobis, direximus; et pro hoc petimus eximiam Praecellentiam vestram, ut in integro ipsa patrimonia Beato Petro et nobis restituere jubeatis.—By this it appears, that *Constantine's* grant was then in the *Lateran archives* of the popes, and was sent with the others to *Charlemagne*.*

rors, no inconsiderable loss of revenue and dignity. For, *Leo* the Isaurian, and his son *Constantine* Copronymus, being exceedingly offended with *Gregory* II. and III. on account of their zeal for holy images, not only took from them the estates, possessed by the Romish church in Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia; but also exempted the bishops of those territories, and likewise all the provinces of Illyricum, from the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, and placed them under the protection of the bishop of Constantinople. Nor could the pontiffs, afterwards, either by threats or supplications, induce the Greek emperors, to restore these valuable portions of St. Peter's patrimony.(18) This was the first origin, and the principal cause, of that great contest between the bishops of Rome and of Constantinople; which, in the next century, severed the Greeks from the Latins, to the great detriment of christianity. Yet there was an additional cause existing in this century; namely, the dispute concerning the *procession of the Holy Spirit*; of which we shall treat in its proper place. But this, perhaps, might have been easily adjusted, if the bishops of Rome and Constantinople had not become involved in a contest respecting the limits of their jurisdiction.

§ 13. Monastic discipline, as all the writers of that age testify, was entirely prostrate, both in the East and the West. The best of the oriental monks, were those who lived an austere life, remote from the intercourse of men, in the deserts of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia: and yet among them, not only gross ignorance, but also fanatical stupidity, and base superstition, often reigned. The other monks, in the neighborhood of the cities, not unfrequently disquieted the state; and *Constantine* Copronymus, and other emperors, were obliged to restrain them repeatedly, by severe edicts. Most of the western monks now followed the rule of *St. Benedict*: yet there were monasteries, in various places, in which other rules were preferred.(19) But when their wealth became increased, they scarcely observed any rule; and they gave themselves up to gluttony, voluptuousness, idleness, and other vices.(20) *Charlemagne* attempted to cure these evils, by statutes; but he effected very little.(21)

(18) See *Mich. Le Quien's Oriens Christianus*, Tom. i. p. 96 &c. The Greek writers, also, as *Theophanes* and others, acknowledge the fact; but differ a little, in respect to the cause.

(19) See *Jo. Mabillon, Praef. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti*, Saec. i. p. xxiv. and Saec. iv. Pt. i. p. 26 &c.

(20) *Mabillon* treats, ingenuously, of this corruption of the monks, and of its causes; in the above work, *Praef. ad Saecul. iv. Pt. i. p. 64 &c.*

(21) See the *Capitularia* of *Charlemagne*, published by *Baluze*; Tom. i. p. 148, 157, 237, 255, 366 &c. 375, 503, and in various other places. These numerous laws, so often repeated, prove the extreme perverseness of the monks. [See also the 20, 21, and 22, canons of the council of Clovesham, in England, AD. 747. Monasteria—non sint ludicrarum artium receptacula, hoc est, poëtarum, citharistarum, musicorum, scurrarum—Non sint sanctimonialium domicilia turpium confabulationum, commessationum, ebrietatum, luxuriantiumque cubilia.—Manasteriales sive ecclesiastici, ebrietatis malum non sectentur aut expetant—sed

§ 14. This great corruption of the whole sacred order, produced in the West a new species of priests, who were an intermediate class between the *monks*, or the *regular clergy*, as they were called, and the *secular priests*. These adopted, in part, the discipline and mode of life of monks; that is, they dwelt together, ate at a common table, and joined in united prayer at certain hours; yet they did not take any *vows* upon them, like the monks, and they performed ministerial functions in certain churches. They were at first called the *Lord's brethren* (*fratres Domini*;) but afterwards took the name of *canons* (*canonici*.) (22) The common opinion attributes the institution of this order, to *Chrodegang*, bishop of Metz: nor is this opinion wholly without foundation. (23) For although there were, anterior to this century, in Italy, Africa, and other provinces, convents of priests who lived in the manner of *canons*; (24) yet *Chrodegang*, about the middle of this century, subjected the priests of his church, at Metz, to this mode of living, requiring them to sing hymns to God at certain hours, and perhaps to observe other rites; and by his example, first the Franks, and then the Italians, the English, and the Germans, were led to introduce this mode of living, in numerous places, and to found convents of *canons*.

§ 15. Supreme power over the whole sacred order, and over all the possessions of the churches, was, both in the East and in the West, vested in the emperors and kings. Of the power of the Greek emperors over the church, and its goods and possessions, no one entertains a doubt. (25) The prerogatives of the Latin emperors and kings, though the flatterers of the popes labor to conceal them, are too manifest and clear, to be concealed; as the wiser in the Roman community, themselves confess. *Hadrian I*, in a council at Rome, conferred on *Charlemagne*, and his successors, the right of appointing and creating the Roman

neque alios cogant intemperanter bibere; sed pura et sobria sint eorum convivia, non luxuriosa, neque deliciis vel scurrilitatibus mixta: &c. *Tr.*]

(22) See *Le Beuf*, *Memoires sur l'histoire d'Auxerre*; Tom. i. p. 174. Paris 1743, 4to.

(23) For an account of *Chrodegang*, see the *Histoire litteraire de la France*; Tom. iv. p. 123. *Aug. Calmet*, *Histoire de Lorraine*; Tom. i. p. 513 &c. *Acta Sanctorum*; Tom. i. Martii, p. 452. The rule which he prescribed to his canons, may be seen in *Le Coeur's Annales Francor. ecclesiasticis*; Tom. v. ad ann. 757. § 35 &c. and in *Lubbe's Concilia*; Tom. vii. p. 1444. [in *Harduin's Concilia*; Tom. iv. p. 1181 &c. *Tr.*] The rule, as published by *Lucas Duchery*, *Spicilegium veter. Scriptor.* Tom. i. p. 565 &c. under the name of *Chrodegang*, was the work of another person. A neat summary of the rule, is given by *Jac. Longueval*, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, Tom. iv. p. 435.

(24) See *Lud. Ant. Muratori*, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, Tom. v. p. 185 &c. also *Lud. Thomassinus*, de *Disciplina ecclesiae veteri ac nova*, P. i. Lib. iii. c. iv. &c. The design of this institution was truly excellent. For its authors, pained with the vices and defects of the clergy, hoped that this mode of living would abstract the consecrated men from worldly cares and business. But the event has shown, how much the hopes of these good men were disappointed.

(25) For the authority of the Greek emperors, in religious matters, see *Mich Le Quien*, *Oriens Christianus*, Tom. i. p. 136.

pontiffs.(26) And, although *Charles*, and his son *Lewis*, declined exercising this power ; yet they reserved to themselves, the right of accepting and confirming the election, made by the Roman people and clergy : nor could the consecration of a pope take place, unless the emperor's ambassadors were present.(27) The Roman pontiffs obeyed the laws of the emperors ; and accounted all their decisions definitive.(28) The emperors and kings of the Franks, by their extraordinary judges, whom they called *Missos*, that is, *Legates*, inquired into the lives and conduct of all the clergy, the superior as well as the inferior, and decided causes and controversies among them ; they enacted laws, respecting the modes and forms of worship ; and punished every species of crime, in the priests, just as in the other citizens.(29) The property belonging to churches and monasteries, unless exempted by the special indulgence of the sovereign, was taxed, like other property, for the common uses of the state.(30)

§ 16. That the preservation of religion, and the decision of controversies respecting doctrines, belonged to the Roman pontiff, and to the ecclesiastical councils, was not denied by the emperors and kings of the Latins.(31) But this power of the pontiff, was confined within narrow limits. For he was not able to decide, by his sole authority ; but was obliged to assemble a council. Nor did the provinces wait for his decisions ; but held conventions or councils, at their pleasure, in which the bishops freely expressed their opinions, and gave decisions, which did not accord with the views of the pontiffs ; as is manifest from the French and German councils, in the controversy respecting images. Moreover, the emperors and kings had the right of calling the councils, and of presiding in them : nor could the decrees of a council have the force of laws, unless they were confirmed and ratified by the reigning sovereign.(32) Yet the Roman pontiffs left no means

(26) *Anastasius* makes mention of this decree ; which is preserved both by *Yro* and *Gratian*. The subject has been discussed by very many. [The existence of this council, and of such a grant to Charlemagne, is very uncertain. The earliest mention of the council, is in *Sigebert's* Chronicon, (ad ann. 773.) written about A.D. 1111. But the passage is not in all the copies. From this questionable authority, *Gratian* transcribed his account of it ; (Distinc. lxiii. c. 22, 23.) and also *Iro*, and the others. See *Pet. de Marca*, de Concordia &c. Lib. viii. c. 13. *Pagi*, Critica in Baron. ad ann. 774. *Mansi* Concil. Supplem. Tom. i. p. 721, and *Walch's* Historie der Kirchenversamml. p. 473. Tr.]

(27) See *Jo. Mabillon*, Commentar. in ordinem Romanum, Musaei Italici, Tom. ii. p. cxliii &c. *Muratori*, Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Eccles. p. 87 &c.

(28) This has been amply demonstrated by *Steph. Baluze*, Praef. ad Capitularia Regum Francor. § xxi &c.

(29) See *Muratori*, Antiquitates Ital. medii aevi, Tom. i. Diss. ix. p. 470. *Franc. de Roye*, de Missis Dominicis, c. x. p. 44. c. viii. p. 118, 134, 168, 195 &c.

(30) See, especially, *Muratori*, Antiq. Ital. medii aevi, Tom. i. Diss. xvii. p. 926. Also, the Collection of various pieces, in the contest of *Lewis XV.* king of France, respecting the exemption of the clergy from taxation, published in Holland, in seven volumes, under the title of: *Ecrits pour et contre les Immunités pretendues par le Clergé de France*, à la Haye, 1751 8vo. &c.

(31) See *Charlemagne*, de Imaginibus Lib. i. cap. iv. p. 48. ed. *Heumann*.

(32) All these points are well illustrated, by *Baluze*, Praef. ad Capitularia ;

untried, to free themselves from these many restraints, and to obtain supreme authority, not only over the church, but also over kings and over the whole world : and these efforts of theirs were greatly favored by the wars and tumults of the following century.

§ 17. Among the writers of this century, very few deserve much praise, either for their learning or their genius. Among the Greeks, *Germanus* bishop of Constantinople, obtained some celebrity, by his talents, but still more, by his immoderate zeal in defence of images.(33) *Cosmas* of Jerusalem, got renown by his skill in composing Hymns.(34) The histories of *George Syncellus*,(35) and *Theophanes*,(36) hold some rank among the wri-

and by the *Capitularia* themselves, that is, by the Laws of the French kings. And all those, who have discussed the rights of kings and princes, in matters of religion, take up and illustrate this subject. See also *Jac. Basnage*, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Tom. i. p. 270 &c.

(33) See *Richard Simon*, *Critique de la Bibliotheque Ecclesiast.* de M. du Pin, Tom. i. p. 270. [*Germanus* was the son of Justinian, a patrician of Constantinople, and was deprived of his virility by Constantine Pogonatus. He was made bishop of Cyzicum, and then patriarch of Constantinople, from AD. 715—to 730. During the four last years of his patriarchate, he strenuously opposed the emperor Leo, and defended image worship, until he was deposed. He now retired to a peaceful private life, till his death, about AD. 740, when he was more than 90 years old. His writings all relate to image-worship, and the honor due to the virgin Mary; and consist of Letters, orations, and polemic tracts; which may be seen, in the Acts of the second Nicene council, the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and other collections. His orations in praise of the holy virgin, are ascribed, by some, to another *Germanus*, bishop of Constantinople, in the 13th century. See *Cave's Historia Litterar.* Vol. i. Tr.]

(34) [*Cosmas* was a native of Italy; captured by Saracen pirates, he was carried to Damascus, and there sold to the father of John Damascenus, who made him preceptor to his son. He was afterwards a monk in the monastery of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem; and at last, bishop of Majuma. He flourished about AD. 730, and has left us 13 Hymns, on the principal festivals, and some other poems; which are extant only in Latin, and may be seen in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xii. See *Cave's Historia Litteraria*, Vol. i. Tr.]

(35) [*George* was a monk of Constantinople, and *syncellus* to *Tarasius* the patriarch. A *syncellus* was a high ecclesiastical personage, the constant companion and inspector of the bishop; and resident in the *same cell* with him; whence his name, *συνκελλος*. See *Du Cange*, *Glossar. mediæ æt. infim.* Latinitatis, sub voce *Syncellus*. The *Chronicon* of *George Syncellus*, extends from the creation to the times of Maximin; and is copied almost verbatim from the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. *Jos. Scaliger* made much use of it, for recovering the lost Greek of Eusebius's work. It was published, Gr. and Lat. with notes, by *Jac. Goar*, Paris 1652. Fol. See *Cave's Histor. Litterar.* Tom. i. Tr.]

(36) [*Theophanes*, surnamed *Isaacius*, and *Confessor*, was a Constantinopolitan, of noble birth, born AD. 858. *Leo* the patrician, obliged him in his youth to marry his daughter: but his wife and he agreed, to have no matrimonial intercourse; and, on the death of her father, they separated, and *Theophanes* became a monk. He had previously filled several important civil offices, under the emperor *Leo*. He retired to the monastery of *Polychronus*, near *Singriana*, AD. 780: and thence to the island *Calonymus*, where he converted his paternal estate into a monastery, and spent six years. Then returning to *Singriana*, he purchased the estate, called the *Field*, converted it into a monastery, and presided over it, as the abbot. In the year 787, he was called to the second Nicene council; where he strenuously defended image-worship. After AD. 813, *Leo* the Armenian, required him to condemn image worship; which he resolutely refused to do. In 815, or a year later, he was imprisoned, for his obstinacy, though now in declining health; and two years after, was banished to the Island of *Samo-thrace*, where he died at the end of 23 days. The patrons of image-worship, accounted him a *co-fessor*, and honored him as a *saint*. His *Chronicon*, which

ters of Byzantine history ; but they must be placed far below the earlier Greek and Latin historians. The most distinguished of the Greek and oriental writers, was *John Damascenus*, a man of respectable talents, and of some eloquence. He elucidated the Peripatetic philosophy, as well as the science of theology, by various writings ; but his fine native endowments were vitiated by the faults of his times, superstition, and excessive veneration for the fathers ; to say nothing of his censurable propensity, to explain the christian doctrines conformably to the views of *Aristotle*.(37)

§ 18. At the head of the Latin writers, stands *Charlemagne*, the emperor, who was a great lover of learning. To him are ascribed, the *Capitalaria* as they are called, several *Epistles*, and *four Books concerning images* ; yet there can be little doubt, that he often used the pen, and the genius, of another.(38) Next

embraces both the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the Greek empire, continues that of *George Syncellus*, from AD. 285, to AD. 813. It is written in a dry style, without method, and with numerous mistakes. The *Chronicon of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, is a mere Latin translation of this, so far as this extends. It was published, Gr. and Lat. with the notes of *Goar* and *Combesis*, Paris 1655. Fol. See *Cave*, *Historia Litterar.* Tom. i. Tr.]

(37) See *Peter Bayle*, *Dictionaire Historique*, Tom. ii. p. 950, and *Leo Allatius*' account of his writings ; which *Mich. Le Quien* has published, with the *Opera Damasceni*, [ed. Paris 1712. and Venice 1748. ii Vol. Fol.—also *Du Pin*, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles.* Tom. vi. p. 101 &c. *Fabricius*, *Biblioth.* Gr. vol. viii. p. 772 &c. and *Schroeckh*, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xx. p. 222 &c.—*John Damascenus*, called also *Chrysorrhoeas*, by the Greeks, on account of his eloquence ; and by the Arabs, *Mansur* ; was born at Damascus, near the end of the seventh, or beginning of the eighth century. His father, *Sergius*, a wealthy christian, and privy councillor to the Kalif, redeemed many captives, and among them, a learned Italian monk, named *Cosmas*, whom he made preceptor to his only son *John*. On the decease of his father, *John* succeeded him in office, at the Saracen court. About the year 728, he wrote numerous letters, in defence of image-worship, which the emperor, *Leo the Isaurean*, was endeavoring to suppress. This, it is said, induced *Leo* to forge a treasonable letter, from *John* to himself, which he sent to the Kalif, in order to compass the destruction of *John*. The Kalif ordered his right hand to be cut off. *John* replaced the severed hand ; and by the intercession of the virgin *Mary*, had it perfectly restored, the same night. This miracle convinced the Kalif of *John*'s innocence ; and he offered to restore him to his office and favor ; but *John* chose to retire to private life. He sold and gave away all his property, and repaired to the monastery of *St. Sabas*, near *Jerusalem* ; where he spent the remainder of his life, in composing learned works, on theology and science. His treatises are numerous, consisting of *Orationes*, *Letters*, and *Tracts* ; chiefly polemic, in defence of image-worship, and against heresies ; yet several are devotional, and narrative. But few of his philosophical works have been published. His great work is, *de fide orthodoxa Libri iv.* (*Ἐκδόσεις ἀκριβὲς τῆς ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως*). which is a complete system of theology derived from the fathers, and arranged in the manner of the schoolmen. Tr.]

(38) See *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Bibliotheca medii aevi Latina*, Tom. i. p. 936. *Histoire litteraire de la France*, Tom. iv. p. 368. [*Charlemagne* was not only a great general and statesman, but likewise a great promoter of learning. He possessed talents of no ordinary character ; and though his very active life left him little time for study, he was a considerable proficient, in all the branches of knowledge then generally pursued. He understood both Latin and Greek, was well read in civil history, and was no contemptible theologian. *Eginhard* indeed, tells us, he could never learn to write ; having not undertaken it, till too far advanced in life. But if he could not write a fair hand, he could dictate to his amanuenses ; and by their aid, and that of the learned men, whom he always had about him, he composed and compiled very much, that does him great credit.

to him should be placed, *Beda*, called the *Venerable*, on account of his virtues ;(39) *Alcuin*, the preceptor of Charlemagne ;(40)

Besides a great number of *Diplomas*, *Deeds*, and *Grants*, which are to be seen in various collections ; as those of *Canisius*, *Duchene*, *Dacher*, *Mabillon* &c. and numerous *Letters*, interspersed in the later collections of Councils ; he wrote a *Preface* to the book of Homilies for all the festivals of the year, which *Paul Diaconus* compiled by his order ; also a large part of the *Edicts*, chiefly in relation to ecclesiastical affairs, which are denominated his *Capitularia*. Of these, the first four Books, entitled *Capitularia sive Edicta Caroli Magni et Ludovici Pii*, were collected by the Abbot *Ansegisus*, AD. 827. Afterwards three Books more, were collected by *Benedict Levita*. The whole are best published by *Baluze*, Paris 1677, ii Vol. Fol. The *Codex Carolinus*, is a collection of ninety nine Epistles of successive popes, to him and to his father and grandfather, with theirs to the popes ; made by order of Charlemagne AD. 791. This was published by *Gretser*, Ingolst. 1613, 4to.—The four Books against image-worship, (de *Imaginibus*), called also the *Capitulare prolixum*, if not dictated entirely by him, was at least drawn up in his name, by his order, and in accordance with his views. He caused it to be read in the council of Francfort, AD. 794, where it was approved ; and he then sent a copy of it to pope *Hadrian*, who replied to it, as being the work of *Charlemagne*. It was first published by *John Tillet* (*Tilius*), afterwards bishop of Meaux, AD. 1549 : and last, by *C. A. Heumann*, Hanover 1731, 8vo. For the genuineness of this work, see *Schroechh*, Kirchengeschichte, vol. xx. p. 583 &c. and *Cave*, Historia Litterar. Tom. i. Tr.]

(39) Concerning *Beda*, see the *Acta Sanctor*. Tom. ii. April, p. 866. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique Crit*. Tom. i. p. 178. A catalogue of his writings, drawn up by himself, is extant in *Muratori's* *Antiquitates Italic. medii aevi*, Tom. iii. p. 825 &c. [*Beda* or *Bedan*, (as *St. Boniface* calls him,) was born at Farrow, near the mouth of the Tyne, in Northumberland, and within the territories of the monastery of St. Peter, in that place. At the age of 7 years, he was sent to that monastery for education ; and afterwards removed to the neighboring monastery of St. Paul. In these two monasteries he spent his whole life, except occasionally visiting other monasteries for literary purposes. At the age of 19, he was ordained a deacon ; and at the age of 30, a presbyter. He was a most diligent student ; yet punctual in observing the discipline of his monastery, and attending its devotional exercises. At the age of 30, he commenced author, and became one of the most voluminous writers of that age. His works, published at Cologne 1612, and again 1688, fill viii Vol. Fol. They consist of Commentaries on the greater part of the O. T. and the whole of the New ; numerous Homilies and Letters ; a large number of Tracts ; and an ecclesiastical history of Great Britain, from the invasion of Julius Caesar, to the year AD. 731. *Beda* was a man of great learning, for that age ; of considerable genius ; and an agreeable writer. Yet his Commentaries and theological Tracts, are little more than compilations from the fathers. As a historian, he was honest, but credulous. As a divine, he was a mere copyist ; following *Augustine*, *Gregory* the Great, and the more sound Greek fathers. His piety stands unquestioned. His only work, now of much value, is his church history, in five Books, edited by *Wheelock*, Cambridge 1644, and still better, by *Smith*, *ibid*. 1722, Fol.—See *Beda's* account of his own life and writings ; in his *Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv. cap. 2*. also *Cave's* *Historia Litterar. Tom. i. Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. iii. p. 500—524*, ed. Venice 1734, and *J. Milner's* *Church History*, Cent. viii. ch. i. Tr.]

(40) *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tome iv. p. 295. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Crit. Tome i. p. 122*. A new edition of the works of *Alcuin*, is preparing in France, by *Catelinet* ; who has discovered his unpublished Tract, on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. See the *Histoire Litter. de la France*, Tome viii *Preface*, pa. x. [But this edition, it appears, was never published ; and that of *Du Chesne*, Paris 1617, Fol. continued to be used. *Flaccus Alcuin*, *Alchwin*, or *Albin*, was a native of York, England ; and educated in the episcopal school there. He was well acquainted with Latin and Greek ; and, some say, had a knowledge of Hebrew. He was a man of learning and genius, of sound judgment, and of good taste. As an orator, poet, philosopher, and theologian, he was, perhaps, the most distinguished man of his age. His writings consist chiefly of expositions of the scriptures, letters, and treatises on theology and science. His expositions, like those of *Beda*, are little more than compilations from the fathers ; particularly from *Augustine*. His letters are numerous, well written, and useful for elucidating the history of his times. His elaborate con-

and *Paulinus*, of Aquileia ;(41) all of whom were distinguished for their industry, and their zeal for learning, and so treated of almost all the branches of knowledge which were attended to in their day, as to shew, that it was not the want of genius, but the state of the times, that prevented their attaining to greater eminence. If to these, we add *Boniface*, who has been already mentioned ;(42) *Eginhard*, the celebrated author of a biography of Charlemagne and of other works ;(43) *Paul*, the Deacon, known to after ages, by his *History of the Lombards*, *Historia Miscella*, *Homillarum*, and some other works ;(44) *Ambrose*

futation of *Elipandus*, is now little read. Being sent by his bishop to Rome, *Charlemagne* met with him, and became so pleased with him, that he allured him to his court, about AD. 780, made him his preceptor, and his counsellor; employed him to confute the errorists, *Felix* and *Elipandus*; and committed to his care, not only the palatine school, but several monasteries; and particularly that of St. Martin of Tours. To this monastery he retired, AD. 790, then advanced in years; there he established a school, after the model of that at York, and spent the remainder of his days in high reputation as a scholar, and a devout christian. He died AD. 801.—See *Mabilony*, Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. v. p. 138—180. and *Cave*, Historia Litter. Tom. i. Tr.]

(41) See Histoire Litteraire de la France, Tom. iv. p. 286. Acta Sanctor. Tom. i. Januar. p. 713. [*Paulinus* is said to have been a native of Austria, and a celebrated grammarian. *Charlemagne* raised him to affluence, and then made him archbishop of Aquileia, in the year 776. From the year 793 to the year 799, in connexion with *Alcuin*, he was very active in opposing and confuting the errors of *Felix* and *Elipandus*, and made a considerable figure in the councils of Francofort and Foro-Julii. He enjoyed the confidence of *Charlemagne*, and the respect of his contemporaries; and died AD. 804. His works are nearly all polemic, and opposed to the Adoptionists: namely, a Tract on the Trinity, against *Elipandus*; three Books against *Felix*; with several epistles, and a few poems. They were published at Venice 1737. Fol. See *Cave*, Historia Litterar. Tom. i. Tr.]

(42) [See above, pa. sixth of this volume, with the note (2) there. Tr.]

(43) [*Eginhard*, or *Einhard*, was a German of Franconia, educated in the court of *Charlemagne*, made tutor to his sons, chaplain, privy counsellor, and private secretary to the emperor. He was also overseer of the royal buildings at Aix-la-Chapelle. Whether his wife *Emma*, or *Imma*, was the natural daughter of *Charlemagne*, has been questioned. After she had borne him one child, they mutually agreed to separate, and betake themselves to monasteries. *Charlemagne* made *Eginhard* his ambassador to Rome in 806. In 816, he became abbot of Fontanelle; and the next year, *Lewis* the Pious committed his son *Lothaire* to his instruction. In 819, he became the abbot of Ghent; and in 826, abbot of Seeligenstadt: where he died about AD. 840. He was a fine scholar, and as a historian, the first in his age. Besides 62 epistles, and several tracts, he wrote the Life of *Charlemagne*; which has been compared with *Suetonius' Caesars*, for elegance: also Annals of the reigns of *Pipin*, *Charlemagne*, and *Lewis* the Pious, from AD. 741, to AD. 829. The best edition of his works, is that of *J. H. Schminke*, Utrecht 1711. 4to. See *Cave*, Historia Litterar. Tom. ii. and *Schroeckh*, Kirchengesch. vol. xxii. p. 150 &c. Tr.]

(44) [*Paul Warnifrid*, or *Diaconus*, a Lombard by birth, and deacon of the church of Aquileia, was private secretary to *Desiderius*, king of the Lombards.—When that nation was conquered by *Charlemagne*, AD. 774, *Paul* was sent prisoner to France; afterwards, being suspected of favoring the disaffected Lombards, he retired to the south of Italy; and became a monk at mount Cassino, where he ended his days, sometime in the following century. His history of the Lombards, in six Books, is of considerable value. His *Historia Miscella*, in twenty-four Books, is a meagre thing. The first ten Books, are those of *Eutropius*, with some interpolations. The next six were composed by *Paul*; and the remainder, by some writer, of even less value. His *Homiliarum*, or Collection of Homilies for all the Sundays and holy days of the year, in 2 vol. 4to. was compiled, (not by *Alcuin*, as some suppose, but by *Paul*), by direction of

Authpert, who expounded the Apocalypse of St. John;(45) and *Theodulphus* of Orleans;(46) we have nearly all the writers of any merit, who cultivated either sacred or profane learning.(47)

Charlemagne; and was intended to afford to preachers who could not frame discourses, some that they might read, to their congregations. The collection is made from Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Origen, Leo, Gregory, Maximus, Beda &c. Some discourses were added to it, after the death of Paul. He also wrote the life of St. *Benedict*, and biographies of several other saints. See *Cave*, *Historia Litterar.* Tom. i. and *Bellarmin*, *Scriptores Ecclesiast.* ed. Venice 1728. Fol. p. 258 &c. Tr.]

(45) [*Ambrose Authpert*, or *Autpert*, was a native of France, and became abbot of St. Vincent, in Abrezzo, Italy, about AD. 760. He must not be confounded with an abbot of mount Cassino, of the same name, who lived in the ninth century. To him has been attributed, the work entitled, *The conflict of the vices and virtues*, published among the works of *Augustine*, and also of *Ambrose* of Milan; and likewise some other pieces. But his great work is, his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, in ten Books. See *Cave*, *Historia Litter.* Tom. i. and *Maillony*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. iv. p. 234 &c. Tr.]

(46) [*Theodulphus*, an Italian, whom *Charlemagne* patronized. He first made him abbot of St. Fleury; and then bishop of Orleans, about AD. 794. *Lewis* the Pious greatly esteemed him, employed him much at his court, and sent him as his envoy to the pope. But in the year 818, being suspected of treasonable acts, he was deposed, and confined to the monastery of Augers. He died about AD. 821. He wrote tolerable poetry; namely, *Carminum ad diversos Libri vi*; besides *Poemata x*. His prose is inferior to his poetry; consisting of 46 Canons, for his diocese; a Tract on baptism; and another, on the Holy Spirit. Most of the preceding, were published by *Jac. Sirmond*, Paris 1646. 8vo. There is still extant, an elegant MS. Bible, which he caused to be written, and to which he prefixed a preface, and some poems, in golden letters. See *Cave*, *Historia Litterar.* Tom. i. and *Bellarmin*, *Scriptores Ecclesiast.* p. 281 &c. Tr.]

(47) [Among the *Greek writers*, omitted by *Dr. Mosheim*, were the following.

John, patriarch of Constantinople, under *Philip* Bardanes, the Monothelite, AD. 812—815. Being deposed, after the death of *Philip*, he wrote an Epistle to the bishop of Rome, purging himself of the Monothelite heresy; which is printed in the Collections of Councils.

Anastasius, abbot of St. Euthymium in Palestine; against whom *John Damascenus* wrote an epistle; flourished AD. 741. He is author of a Tract against the Jews; published in a translation, by *Canisius*, *Lectt. Antiq.* Tom. iii. and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xiii.

Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople. He was of noble birth, and privy counsellor to the emperor, when the empress *Irene*, AD. 785, raised him to the see of Constantinople, and employed him to restore image-worship in the East. He presided in the second Nicene council, AD. 787; and wrote several letters, extant in the Collections of Councils. He died AD. 806.

Basil, bishop of Ancyra, a recanter in the second Nicene council, AD. 787. His Recantation, for having opposed image-worship, is published in the Collection of Councils.

Elias, metropolitan of Crete, flourished AD. 787. He wrote Commentaries on *Gregory Nazianzen's* Orations, still extant in a Lat. translation; Answers to questions on cases of conscience, by *Dionysius*; extant, Gr. and Lat. His exposition of the *Scala* of *John Climax*, is said still to exist in MS.

The *Latin writers*, omitted by *Dr. Mosheim*, are much more numerous. *Acca*, a celebrated English monk, of York, who flourished AD. 705—740, and was an intimate of *Beda*. He accompanied St. *Wilfrid* to Rome, became bishop of *Hauston* (*Hagulstadiens*) in Northumberland; and wrote lives of the saints of his diocese; several letters, &c.

John VII., pope, AD. 705—707: has left us one Epistle, addressed to *Ethelred* king of Mercia, and *Alfrid* king of Deira, respecting *Wilfrid* bishop of York: in the Collections of the Councils.

Constantine, pope, AD. 708—715: was called to Constantinople, AD. 710, by the emperor, and treated with great respect. His Epistle to *Brietwald*, archbishop of Canterbury, is extant in the Collections of the Councils.

Gregory II, pope, AD. 715—31: famous for his opposition to *Leo III.* the emperor, who endeavored to suppress image-worship. He has left us fifteen Epistles; published in the Collections of Councils.—In his pontificate, the *Liber Diurnus*, containing the ancient forms of proceeding in the church of Rome, is supposed to have been compiled. See *Cave*, *Historia Litterar.* Tom. i. p. 620 &c.

Felix, an English monk, who flourished AD. 715, was a writer of some distinction. His life of *St. Guthlac*, the anchorite of Croyland, is above the ordinary level of the legends of that age. It is in *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. iii. p. 256. &c.

Heddius, surnamed *Stephen*, an English presbyter and monk, well skilled in church music. *Wilfrid*, archbishop of York, invited him from Canterbury, to instruct his clergy in singing, about AD. 720. He composed an elaborate life of archbishop *Wilfrid*; which is in *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. v. p. 631—709.

Gregory III, pope, AD. 731—741. He pursued the contest, begun by his predecessor, against the emperor *Leo III.*; and also invited *Charles Martel* to aid him against the king of the Lombards. He has left us vii Epistles, and a Collection from the ancient canons; which are extant in *Harduin's Concilia*.

Fredegarius, Scholasticus, a Frank, who flourished AD. 740, wrote a *History*, or *Chronicon, de Gestis Francorum*, from AD. 596, (where *Gregory Turon.* ends,) to AD. 739. It is commonly subjoined to *Gregory Turonens.* *History*.

Cuthbert, an English monk of Durham, a disciple and intimate of *Beda*. He wrote the life of *Beda*; some letters, &c.

Zacharias, a Syrian monk, and pope AD. 741—752. He has left us 18 Epistles; and a Greek translation of *St. Gregory's Dialogues*.

Chrodegand, *Chrodegang*, or *Rodegang*, a Frank, of noble birth, educated in the court of *Charles Martel*, and bishop of Metz from AD. 742, to 766. He first composed rules for regular canons. See § 14. and note (23), of this chapter, p. 30.

Willibald, an English monk, traveler, and bishop of Eichstadt in Germany. He was an assistant of *St. Boniface*, and wrote his life. See Note (11) p. 11. above.

Stephen II, pope, AD. 752—757, has left us six Epistles, extant in the Collect. of Councils.

Isidorus, bishop of Badajos, (*Pacensis*.) in Spain; flourished AD. 754. He continued *Idacius'* supplement to *Jerome's Chronicon*, from AD. 609, to AD. 754.

Paul I, pope, AD. 757—767. Twelve Epistles, ascribed to him, are extant in the Collections of Councils.

Aribo, bishop of Frisingen, AD. 760—783. He was a monk, educated by *St. Corbinian*; whose successor and biographer he was. See *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. iii. p. 470. and *Meichelbeck's Historia Frisingens.* Tom. i. p. 61 &c.

Florus, a monk of *St. Trudo*, in the diocese of *Liege*, who flourished about AD. 760, and enlarged *Beda's Martyrologium*.

Godescalc, a deacon and canon of *Liege* who flourished about AD. 780, and wrote the life of *St. Lambert*, bishop of *Liege* in this century. It is extant in *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. iii. 59 &c.

Stephen III, pope, AD. 768—772, has left us three Epistles, and some Decrees.

Hadrian, or *Adrian I*, pope, AD. 772—795, has left us eighteen Epistles; an Epitome of Ecclesiastical canons, addressed to *Charlemagne*; a collection of canons, for the use of *Ingilram*, a bishop; and a letter, in confutation of *Charlemagne's* Books against image-worship.

Donatus, a deacon of Metz, about AD. 790, who wrote the life of *St. Trudo*; extant in *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. ii. p. 1022 &c.

Etherius, or *Heterius*, bishop of Axuma in Spain, and *Beatus*, a Spanish presbyter of Asturia, distinguished themselves by their opposition to the error of *Elipandus*; which they endeavored to confute, in a work still extant, in the *Biblioth. Patrum.* Tom. xiii.

Leo III, pope, AD. 795—816: has left us 13 Epistles.

Leidradus, or *Lerdrachus*, bishop of Lyons, AD. 798—813; was twice sent into Spain, by *Charlemagne*, to reclaim *Felix* and *Elipandus*. He has left us three Epistles, and a Tract on baptism.

Jesse, or *Jessacus*, or *Tesse*, bishop of Amiens, AD. 799—834; was much employed in embassies, and in civil affairs, by *Charlemagne* and his successors. He wrote a long Epistle to his clergy, concerning sacred rites, particularly, in relation to baptism; still extant, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum.* Tr.]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND OF THEOLOGY.

§ 1. The christian doctrine corrupted.—§ 2. The piety and morals of this age.—
 § 3. Exegetical theology.—§ 4. *Charlemagne's* zeal for sacred learning.—
 § 5. It led to neglect of the bible.—§ 6. Manner of treating didactic theology.—
 § 7. Practical theology.—§ 8. Polemic theology.—§ 9. Origin of the controversy about images.—§ 10. Progress of it, under Leo the Isaurian.—§ 11. Conflicts of the image-worshippers with the Iconoclasts.—§ 12 Progress, under Copronymus.—§ 13. Under Irene.—§ 14. Council of Francfort.—§ 15. Controversy respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit.

§ 1. The fundamental doctrines of the christian religion were preserved, both by the Greek and the Latin writers. This will appear unquestionable, to one who shall inspect the work of *John Damascenus*, among the Greeks, *on the orthodox faith*; and the *profession of faith* by *Charlemagne*, among the Latins.(1) But to this pure seed of the word, more tares were added, than can be well imagined. The very nature of religion, and the true worship of God, were corrupted, by those who contended for image-worship, and for similar institutions, with such fierceness as excluded all charity. The efficacy of the merits of our Savior, all acknowledged; and yet all tacitly depreciated them, by maintaining that men can appease God, either by undergoing voluntary punishments, or by offering him gifts and presents; and by directing those who were anxious about their salvation, to place confidence in the works of holy men.(2) To explain the other defects and superstitions of the times, would carry us beyond the limits prescribed in this work.

§ 2. The whole religion or piety of this, and of some subsequent centuries, consisted in founding, enriching, embellishing, and enlarging, churches and chapels; in hunting after and venerating the relics of holy men; in securing the patronage of deceased saints, with God, by gifts and superstitious rites and ceremonies; in worshipping the images and statues of saints; in per-

(1) See *Charlemagne's* Treatise de Imaginibus, Lib. iii. p. 259. ed. Heumann. Add, from among the Greeks, the Profession of faith, by *Mich. Syncellus*, published by *Bernh. de Montfaucon*, in the *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, p. 90 &c.—From among the Latins, an Exposition of the principal doctrines of religion, by *Benedict of Ariane*, in *Stephen Baluze's* Miscellanies, Tom. v. p. 56. and the Creed of *Leo III.*, which he sent into the East; also in *Baluze*, Tom. vii. p. 18.

(2) [We will quote a few passages, as proof. *Beda* says, (Lib. i. on Luc. c. i.) Decebat, ut, sicut per superbiam primæ nostræ parentis mors in mundum intravit, ita denuo per humilitatem *Mariæ* vitæ introitus panderetur.—And (Lib. iii. in Job. c. i.) he says: Cum confectus homo atque consumptus mortis et infernalibus ministris appropinquaverit, si fuerit quispiam sanctorum, qui nomen sancti angeli habere mereatur: is pro hujusmodi, qui pro peccatis suis a Deo ita corripitur, poterit impetrare: si de multis operibus bonis, quæ operari debuerat, saltem unum bonum opus ejus, quod tanquam sacrificium pro eo placabile offerat, valuerit invenire.—Commenting on Psalm iv, he says, of the words *Offer the*

forming pilgrimages to holy places, especially to Palestine ;(3) and in other similar practices. In these services, which were supposed to have the greatest efficacy, in procuring salvation, the virtuous and good were equally zealous, with the vicious and profligate ; the latter, that they might cancel their crimes and wickedness ; and the former, that they might obtain earthly blessings from God, and secure a more ready admission to heavenly bliss. The true religion of Jesus Christ, if we except a few dogmas contained in their creeds, was wholly unknown in this age, even to the teachers of the highest rank : and all orders of society, from the highest to the lowest, neglecting the duties of true piety, and the renovation of the heart, fearlessly gave themselves up to every vice and crime, supposing that God could easily be appeased and become reconciled to them, by the intercessions and prayers of the saints, and by the friendly offices of the priests, the ministers of God. The whole history of these times, avouches the truth of these remarks.

§ 3. The Greeks believed, that their forefathers had well explained the contents of the sacred volume ; and therefore, that they should confer a great favor on the readers of the bible, by extracting from the writings of the fathers, and embodying their interpretations of scripture, whether good or bad. How judiciously they did this, will appear, among others, from the Commentary of *John Damascenus* on St. Paul's epistles, compiled from *Chrysostom*. The Latin interpreters are of two classes. Some, like the Greeks, collected and embodied the interpretations of the fathers. Among others, *Beda* took this course, in his exposition of the epistles of St. Paul, compiled from *Augustine* and others.(4) The other class made trial of their own skill, in expounding the sacred volume : and among these, *Alcuin*, *Beda*, *Ambrose Authpert*, (the interpreter of the apocalypse,) and a few others, stand conspicuous. But these lacked the abili-

sacrifices of righteousness, that they mean : Ita dico, ut irascimini praeteritis peccatis, ut sacrificetis sacrificium, id est, mortificetis propria vitia vestra, faciendo fructus dignos poenitentiae : tantum scilicet pro singulis vos affligentes, quam tum digna expetit poenitentia : quod erit sacrificium justitiae, id est justum sacrificium. Nam nihil justius est, quam qui punit aliena peccata, ut puniat propria : et ut quisque tantum se affligat, quantum foedata ejus conscientia meruit, et sic se ipsum Deo faciat suave sacrificium. *Schl.*]

(3) [Such pilgrimages were likewise made to Rome ; and they were called *pilgrimages for Christ*, and the performers of them, *Pilgrims of St. Peter*. Many disorders attended these pilgrimages. Hence *Boniface*, in a letter to *Cuthbert*, archbishop of Canterbury, (to be found among the Acts of the council of Cloveshoven, in England, AD. 747,) desired, that women and nuns might be restrained from their frequent pilgrimages to Rome ; alleging this reason : Quia magna ex parte pereunt, paucis remanentibus integris. Perpaucae enim sunt civitates in Longobardia, vel in Francia, aut in Gallia, in quibus non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum : quod scandalum est et turpitudinis totius ecclesiae vestrae. See *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. iii. p. 1950. *Schl.*]

(4) On the Commentaries of *Beda*, see *Rich. Simon*, Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclesiast. du M. du Pin, Tom. i. p. 280 &c. See also his Exposition of Genesis, derived from the fathers ; in *Martene's Thesaurus Anecdotor.* Tom. v. p. 111, 116, 140 ; and the Interpretation of *Habakkuk* ; ibid. p. 295 &c.

ty requisite for this business; and neglecting altogether the true import of the words, they hunted after recondite meanings, which they distributed into the *allegorical*, the *anagogical*, and the *tropological*:(5) that is, they tell us, not what the inspired writers *say*, but what they vainly suspect those writers would *signify* to us. As examples, we may name *Alcuin's* Commentary on John, *Beda's* allegorical Explanations of the books of Samuel, and *Charlemagne's* Books on Images, in which various passages of scripture are expounded, according to the customs of the age.(6)

§ 4. *Charlemagne's* reverence for the sacred volume, was so great,(7) that it went beyond due bounds; and led him to believe, the fundamental principles of all arts and sciences to be contained in the bible; a sentiment, which he imbibed, undoubtedly, from *Alcuin*, and the other divines whom he was accustomed to hear.(8) Hence originated his various efforts, to excite the clergy to a more diligent investigation and explanation of the sacred books. Laws, enacted by him for this purpose, are still extant; and there are other proofs, that on no subject, was he more sincere.(9) That the errors in the Latin translation, might not be an obstacle to his designs, he employed *Alcuin* to correct and improve it:(10) indeed, he himself spent some time, during the last years of his life, in correcting such errors.(11) Some also tell us, that he procured a translation of the sacred books into German: but others attribute this to his son, *Lewis* the Pious.(12)

§ 5. These efforts of the emperor had the effect, to awaken some of the slothful and indolent, to exertion. Yet it must be admitted, that some of his regulations and plans, tended to defeat, in part, his excellent purposes. In the first place, he sanctioned the practice, which had prevailed before his day, of reading and expounding only certain portions of the sacred volume in the assemblies of worship; and the diverse customs of the different churches, he endeavored to reduce to one uniform standard.(13) In the next place, knowing that few of the cler-

(5) See *Charlemagne*, de Imaginibus, Lib. i. p. 138.

(6) See *Charlemagne*, de Imag. Lib. i. p. 84, 91, 123, 127, 131, 133, 136, 138, 145, 160, 164, 165, &c. passim.

(7) Idem: de Imagin. Lib. i. p. 44.

(8) Idem: de Imagin. Lib. i. p. 231, 236.

(9) See *Jo. Frick*, de Canone Scriptur. S. p. 184.

(10) *Caesar Baronius*, Annales, ad ann 778, § 27 &c. *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, Biblioth. Lat. medii aevi, Tom. i. p. 137. Histoire littéraire de la France, Tom. iv. p. 300.

(11) *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, Biblioth. Lat. medii aevi, Tom. i. p. 950 &c. *Jac. Usher*, de sacris et Scripturis vernaculis, p. 110 &c. [See also *Schroeckh's* Kirchengesch. vol. xx. p. 196 &c. Tr.]

(12) [See *du Chesne*, Scriptores Hist. Franc. Tom. ii. p. 326. Tr.]

(13) It must be acknowledged, that it is a mistake, to suppose the emperor *Charlemagne* to have first selected those portions of the sacred volume, which are still read and expounded, every year, in the assemblies of christians. For it

gy were competent to explain the *Gospels* and *Epistles*, as the lessons were called; he directed *Paul Diaconus*, and *Alcuin*, to collect *Homilies*, or discourses on them, out of the fathers; so that the ignorant and slothful teachers might recite them to the people. This was the origin, of what is called, his *Homiliarium* or Book of Homilies.(14) And his example led others, in this and the next age, to compile at their own pleasure similar works, for the encouragement of laziness among the teachers.(15) Lastly, he caused the lives of the most eminent saints to be collected into a volume; so that the people might have, in the dead, examples worthy of imitation, while they had none among the living. That all these regulations proceeded from honest and good intentions, and indeed, that they were useful in that age, no one can doubt. But still, contrary to the intentions of the emperor, they contributed not a little, to confirm the indolence of the public teachers, and to increase neglect of the sacred volume. For from this time onward, most of the clergy directed their attention, exclusively, to those portions of the bible, which were to be expounded to the people; and did not exercise themselves in reading and examining the whole volume of scripture. And not

appears, that in preceding centuries, in most of the Latin churches, certain portions of the inspired books were assigned to the several days for public worship. See *Jo. Hen. Thamer*, *Schediasma de origine et dignitate pericoparum, quas Evangelia et Epistolae vulgo vocantur*; which has been several times printed. Also, *Jo. Fr. Buddeus*, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, Tom. ii. p. 1640 &c. [1426 &c.] Yet *Charlemagne* had something to do in this matter. For whereas, before his time, the Latin churches differed, or did not all read and expound the same portions of the bible; he first ordained, that all the churches, throughout his dominions, should conform to the custom of the Romish church. For those *Gospels* and *Epistles*, as they are called, which have been expounded in public worship, from his times to the present, were used at Rome, as early as the sixth century: and it is well known, that *Charlemagne* took pains, to render the Romish form of worship, the common form of all the Latins. And hence, down to this day, those churches which have not adopted the Romish rites, use for lessons other *Gospels* and *Epistles*, than those of ours, and the other Western churches, which Charles commanded to conform. The church of Milan, is an example; which retains the Ambrosian ritual: likewise the church of Chur (Curia); according to *Muratori*, *Antiquitates Ital.* Tom. iv. p. 836, and, undoubtedly, some others. What *Gospels* and *Epistles* were used, by the French and other western churches, before the times of *Charlemagne*; may be learned from the ancient *Kalendars*, published by *Martene*, (among others,) *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* Tom. v. p. 66.—and from *Beda's* discourses, *ibid.* Tom. v. p. 339 &c. from *Mabillon*, *de antiqua Liturgia Gallicana*; and from others. See also *Wm. Peyrat*, *Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roi de France*, p. 566.

(14) See, concerning this, the very laborious and learned *Jo. Henr. a Seelen*, *Selecta Litteraria*, p. 252.

(15) *Halanus*, or *Alanus*, for example, an Italian abbot of Farfa, compiled, in this same century, a huge *Homiliarium*; the preface to which was published by *Bernh. Pez*, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* Tom. vi. P. i. p. 83. In the next century, *Haymo* of Halberstadt, made up a *Homiliarium*; which has been printed. In the same century, *Rabanus Maurus*, at the request of the emperor *Lothaire*, formed a *Homiliarium*; and likewise, *Hericus*; mentioned by *Pez*, *ubi supra*, p. 93. All these made use of the Latin language. The first that composed a *German Homiliarium*, I suppose, was the celebrated *Outfrid*, of Weissenburg. See *Lambecius*, *de Bibliotheca Vindobon.* Augusta, Tom. ii. c. v. p. 419.

many were to be found, who were inclined to compose their own public discourses, rather than resort to their *Homiliarium*.

§ 6. The business of discussing formally and systematically the doctrines of christianity, was scarcely attempted, by any one of the Latins. For the essays of some few, respecting the person and natures of Christ, against *Felix* and *Elipandus*, and concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, and other things; exhibit no specimens of thorough investigation. The whole theology of the Latins, in this century, consisted in collecting opinions and testimonies out of the *Fathers*, that is, the theologians of the six first centuries; nor did any of them venture to go beyond the views of the fathers, or presume to rely upon his own understanding. Among the *Irish* only, who were denominated *Scot* in this age, some discerning ones employed philosophy, which was abhorred by others, in the explanation of religious doctrines. (16) But among the Greeks, *John Damascenus*, in his *four Books on the orthodox faith*, embraced the entire theology of the christians, in a systematic form. In this work, the two kinds of theology, which the Latins call *scholastic* and *dogmatic*, were united. For the author uses subtle raciocination, in explaining doctrines, and confirms them by the authority of the fathers. This work was received by the Greeks, with great applause; and gradually acquired such influence, that it was regarded among them, as the only guide to true theology. Yet many have complained, that the author relies more upon human

(16) I was aware, that Irishmen, who in that age were called *Scotchmen*, cultivated and amassed learning, beyond the other nations of Europe, in those dark times; that they travelled over various countries of Europe, for the purpose of learning, but still more for that of teaching; and that, in this century and the following, Irishmen or Scots, were to be met with, every where, in France, Germany, and Italy, discharging the functions of teachers, with applause. But I was long ignorant, that Irishmen were also the first who taught *scholastic theology* in Europe; and that so early as this century, they applied philosophy to the explanation of the christian religion. The fact, I learned first, from *Benedict of Aniane*; some of whose short pieces are published by *Stephen Baluze*, *Miscellaneor. Tom. v.* He says, in his *Epist. to Guarnarius*, p. 54: *Apud modernos scholasticos*, (i. e. teachers of schools,) *maxime apud Scotos*, (who held the first rank, among school teachers,) *est syllogismus delusionis ut dicant, Trinitatem, sicut personarum, ita esse substantiarum*; (by a syllogism, which *Benedict* here calls *delusive*, i. e. sophistical and fallacious, these Irishmen proved the Persons in the Godhead, to be *substances*: but the syllogism was a very captious one, as appears from what follows, and brought the inexperienced into difficulties;) *quatenus si adsenserit illectus auditor, trinitatem esse trium substantiarum Deum, trium derogetur cultor Deorum: si autem abnuerit, personarum denegator culpetur*. That is, these philosophic theologians perplexed and troubled their hearers, with this syllogism. If any one assented to their reasoning, they accused him of *tritheism*; if he rejected it, they taxed him with *Sabellianism*. Either grant, that the three Persons in God are three substances; or deny it. If you grant it, you doubtless are a *tritheist*, and worship three Gods; if you deny it, you destroy the Persons, and fall into *Sabellianism*. *Benedict* strongly reprehends this subtlety, in theological discussions; and recommends the love of simplicity. *Sed haec de fide et omnis calliditatis versutia simplicitate fidei catholicae est puritate vitanda, non captilosa interiectione linguarum, scaeva impactione interpolanda*. The philosophic, or *Scholastic*, theology, is therefore much more ancient, among the Latins, than is commonly supposed.

reason, and upon the faith of the fathers, than upon the holy scriptures; and that, he thus subverts the true grounds of theology. (17) To this work, must be added, his *Sacred Parallels*; in which he carefully collects the opinions of the ancient doctors, respecting the articles of faith. We may therefore look upon this writer, as the *Thomas*, and the *Lombard*, of the Greeks.

§ 7. Instructions for a christian life and its duties, were treated of in no appropriate work. *John Carpathius*, among the Greeks, left some *hortatory discourses* (*Hortatoria Capita*), containing little, that deserves much commendation. In the monasteries, the opinions of the mystics, and of *Dionysius Areopagita* the father of them, received exclusive approbation: and *John Darenensis*, a Syriac writer, in order to gratify the monks, translated *Dionysius*. (18) The Latins proceeded no farther, than to advance some precepts concerning vices and virtues, and external actions: and in explaining these, they kept near to the principles of the Peripatetics; as may be seen in some tracts of *Beda*, and in the treatise of *Alcuin*, on the virtues and vices. (19) To exhibit examples of piety before the public, several reputable men, as *Beda*, *Florus*, *Alcuin*, *Marcellinus*, and *Ambrose Authpert*, composed biographies of persons who left high reputations for piety.

§ 8. Only a moderate number, in this age, entered into controversies on important religious subjects; and among these, there is hardly an individual, who merits commendation. Most of the Greek polemics, engaged in the contest about images; which they managed unskillfully, and without precision. The Latins entered less into this controversy; and expended more effort, in confuting the opinion of *Elipandus*, concerning the person of Christ. *John Damascenus* assailed all the heretics, in a small, but not a useless tract. He also contended, resolutely, against the Manichaeans and Nestorians, in particular; and ventured also to attack the Saracens. In these writings of his, there is some ingenuity, and subtilty, but a want of clearness and simplicity. *Anastasius*, an abbot of Palestine, attempted a confutation of the Jews.

§ 9. Of the controversies that disquieted this age, the greatest and the most pernicious, related to the worship of sacred images. Originating in Greece, it thence spread over the East and the West, producing great harm both to the state and to the church. The first sparks of it appeared under *Philippicus Bardanes*, who was emperor of the Greeks near the beginning this century. With the consent of the patriarch *John*, in the year 712, he removed from the portico of the church of St. So-

(17) *Jo. Henr. Hottinger*, Bibliothecar. Quadripart. Lib. iii. cap. ii. § iii. p. 372. *Martin Chemnitz*, de usu et utilitate Locor. commun. p. 26.

(18) *Jos. Sim. Asseman*, Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. Tom. ii. p. 120.

(19) It is extant in his Works, ed. of *du Chesne*, Tom. ii. p. 1218

phia, a picture representing the sixth general council, which condemned the Monothelites, whom the emperor was disposed to favor; and he sent his mandate to Rome, requiring all such pictures to be removed out of the churches. But *Constantine*, the Roman pontiff, not only protested against the emperor's edict, but likewise caused pictures of all the six general councils, to be placed in the portico of the church of St. Peter; and moreover, having assembled a council at Rome, he caused the emperor himself to be condemned, as an apostate from the true religion. These first commotions, however, terminated the next year, when the emperor was hurled from the throne. (20)

§ 10. Under *Leo* the Isaurian, a very heroic emperor, another conflict ensued; which was far more terrific, severe, and lasting. *Leo*, unable to bear with the extravagant superstition of the Greeks, in worshipping religious images, which rendered them a reproach both to the Jews and the Saracens, in order to extirpate

(20) See *Fred. Spanheim*, *Historia imaginum restituta*; which was published, both separately, and in his Works, vol. ii. *Maimbourg's* history of this controversy, in French, is full of fables. *Muratori*, *Annali d'Italia*, Tom. iv. [For the history of this controversy, see *Walch's* *Histoire der Ketzereyen*, vol. x. p. 66—828, and vol. xi. p. 3—400, also *Schroeckh*, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xx. p. 513—602, and vol. xxiii. p. 345—432. The origin of this controversy is not generally carried back to the collision of *Philippicus* with the Roman pontiff, which related, perhaps, wholly to the doctrines of the Monothelites; nor is there good proof, that the pontiff ventured to excommunicate the emperor. See *Bower's* *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 180, 181. The following remarks of *Schlegel*, are worth inserting in this place.—In order to understand the history of this controversy, in its whole extent, it is necessary to go back to the earlier history of the church, and to investigate the origin of image-worship among christians. It is certain, and even the impartial Catholics themselves admit it, that in the three first centuries, and also in the beginning of the fourth, pictures were very rarely to be found among christians. See *du Pin*, *Bibliothèque*, Tom. vi. p. 152, and *Anton. Pagi*, *Crit. ad annal. Baronii*, ad ann. 55, p. 43. Indeed there were christian writers on morals, who disapproved of a christian's pursuing the trade of a painter or statuary. See *Tertullian*, *contra Hermog.* c. i. and de *Idololatria*, c. 3. Even in the time of the seventh general council, AD. 787, the use of *statues* was not yet introduced into churches; as appears from the seventh Article of that council. Still less did the ancient christians think of giving *worship* to images. The occasion of introducing images into churches, was in great measure the ignorance of the people, which rendered pictures a help to them: whence, they have been called the *people's Bible*. On this ground it was, that *Gregory* the Great, censured *Severus*, bishop of Marseilles; who had removed the pictures out of the churches, on account of the misuse the people made of them. *Gregory's* *Epistles*, Lib. ix. Ep. 91. *Quia eas (imagines) adorare vetuisses, omnino laudavimus; fregisse vero reprehendimus*. To this cause, may be added, the superstition of the people and the monks; who were influenced very much by sensible objects, and who began, as early as the close of the sixth century, to ascribe to the images miracles of various kinds. They now began to kiss the images, to burn incense to them, to kneel before them, to light up wax candles for them, to expect wonders to be wrought by them; to place infants in their arms, at baptisms, as if they were god-fathers and god-mothers; to carry them with them in their military expeditions, to secure a victory, and give confidence to the soldiers; and in taking an oath, to lay their hand on them, just as upon the cross, and upon the Gospels. Indeed, nearly the whole of religion, in this century, consisted in the worship of images. In particular, the superstitious worship of images proceeded so far, among the Greeks, that the rich, at Constantinople, used to send their bread to the churches, and have it held up before an image previously to eating it. *Schlegel's* note. Tr.]

the evil entirely, issued an edict, in the year 726, commanding all images of saints, with the exception of that of Christ on the cross, to be removed out of the churches; and the worship of them, to be wholly discontinued and abrogated. In this proceeding, the emperor obeyed the dictates of his own feelings, which were naturally strong and precipitate, rather than the suggestions of prudence, which recommends the extirpation of inveterate superstitions, gradually, and insensibly. Hence a civil war broke out; first in the islands of the Archipelago, and a part of Asia; and afterwards in Italy. For the people, either spontaneously, or being so instructed by the priests and monks, to whom the images were productive of gain, considered the emperor, as an apostate from true religion; and therefore supposed, they were freed from their oath of allegiance, and from all obligations of obedience.

§ 11. In Italy, the Roman pontiffs, *Gregory II.* and *Gregory III.* were the principal authors of the revolt. The former of these pontiffs, when *Leo* would not, at his command, revoke his decree against images, did not hesitate to say, that the emperor, in his view, had rendered himself unworthy of the name and the privileges of a true christian. This opinion being known, the Romans and the other people of Italy, that were subjects of the Greek empire, violated their allegiance, and either massacred or expelled the viceroys of *Leo*. Exasperated by these things, the emperor contemplated making war upon Italy, and especially against the pontiff: but circumstances prevented him. Hence, in the year 730, fired with resentment and indignation, he vented his fury against images, and their worshippers, much more violently than before. For, having assembled a council of bishops, he deposed *Germanus*, bishop of Constantinople, who favored images, and substituted *Anastasius* in his place; commanded that images should be committed to the flames; and inflicted various punishments upon the advocates of them. (21)

(21) [*Leo* was led on to one degree of innovation after another, by the opposition, made to his measures, by the friends of images. At first, he proceeded in the ordinary and legal way. He wished to have the subject discussed and determined, in a general Council. But the pope would not agree to it; and urged, that the emperor should remain quiet, and not bring the subject under agitation. *Leo's* first requisition was, that the images should be hung higher, in the churches. But, in this, the Patriarch *Germanus* opposed him. And as the opposition of this man was confined to no limits, he was deposed: yet the emperor allowed him, as we are informed by Theophanes, to spend his life quietly, in his father's house. Next followed, the edict of the emperor, by which he forbid the worshipping of images; and required their removal, if the worship of them, could not be prevented, by the mere prohibition. And it was not, till after the horrible tumult at Constantinople, and the insurrections of the Italian provinces, that he ordered all images upon the church walls to be effaced, and the walls to be whitewashed; and the moveable images, to be carried away, and burned; and laid heavy punishments upon the riotous monks and blind zealots, who insulted him to his face, with the title of *Antichrist*, a second *Judas*, &c. See *Spanheim*, loc. cit. p. 115 &c. and *Busnage*, loc. cit. Tom. ii. p. 1278. Schl.]

The consequence of this severity was, that the christian church was unhappily rent into two parties; that of the *Iconoduli*, or *Iconolatras*, who adored and worshipped images; and that of the *Iconomachi* or *Iconoclastas*, who would not preserve, but destroyed them: and these parties furiously contended, with mutual invectives, abuses, and assassinations. The course commenced by *Gregory II*, was warmly prosecuted by *Gregory III*; and although we cannot determine, at this distance of time, the precise degree of fault in either of these prelates; thus much is unquestionable, the loss of their Italian possessions, by the Greeks, in this contest, is to be ascribed especially, to the zeal of these pontiffs in behalf of images.(22)

§ 12. The son of *Leo*, *Constantine*, who was surnamed *Copronymus*,(23) by the furious tribe of *Image-worshippers*, after he came to the throne AD. 741, trod in his fathers steps; for he labored with equal vigor, to extirpate the worship of images, in opposition to the machinations of the Roman pontiff, and the monks. Yet he pursued the business with more moderation, than his father: and being aware, that the Greeks were governed entirely by the authority of councils, in religious matters, he collected a council of eastern bishops, at Constantinople, in the year 754, to examine and decide this controversy. By the Greeks, this is called the *seventh general council*. The bishops pronounced sentence, as was customary, according to the views of the emperor, and therefore condemned images.(24) But the perti-

(22) The Greek writers tell us, that both *Gregories* debarred *Leo*, and his son *Constantine*, from the sacred communion; absolved the people of Italy from their oath of allegiance; and forbid their paying their taxes, or performing any act of obedience. And the advocates of the Roman pontiffs, *Baronius*, *Sigonius*, (de Regno Italiae,) and numerous others, who follow after these writers, admit, that all these things were facts. Yet some very learned men, particularly among the French, maintain that the *Gregories* did not commit so gross offences: they deny, that the pontiffs either excommunicated the emperors, or absolved the people from their allegiance and their duties to them. See *Jo. Launois*, Epistolar. Lib. vii. Ep. vii. p. 456. in his Opp. Tom. v. Pt. ii. *Natal. Alexander*, Histor. Eccles. select. Capita, Saecul. viii. Diss. i. p. 456. *Peter de Marca*, de Concordia sacerdotii et imperii, Lib. iii. c. xi. *Jac. Ben. Bossuet*, Defensio declarationis Cleri Gallic. de potest. ecclesiastica, Pt. i. Lib. vi. c. xii. p. 197. *Giannone*, Histoire civile de Naples, Tome i. p. 400. These rest chiefly upon the authority of the Latin writers, *Anastasius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and others; who not only are silent, as to this audacity of the pontiffs in assailing and combating the emperors, but also tell us, that they gave some proofs of their loyalty to the emperors. The facts cannot be fully ascertained, on account of the obscurity in the history of those times; and the question must be left undecided. Yet this is certain, that those pontiffs, by their zeal for image-worship, occasioned the revolt of their Italian subjects from the Greek emperors. [The arguments adduced by the apologists for the popes, above named, seem to be conclusive, as to this point, that the popes did not, then, feel themselves to have jurisdiction over kings and emperors; or to have authority to dethrone them, and to transfer their dominions to other sovereigns. In particular, *Gregory II* stated very well the boundary between civil and ecclesiastical power; and reproached *Leo*, with overleaping that boundary. Tr.]

(23) ["This nick-name was given to *Constantine*, from his having defiled the sacred font at his baptism." *Nucl.*]

(24) [This council was composed of 338 bishops; a greater number, than had

nacity of the superstitious, who were borne on by their zeal for images, was not to be overcome by these decisions. None made greater resistance, than the monks; who did not cease to disturb the public tranquillity, and to excite sedition among the people.

Constantine therefore, being moved with just indignation, punished many of them in various ways; and by new laws, bridled the turbulence of this restless class of people. *Leo IV*, who succeeded to the throne, AD. 775, on the death of *Constantine*, entertained the same views, as his father and grandfather had done. For when he saw, that the abettors of images were not to be moved at all, by mild and gentle measures, he coerced them with penal statutes.

§ 13. But *Leo IV*, being removed by poison, through the wickedness of his perfidious wife *Irene*, in the year 780, images now became triumphant. For that guilty woman, who governed the empire during the minority of her son *Constantine*, with a view to establish her authority, after entering into a league with *Hadrian*, the Roman pontiff, assembled a council at Nice in Bithynia, in the year 786, which is known by the title of the *second* Nicene council. Here, the laws of the emperors, together with the decrees of the council of Constantinople, were abrogated; the worship of images, and of the cross, was established; and penalties were denounced, against those who should maintain, that worship and adoration were to be given only to God. Nothing can be conceived of, as more puerile and weak, than the arguments and proofs by which these bishops support their de-

ever before been assembled in any council. In his circular letter for calling the council, the emperor directed the bishops to hold provincial councils, throughout the empire, for discussion of the subject; so that when met in the general council, they might be prepared to declare the sense of the whole church. The council held its sessions, in the imperial palace of *Hiera*, over against the city, on the Asiatic shore; and deliberated, from the tenth of February till the seventh of August; when they adjourned to the church of *St. Mary ad Blachernas*, in Constantinople, and there published their decrees. The patriarch of Constantinople, *Anastasius*, died a few days before the council met; and the emperor would not appoint a successor to that see, till the deliberations of the council were closed; lest it should be thought, he placed a creature of his own at the head it. Of course, two other bishops, namely, *Theodosius*, exarch of Asia, and *Pastillus*, metropolitan of Pamphylia, presided in the council. Its Acts and deliberations have all perished, or rather, been destroyed by the patrons of image-worship; except so much of them, as the second Nicene council saw fit to quote, for the purpose of confuting them, in their sixth Act. (*Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. iv. p. 325—444.) From these quotations it appears, that the council deliberated soberly, and reasoned discreetly, from scripture and the Fathers; that they maintained, that all *worship* of images was contrary to scripture, and to the sense of the church, in the purer ages; that it was idolatry, and forbidden by the second commandment. They also maintained, that the *use* of images in churches and places of worship, was a custom borrowed from the pagans; that it was of dangerous tendency, and ought to be abolished. They accordingly enacted canons, expressive of these views, and requiring a corresponding practice. See *Walch's Hist. der Kirchenversamml.* p. 463 &c. *Cave, Hist. Litteraria*, vol. i. p. 646 &c. *Bower's Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 357—368. ed. 1754. On the side of the Catholics, may be consulted, *Baronius, Annales*; and *Pagi, Critica*, ad ann. 754. Tr.]

crees.(25) Nevertheless, the Romans would have those decrees held sacred; and the Greeks were as furious against those who refused to obey them, as if they had been parricides and traitors. The other enormities of the flagitious *Irene*, and her end, which corresponded with her crimes,(26) it belongs not to this history to narrate.

§ 14. In these contests, most of the Latins,—as the Britons, the Germans, and the French, took the middle ground, between the contending parties: for they decided that images were to be retained, indeed, and to be placed in the churches; but that no religious worship could be offered to them, without dishonoring the Supreme Being.(27) In particular, *Charlemagne*, at the suggestion of the French bishops, who were displeased with the Nicene decrees, first caused *four Books concerning images*, to

(25) *Martin Chemnitz*, *Examen Concilii Trident.* Pt. iv. Loc. ii. cap. v. p. 52. ed. Francf. 1707. *Jac. Lenfant*, *Preservatif contre la Reunion avec le Siege de Rome*, Part. iii. Litter. xvii. p. 446.—[*Irene* was, undoubtedly, an ungodly, hypocritical, ambitious woman; eager after power, and from this passion, prone to all, even the most unnatural cruelties; and she was, at the same time, much devoted to image-worship. Her first step was, to grant liberty to every one, to make use of images in his private worship. She next removed *Paul*, the patriarch of Constantinople; because he was an *Iconoclast*; and made *Tarasius* her secretary, who was devoted to images and to her, to be patriarch. And as the imperial guards were inclined to iconoclasm, and might give her trouble, she caused them to be marched out of the city, under pretence of a foreign invasion, and then disbanded them. At last, she called, in the name of her son *Constantine* who was a minor, the council of Nice. *Tarasius* directed the whole proceedings. Yet there were two papal envoys present. In the Acts, which we still have entire, (in *Harduin's* Collection, Tom. iv. p. 1—820.) there is mention of the representatives (ῥεπρεσητων) of the two eastern patriarchs, those of Alexandria and Antioch. But according to credible accounts, under this high title, two miserable and illiterate monks were designated; whom their fellow-monks had arbitrarily appointed, and whom forged letters legitimated. The bishops assembled, were at least 350. Besides these, two officers of the court were present, as commissioners; and a whole army of monks. At first, Constantinople was appointed for the place of meeting. But the Iconoclasts, who had the greater part of the army on their side, raised such a tumult, that the empress postponed the meeting, and changed the place to Nice. In the seventh Act of this council, the decree was made, that the cross, and the images of Christ, Mary, the angels, and the saints, were entitled to religious worship (τιμητικη προσκυνησις); that it was proper to kiss them, to burn incense to them, and to light up candles and lamps before them: yet they were not entitled to *divine worship* (λατρία). The proofs adduced by these fathers, in support of their decree, and their confutations of the contrary doctrine, betray the grossest ignorance in these fathers, and their total want of critical sagacity, if not also intentional dishonesty. Their Acts are full of fabulous tales of the wonders wrought by images, of appeals to apocryphal books, of perversions of the declarations of the fathers, and of other false and puerile arguments. Even *du Pin* and *Pagi* cannot deny the fact. And it is strange, how it was possible, for doctrines supported by such false reasonings, to become the prevailing doctrines of the whole church. See *Walch's* *Historie der Kirchenversamml.* p. 477 &c. *Schl.*]

(26) This most atrocious woman procured the death of her own son *Constantine*, in order that she might reign alone. But in the year 802, she was banished, by the emperor *Nicephorus*, to the island of Lesbos; where she died the year following.

(27) For the abhorrence of the Brittons of image worship, see *Henr. Spelman*, ad *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, Tom. i. p. 73 &c.

be drawn up by some learned man; which he sent, in the year 790, to the Roman pontiff, *Hadrian*; in order to prevent his approving the decrees of Nice. In this work, the arguments of the Nicene bishops in defence of image-worship, are acutely and vigorously combatted.(28) But *Hadrian* was not to be taught by such a master, however illustrious; and he therefore issued his formal confutation of the book. *Charlemagne*, next assembled, in the year 794, a council of 300 bishops, at Francfort on the Maine; in order to reexamine this controversy. The council approved the sentiments contained in the Books of *Charlemagne*; and forbid the *worship* of images.(29) For the Latins, it seems, did not in that age, deem it impious to dispute the correctness of the decisions of the Roman pontiff, and to deviate from his opinions.

§ 15. While these contests respecting images, were raging, another controversy sprung up, between the Greeks and the Latins, respecting the *procession of the Holy Spirit*; which the Latins contended, was from both the Father, and the Son; but the Greeks, that it was only from the Father. The origin of this controversy is involved in much obscurity: but as it is certain, that the subject came up in the council of Gentilli, near Paris, AD. 767, and was there agitated with the ambassadors of the Greek emperor;(30) it is most probable, that the controversy originated in Greece, amidst the collisions respecting images. As the Latins defended their opinion on this subject, by appealing to the Constantinopolitan creed, which the Spaniards first, and afterwards the French, had enlarged, (though at what time, or on what occa-

(28) These Books of *Charlemagne*, de Imaginibus, are still extant; republished, when become very scarce, with a very learned preface, by *Christoph. Aug. Heumann*, Hanover 1731, 8vo. The venerated name of the emperor *Charlemagne*, is attached to the work; but it is easy to discover, that it was the production of a learned man, bred in the schools; or of a theologian, and not of the emperor. Some very learned men have conjectured, that *Charlemagne* employed *Alcuin*, his preceptor, to draw up the book. See *Heumann's* Preface, p. 51, and the illustrious *Bünau*, *Historia imperii Germanici*, Tom. i. p. 490. Nor would I condemn the conjecture. And yet it appears to me, somewhat doubtful; for when these Books were written, *Alcuin* was resident in England; as is manifest from his history, he having gone to England in 789, whence he did not return till the year 792.

(29) See, especially, *Jo. Mabillon*, who is likewise ingenuous on this subject, in his *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. v. pa. v &c. also *Geo. Dorscheus*, *Collatio ad Concilium Francfordiense*, Argentor. 1649, 4to. [The council of Francfort was properly a general council; for it was assembled from all the countries subject to *Charlemagne*; Germany, France, Aquitain, Gaul, Spain, and Italy. Delegates from the pope, were present. *Charlemagne* presided. Two subjects were discussed: the heresy of *Felix of Urgel*; and the subject of Image-worship. *Charlemagne* laid his Books de Imaginibus before the council. The council approved of them; and passed resolves, in conformity with them; that is, disapproving of the decisions of the Nicene council; and deciding, that, while images were to be retained in churches, as ornamental, and instructive, yet no kind of worship whatever, was to be given to them. See *Walch's Historie der Kirchenversammlungen*, p. 483, and *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. iv. p. 904, Can. 2. Tr.]

(30) See *Car. le Cointe*, *Annales Ecclesiast. Francor.* Tom. v. p. 698.

sion, is not known,) by adding the words (*filioque*) and from the Son, to the article concerning the Holy Spirit; the Greeks charged the Latins with having the audacity to corrupt the creed of the church universal, by this interpolation; which they denominated sacrilege. From a contest about a doctrine, therefore, it became a controversy about the insertion of a word.(31) In the following century, this dispute became more violent, and accelerated the separation of the eastern from the western churches.(32)

(31) Men of eminence for learning have generally supposed, that this controversy commenced respecting the word *filioque*, which some of the Latins had added to the Constantinopolitan creed; and that, from disputing about the word, they proceeded to dispute about the thing. See, above all others, *Jo. Mabillon*, (whom very many follow,) *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. v. Praef. p. iv.* But with due deference to those great men, I would say, the fact appears to have been otherwise. The contest commenced respecting the doctrine, and afterwards extended to the word *filioque*, or to the interpolation of the creed. From the council of Gentili, it is manifest, that the dispute about the doctrine had existed a long time, when the dispute about the word commenced. *Ant. Pagi*, *Critica in Baronium*, Tom. iii. p. 323, thinks, that the controversy grew out of the contest respecting images; that, because the Latins pronounced the Greeks to be heretics, for opposing images; the Greeks retaliated the charge of heresy upon the Latins, for holding, that the H. Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as the Father. But this is said, without authority, and without proof; and is therefore only a probable conjecture.

(32) See *Peter Pitheous*, *Historia controversiae de processione Spir. Sancti*; subjoined to his *Codex Canonum ecclesiae Roman.* p. 355 &c. *Mich. le Quien*, *Oriens Christianus*, Tom. iii. p. 354. *Gerh. Jo. Vossius*, *de tribus Symbolis*, Diss. iii. p. 65, but especially, *Jo. Geo. Walch*, *Historia controversiae de processione Spiritus Sancti*. Jenae 1761, 8vo.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Ceremonies multiplied.—§ 2. Zeal of Charlemagne for the Romish rites.

§ 1. The religion of this century consisted, almost wholly, in ceremonies and external marks of piety. It is therefore not strange, that every where, more solicitude was manifested for multiplying and regulating these, than for correcting the vices of men, and removing their ignorance and impiety. The mode of celebrating the Lord's supper, which was considered the most important part of the worship of God, was protracted to a greater length; and deformed, rather than rendered august, by the addition of various regulations.(1) The manifest traces of private and solitary masses, as they are called, were now distinctly visible; although it is uncertain, whether they were sanctioned by ecclesiastical law, or introduced by the authority of individuals.(2) As this one practice is sufficient to shew the ignorance and degeneracy of the times, it is not necessary to mention others.

§ 2. *Charlemagne*, it must be acknowledged, was disposed to impede the progress of superstition, to some extent. For besides forbidding the worship of images, as we have already seen; he limited the number of the holy days,(3) rejected the consecration

(1) [We here subjoin a few facts, from which it will appear, how much superstition then dishonored this holy ordinance of Christ. Pope *Gregory III.*, among his decisions, (in *Harduin's Concilia* Tom. iii. p. 1826, No. 28,) gives the following: "If any one, through negligence, shall destroy the eucharist, i. e. the sacrifice; let him do penance one year, or three Quadragesimas. If he lets it fall on the ground, carelessly, he must sing 50 Psalms. Whoever neglects to take care of the sacrifice, so that worms get into it, or it lose its color, or taste, must do penance 30 or 20 days; and the sacrifice must be burned in the fire. Whoever turns up the cup at the close of the solemnity of the mass, must do penance 40 days. If a drop from the cup should fall on the altar, the minister must suck up the drop, and do penance three days; and the linen cloth, which the drop touched, must be washed three times, over the cup, and the water in which it is washed be cast into the fire." This same passage occurs in the Capitula of *Theodore* archbishop of Canterbury, cap. 51. *Schl.*]

(2) See *Charlemagne de Imaginibus*, Lib. ii. p. 245. *Geo. Calixtus*, de *Missis solitariis*, § 12, and others. [The *private* or *solitary masses*, were so called, to distinguish them from the *public*, or those in which the eucharist was imparted to the congregation; and they were masses, in which the priest alone partook of the eucharist. The introduction of these private masses, led to a more rare distribution of the eucharist to the assembly; at first, only on the three principal festivals; and at length, but once a year. *Schl.*]

(3) [At the Council of Mayence, AD. 813. (*Harduin*, Concil. Tom. iv. p. 1015. Can. 24—28.) the number of fast and feast days was defined, according to the pleasure of *Constantine*; as follows. *Four great fasts*; namely, the first week in March, the second week in June, the third week in September, and the last full week in December, previous to Christmas day. In all these weeks, there were to be public litanies and masses, at 9 o'clock, on the Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. The *festivals*, in addition to all the Sundays of the year, were to

of bells with holy water,(4) and made other commendable regulations. Yet he did not effect much; and chiefly from this cause, among others, that he was excessively attached to the Roman pontiffs, who were the patrons of the lovers of ceremonies. His father, *Pipin*, had before required the mode of singing, practised at Rome, to be every where introduced.(5) Treading in his steps, *Charlemagne*, in obedience to the repeated exhortations of the pontiff *Hadrian*, took vast pains to induce all the churches of Latin christians, not only to copy after the Romish church in this matter, but to adopt the entire forms of the Romish worship.(6) There were however a few churches, as those of Milan, Chur, &c. which could not be persuaded, by any arguments or inducements, to change their old forms of religious worship.

be, Easter day, with the whole week; Ascension day; Whitsunday; the nativity (martyrdom) of St. Peter and St. Paul; of St. John Baptist; the Assumption of St. Mary; the dedication of St. Michael; nativities of St. Remigius, St. Martin, St. Andrew; Christmas, four days; the first day of January; Epiphany; and the purification of St. Mary; together with the festivals of the martyrs and confessors, interred in each parish; and the dedication of a church. *Tr.*]

(4) [Among the Capitula of *Charlemagne*, as given by *Harduin* (Concilia, Tom. iv. p. 846, there is one, No. 18, "*Ut cloccae non baptizentur.*" *Tr.*]

(5) [See the Capitulare Aquisgranense, No. 80, in *Harduin's* Concilia Tom. iv. p. 843. *Tr.*]

(6) See *Charlemagne*, de Imaginibus, Lib. i. p. 52. *Eginhard*, de vita Caroli Magni, c. 26. p. 94. ed. Bessel. and others.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. Ancient sects recover strength.—§ 2. Clement and Adalbert.—§ 3. Felix and Elipandus.

§ 1. The ancient sects, the *Arians*, *Manichaeans*, and *Marcionites*, though often depressed by the operation of penal laws, acquired new strength in the East ; and allured many to join them, amidst those perpetual calamities under which the Greek empire had to struggle.(1) The *Monothelites*, to whose cause the emperor *Philippicus* and other persons of distinction, were well wishers, made advances in many places. The condition also of the Nestorians(2) and Monophysites,(3) was easy and agreeable, under the dominion of the Arabians ; nor were they without ability to annoy the Greeks, their foes, and to propagate their faith abroad.

§ 2. In the new Germanic churches collected by *Boniface*, there were many perverse men, who were destitute of true religion : if confidence can be placed in *Boniface* and his friends. But this cannot well be, because it appears from many circumstances, that the persons whom he calls patrons of error, were Irishmen, Franks, and others, that would not subject themselves to the control of the Roman pontiff ; which *Boniface* was laboring to extend. Among others, the most troublesome to him were, *Adalbert* a Frenchman, who obtained consecration as a bishop, against the will of *Boniface* ; and also *Clement*, a Scot, or Irishman. The former, who created disturbance in Franconia, appears to have been not altogether free from error and crime ;(4)

(1) Among the barbarous nations of Europe also, there were some Arians remaining.

(2) [From *Asseman*, we obtain some knowledge of the Nestorian patriarchs ; the most distinguished of whom were the following. *Ananjesu*, under whom the Sigan monument was erected, AD. 781. *Timotheus*, who succeeded *Ananjesu*, and greatly extended the sect by the conversion of pagan nations near the Caspian sea, and in Tartary. He left many sermons, an exposition of John's Gospel, ecclesiastical canons, polemic writings, a treatise on astronomy, and 200 letters. From him we get knowledge of several other writers, and of the divisions caused by them. But as these had no influence on the churches of Europe, we may pass them by. See *Baumgarten's* Auszug der Kirchengesch. Vol. iii. p. 1315 &c. *Schl.*]

(3) [Of the Monophysite patriarchs and writers, we also obtain some knowledge from *Asseman*. Conspicuous as writers among them were, *Elias* of Sigara, who commented on the books of Gregory Nazianzen ; and *Theodosius* of Edessa, who wrote poems. Among the Maronites, the patriarch *Theophilus* obtained renown. He appears to have been the same person, with that Maronite author of the same name, who lived about AD. 785, and who not only translated *Homer* into Syriac, but also composed large historical works. See *Baumgarten*, as above, pa. 1318. *Schl.*]

(4) See *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, Tom. iv. p. 82 &c.

for not to mention other instances of his disregard to truth, there is still extant an Epistle, which he falsely asserted was written by *Jesus Christ*, and brought down from heaven by *Michael* the archangel.(5) The latter excelled, perhaps, Boniface himself,

(5) The Epistle is published by *Steph. Baluze*, in the *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, Tom. ii. p. 1396. [*Semler*, in his *Hist. Eccles. selecta Capita*, Tom. ii. p. 185 &c. conjectures, that this Epistle was fabricated by the enemies of *Adalbert*, and palmed upon him for the sake of injuring him. This however is doubtful. The caption of the epistle purports, that it is an Epistle of our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, which fell down at Jerusalem, and was found by the archangel Michael near the gate of Ephraim; that a priest read it, transcribed it, and sent it to another priest; who sent it into Arabia. After passing through many hands, it came at length to Rome &c. Accompanying this letter, as transmitted by *Boniface* to the pope, was a biography of *Adalbert*; which stated, that his mother had a marvellous dream, before his birth, which was interpreted to signify, that her child would be a distinguished man: also a prayer, said to have been composed by him, in which he invoked four or five angels by name, that are not mentioned in the bible. The letter of *Boniface*, containing the accusations against both *Adalbert* and *Clement*, states, that *Boniface* had now labored 30 years among the Franks, in the midst of great trials and opposition from wicked men: that his chief reliance had been on the protection of the Roman pontiffs, whose pleasure he had always followed; that his greatest trouble had been with "two most base public heretics and blasphemers of God and the catholic faith," *Adalbert* a Frenchman, and *Clement* a Scotchman, who held different errors, but were equal in amount of criminality. And he prays the pontiff, to defend him against these men; and to restrain them, by imprisonment and excommunication, from annoying the churches. For said he, "On account of these men, I incur persecution, and the enmity and curses of many people; and the church of Christ suffers obstructions to the progress of the faith and holy doctrine." Of *Adalbert*, he says: "The people say, respecting him, that I have deprived them of a most holy apostle, patron and intercessor, a worker of miracles, and a shower of signs. But your piety will judge from his works, after hearing his life, whether he is not one clad in sheep's clothing, but within a ravening wolf. For he was a hypocrite in early life, asserting that an angel, in human form, brought to him from distant countries relics, of marvellous sanctity, but of whom, it was uncertain; and that, by means of these relics he could obtain from God whatever he asked. And then, with this pretence, as Paul predicted, he entered into many houses, and led captive silly women, laden with sins, and carried away by divers lusts; and he seduced a multitude of the rustics, who said that he was a man of apostolic sanctity, and wrought signs and wonders. He next hired some ignorant bishops to ordain him, contrary to the canons, without assigning him a specific charge.—He now became so insolent, as to assume equality with the apostles of Christ; and disdained to dedicate a church to any apostle or martyr; and reproached the people for being so eager to visit the thresholds of the holy apostles. Afterwards, he ridiculously consecrated oratories to his own name; or rather defiled them. He also erected small crosses, and houses for prayer, in the fields, and at fountains, and wherever he saw fit; and directed public prayers to be there offered; so that great multitudes despising the bishops, and forsaking the ancient churches, held their religious meetings in such places; and would say, The merits of *St. Adalbert* will aid us. He also gave his nails and locks of his hair, to be kept in remembrance of him, and to be placed with the relics of *St. Peter*, the prince of apostles. And finally, what appears the summit of his wickedness and blasphemy against God, when people came and prostrated themselves before him, to confess their sins, he said: I know all your sins, for all secrets are known to me; return securely, and in peace, to your habitations. And all that the holy Gospel testifies as done by hypocrites, he has imitated, in his dress, his walk, and his deportment."—The Epistle, then describes the wickedness of *Clement*, thus: "The other heretic, whose name is *Clement*, opposes the catholic church, and renounces and confutes the canons of the church of Christ. He refuses to abide by the treatises and discourses of the holy fathers, *Jerome*, *Augustine*, and *Gregory*. Despising the decrees of councils, he affirms, that in his opinion, a man can be a christian bishop, and bear the title, after being the father of two sons, begotten in adultery [i. e. in clerical wedlock]. Introducing

in his knowledge of the true religion of Christ ; and he is therefore, not improperly placed by many, among the witnesses for the truth in this barbarous age.(6) Both were condemned by the Roman pontiff *Zacharias*, at the instigation of *Boniface*, in a council at Rome, AD. 748. And both, it appears, died in prison.

§ 3. Much greater commotions were produced in Spain, France, and Germany, towards the close of the century, by *Felix*, bishop of Urgel in Spain, a man distinguished for his piety. Being consulted by *Elipandus*, archbishop of *Toledo*, respecting his opinion of the *sonship* of Christ, the Son of God ; he answered, in the year 783, that *Christ*, as God, was by nature, and truly, the Son of God ; but that as a man, he was the Son of God only *in name*, and *by adoption*. This doctrine, imbibed by *Elipandus* from his preceptor, *Elipandus* disseminated in the provinces of Spain, while *Felix* spread it in Septimania [or Languedoc]. But in the view of the pontiff *Hadrian*, and of most of the Latin bishops, this opinion seemed to revive the error attributed to *Nestorius*, and to divide Christ into *two persons*. Hence *Felix* was judged guilty of heresy, and required to change his opinion ; first in the council Narbonne, AD. 788 ; then at Ratisbon in Germany, AD. 792 ; also at Fancfort on the Maine, AD. 794 ; and afterwards at Rome, AD. 799 ; and lastly, in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle. And he revoked his opinion, ostensibly ; but not in reality, for he died in it, at Lyons, where he was banished by *Charlemagne*.(7) No rule of faith could be enacted for *Elipandus*, by the christians ; because he lived under the Saracens of Spain. Many believe, and not without reason, that the disciples of *Felix*, who were called *Adoptionists*, differed from other christians, not in reality, but only in words, or in the mode of

Judaism again, he deems it right for a christian, if he pleases, to marry the widow of his deceased brother. Also, contrary to the faith of the holy fathers, he maintains, that Christ the Son of God descended into hell, and liberated all that were there detained in prison, believers and unbelievers, worshippers of God and worshippers of idols. And many other horrible things, he affirms, respecting divine predestination, and contravening the catholic faith." See *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. iii. p. 1936—1940. Tr.]

(6) The errors of *Clement* are enumerated by *Boniface*, Epist. cxxxv. p. 189. [See them stated, in the concluding note of the preceding note. Tr.] Among these errors, there is certainly no one that is capital. See *Jac. Usher*, Sylloge Epistolæ. Hibernicæ. p. 12. and Nouveaux Dictionnaire histor. crit. Tom. i. p. 133 &c. [For the history of the controversy with both *Adalbert* and *Clement*, see *Walch's Historie der Ketzereyen*, Tom. x. p. 3—66. Tr.]

(7) The authors, who have treated of the sect of *Felix*, are enumerated by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. mediæ ævi*, Tom. ii. p. 582. To these, add *Peter de Marca*, in the *Marca Hispanica*, Lib. iii. c. 12. p. 368 &c. *Jo. de Ferreras*, *Histoire generale d'Espagne*, Tom. ii. p. 518, 523, 535, 536, 560. *Jo. Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. v. Præf. p. ii &c. Of *Felix* in particular, account is given by *Domin. Colonia*, *Histoire litter. de la ville de Lyon*, Tom. ii. p. 79. and by the Benedictine monks, in *Histoire litteraire de la France*, Tom. iv. p. 434 &c. [This sect is fully treated of, in *C. W. F. Walch's Historie der Ketzereyen*, vol. ix. p. 667—940 : and in his *Historia Adoptianorum*, Gotting. 1755. 8vo. See also *Schroeckh*, *Kirchengesch.* Vol. xx. p. 459—498. Tr.]

stating their views.(8) But as Felix was not uniform in his language, those who accuse him of the Nestorian error, have some grounds of argument.

(8] *Jo. Geo. Dorscheus*, Collat. ad Concilium Francof. p. 101. *Sam. Werenfels*, de Logomachiis Eruditor. in his Opp. p. 459. *Jac. Basnage*, Praef. ad Etherium ; in *Henr. Canisii* Lectionibus Antiquis, Tom. ii. P. i. p. 284. *Geo. Calixtus*, in his Tract on this subject : and others. [*Dr. Walch*, in his *Historia Adoptianor.* considers *Felix*, as not a Nestorian ; and yet he regards the controversy, as not merely about words. The substance of *Felix's* views, he thus states. Christ as a man, and without regard to the personal union of the two natures, was born a *servant of God*, though without sin. From the condition of a *servant*, he passed into that of a *free person*, when God at his baptism pronounced him *his dear Son*. This transaction was his *adoption*, and likewise his *regeneration*. The title of *God*, belongs to him, indeed, as a man ; but not properly, for he is God only *metaphorically*. Thus did *Felix* utter something unsuitable and new ; but his innovation was not a ground for so great an alarm throughout the whole church, as if he had assailed the fundamental doctrines of christianity. *Tr.*]

CENTURY NINTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1, 2. The Swedes, Danes, and Cimbrians converted.—§ 3. The Bulgarians, Bohemians, and Moravians.—§ 4. The Slavonian tribes, the Russians.—§ 5. Estimate of these conversions.

§ 1. So long as *Charlemagne* lived, which was till the year 814, he omitted no means which he deemed requisite, to propagate and establish christianity among the Huns, the Saxons, the Frieslanders, and others.(1) But it is to be regretted, that he did not omit to employ violence and war. His son, *Levis* the Meek, had the same zeal for propagating christianity, though greatly his inferior in other respects. Under his reign, a convenient opportunity was presented, for planting christianity among the northern nations, especially the Danes and Swedes.(2) *Harald*

(1) [Among these, belong the Carinthians. They had indeed partially received christianity, in the preceding century, from *Virgilius*, bishop of Saltsburg. For *Boruth*, the duke of Carinthia, when he committed his son *Corastus* to the Bavarians, as a hostage, requested, that he might be baptized and educated as a christian: and he also requested the same, in regard to his nephew *Chetimar*. Now, as both these afterwards became dukes of Carinthia, it may be readily conceived, that the christian religion had made considerable progress there, before this century. In the present century, AD. 803, *Charlemagne* came to Saltsburg, and confirmed to *Arno* his ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Slavonia, or Carinthia in lower Pannonia. The presbyters, whom bishop *Arno* sent into Carinthia, to build up the churches there, adopted a singular artifice, to render christianity respectable, and paganism contemptible, in the eyes of the people. They allowed christian slaves to sit at table with them, while their pagan masters had to eat their bread and meat without the doors; and had to drink out of black cups, whereas the servants drank from gilded cups. For the presbyters told the masters; "You unbaptized persons, are not worthy to eat with those that are baptized." This enkindled such a desire to become christians, that great numbers of them were baptized. The story does as little credit to these missionaries, as to their converts. See the Life of St. *Ruprecht*; in *Canisii* Lectionibus Antiquis. Tom. vi. of the old ed. 4to. *Schl.*]

(2) [*Ebbo*, archbishop of Rheims, who had traveled as an imperial envoy in the northern countries, made an attempt as early as AD. 822, to spread christianity there; and, together with *Haliugarius* of Cambray, he obtained from pope

Klack, a petty sovereign of Jutland, being expelled his kingdom, by *Regner Lodbrock*, in the year 826, applied to the emperor for his assistance. *Lewis* promised him aid, on condition, that he would embrace christianity himself, and admit teachers of the christian religion into his country. *Harald* acceded to the terms, was baptized at Mayence, AD. 826, together with his brother, and took along with him to Jutland two preachers of christianity, *Ansgarius*, a monk and schoolmaster of Corbey in Saxony, and *Aubert*, a monk of Corbey in France; and these monks preached among the inhabitants of Jutland and Cimbria, for two years, with great success.

§ 2. On the death of his fellow-laborer *Aubert*, in the year 828, the indefatigable *Ansgarius* went over to Sweden; and there he plead the cause of Christ with equal success.(3) Returning into Germany, *Lewis* the Meek constituted him, in the year 831, archbishop of the new church of Hamburg,(4) and of all the North; and in the year 844, the episcopal see of Bremen was annexed to that of Hamburg. The profits of this high station were small,(5) while its perils were very great, and its labors immense. For *Ansgarius*, while he lived, took frequent journeys among the Danes,(6) the Cimbrians, the Swedes,(7) and other nations; and

Paschal, a full power for this purpose. See Acta Sanctor. Antw. ad 3. Februar. and *Mabilony*, Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Saecul. iv. P. ii. p. 79, 90. *Schl.*]

(3) [The christians who were carried into captivity by the Normans, in their frequent plundering expeditions, undoubtedly contributed much to give this people a favorable disposition towards christianity; and especially by recounting to them the wealth and power of the christian countries, which was ascribed to their religion. This will account for what historians affirm, that Swedish ambassadors came to king *Lewis*, and stated among other things, that many of their people had an inclination towards christianity, and that their king would cheerfully permit christian priests to reside among them. *Anscharius* and *Vitmar* were sent thither, with rich presents. Their voyage was unfortunate: for they fell into the hands of pirates, who plundered them. Yet they finally reached the port of *Biork*, which belonged to the king, *Bern* or *Biorn*. There they collected a congregation and built a church, in the course of six months; the king having given liberty to his subjects, to embrace the new religion. On the return of these missionaries, the congregation in Sweden was without a teacher, till *Ebbo* sent them his nephew *Gausbert*, who, at his ordination to the episcopacy of that see, took the name of *Simon*: but he was, soon after, driven out of Sweden. *Schl.*]

(4) [The see of Hamburg was then very small, embracing but four parish churches. *Lewis* sent *Ansgarius* to the pope; who conferred on him the archiepiscopal pall, and constituted him his legate for Sweden, Denmark, the Faro islands, Iceland &c. as also among the Slavonians, and the northern and eastern tribes. See the Acta Sanctor. Feb. Tom. i. and *Mabilony*, l. c. *Schl.*]

(5) [*Lewis* the Meek assigned him the revenues of a monastery in Brabant, in order to meet the expenses of his missionary efforts. But the income of the monastery was very small; and soon after ceased altogether, when the kingdom fell into disorder. *Ansgarius* must therefore have been in want of resources. He at last received a small estate, from a pious widow, in Ramelslob near Bremen; which however yielded him but a small income. *Schl.*]

(6) [The violent persecutions, to which the Danish christians were exposed, was one occasion for his repeatedly visiting that country. He was himself driven from Hamburg, (by an invasion of the Normans,) and the city being wholly laid waste, he had to reside some time at Bremen. He was at length permitted to enter Denmark, by king *Erich*; and being allowed to preach there, he erected a church at *Hadebye* or Schleswick, in the year 850. But this king being slain, in

labored, though at the peril of his life, to collect new churches, and to strengthen those previously formed, till death overtook him, AD. 865.(8)

§ 3. About the middle of this century, two Greek monks, *Methodius* and *Cyril*, being sent as missionaries from Constantinople, by the empress *Theodora*, taught first the Moesians, Bulgarians, and Gazari, and afterwards the Bohemians and Moravians, to renounce their false gods, and to embrace Christ.(9) Some knowl-

856; during the minority of his son *Erich Baern*, there was fresh persecution, and the church of *Schleswick* was shut up. When this king began to reign in person, he was more favorable to the christians, and permitted *Anscharius* to return, and to erect a new church at *Ripen*, AD. 860. *Schl.*]

(7) [To Sweden he sent the priest *Adgarius*; and likewise went there himself, a second time, in the character of envoy from king *Leois* to king *Olau*; who was induced by presents, to support Ansgarius in two imperial Swedish diets, at which the establishment of christianity was decided by casting lots. He now reestablished christian worship at *Biork*, and left *Herimbert* there as a christian teacher. *Schl.*]

(8) The writers, who treat of the life and labors of this holy and illustrious parent of the Cimbrian, Danish, and Swedish churches, are enumerated by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, Biblioth. Latin. medii aevi, Tom. i. p. 292 &c. and, *Lux Evangelii toto orbi terrar. exoriens*, p. 425 &c. To these, add the *Benedictine monks' Histoire litteraire de la France*, Tome. v. p. 277. *Acta Sanctor. mens. Februar.* Tom. i. p. 391 &c. *Eric Pontoppidan*, *Annales eccles. Danicae Diplomatici*, Tom. i. p. 18 &c. *Möllerus*, *Cimbria Litterata*, Tom. iii. p. 8 &c. From these writers, a knowledge may be gained of the others also; namely, *Ebbo*, *Withmar*, *Rembert*, &c. who were either the companions and assistants of *Ansgarius*, or his successors in the field of labor. [The life of *Ansgarius*, well written by *Rembert*, his disciple and successor in the see of Hamburg, is in *Mabilony*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. vi. p. 78 &c. Among the recent writers, see *Schmidt*, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 108—119. *Schroeckh*, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 314 &c. and archbishop *Münter's* *Kirchengesch. von Dänem. und Norweg.* vol. i. Lips. 1823. *Tr.*]

(9) *Jo. Geo. Stredowsky*, *Sacra Moraviae Historia*, Lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 94 &c. Compare *Jo. Peter Kohl*, *Introduct. in historiam et rem litterar. Slavorum*, p. 124 &c. and others. [A much ampler account of the missions and conversions, mentioned in this and following sections, is given by *Schroeckh*, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 396 &c. and by *J. E. C. Schmidt*, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 120 &c. also by *Jos. Sim. Asseman*, *Kalendaria Ecclesiae universae*, Tomus iii. p. 3 &c. Romae 1755. 4to.—The following summary, by *Schlegel*, derived from *Semler* and *Baumgarten*, contains the most material results of modern investigation. *Tr.*] The seeds of christianity had been previously scattered among the Bulgarians, by some christian captives. In the year 814, *Crummus* the Bulgarian king, captured Adrianople, and carried the bishop, Manuel, with other of the citizens, into captivity: and his successor afterwards put this bishop with other christian captives to death; because they made proselytes among the Bulgarians. After this, it appears, that both the monk *Theodorus Eupharas*, who was a captive in that country, and a sister of the Bulgarian king *Bogoris*, who had been taken prisoner and carried to Constantinople, where she was educated and taught the christian religion, and then exchanged for the monk *Theodorus*, contributed much to recommend christianity to that people. The way being thus prepared, *Bogoris* admitted several artists from Constantinople; among whom was the famous painter *Methodius*, who instead of drawing worldly scenes for the king, formed religious pictures, and among them, one of the judgment day; and instructed him in the principles of Christianity. Not long after, the king, in a time of famine, openly professed christianity, and invited teachers from abroad. But his subjects made insurrection against him, for it; and he caused fifty-two of the ring-leaders to be put to death, and at length brought the rest to embrace the new religion. In the year 848, (for thus *Asseman* has ascertained the true year, in his *Kalendar. eccles. universae*, Tom. iii. p. 13 &c. whereas *Kohl* and *Stredowsky*, state the year 843,) *Constantine*, the brother of this *Methodius*, had been

edge of christianity had indeed been previously imparted to these nations, through the influence of *Charlemagne* and some of the bishops ;(10) but that knowledge produced little effect, and gradually became extinct. As the missionaries, above named, were Greeks, they inculcated on those new disciples the opinions of the Greeks, their forms of worship and their rites ;(11) from

sent among the *Chazari* [or *Gazari*,] whose king had likewise desired to have christian teachers. *Constantine* laid the foundation of the christian church among this people, translated the scriptures into the Slavonic language, and taught that barbarous nation the use of letters. After this, he came to the aid of his brother, among the Bulgarians; and in the year 861, baptized king *Bogoris*, who assumed at the font the name of the Greek Emperor, *Michael*.—The two brothers, *Constantine* and *Methodius* were natives of Thessalonica. The former, who was the oldest, afterwards took the name of *Cyril*; and, on account of his learning, was surnamed the *Philosopher*. The younger brother was distinguished as a painter. It is probable, that both of them, in early life, fled from Constantinople, to avoid the persecution which befel the worshippers of images, and especially the painters of them; and that they took refuge among the Slavonic tribes, and there learned their language, which was afterwards of use to them in the propagation of christianity.—From the Bulgarians, *Constantine*, it is stated, traveled among the adjacent *Dalmatians*, and *Croations*, and baptized their king *Budimir*. See *Baumgarten's* Auszug der Kirchengesch. vol. iii. p. 1379. and *S. Semler's* Selecta Hist. eccles. Capita, Tom. ii. p. 263, 269.—As to the *Bohemians*, the *Chronicles of Fulda*, ad ann. 845, state that under *Lewis* king of the Germans, fourteen Bohemian lords, with their subjects, embraced the christian religion. And it is well known, that towards the close of the century, the Bohemian prince *Borivoi* or *Borsivoi* was baptized. *Suatopluc* or *Zwentibold*, king of the Moravians, appears to have greatly aided this conversion. For having been baptized himself, he treated this pagan prince roughly, while residing at his court; and would not allow him to sit at his table; because, as he told him, it was not suitable, for a pagan to eat with christians. Perhaps also the assurance given him by *Methodius*, may have contributed to his conversion; for he told him, that if he embraced christianity, he would become a greater man, than any of his ancestors. In short, he consented to be baptized; and returning home, he persuaded his wife, *Ludomilla*, with many others, to receive baptism also; and afterwards, with the aid of his wife, greatly promoted the spread of christianity; and among other means, by erecting a famous school at Budec. See *S. Semler*, l. c. p. 261, 265.—The *Moravians* were converted, under their king *Radislav*. He sent for the two monks, *Constantine* and *Methodius*; and they erected a school at Vetvar, baptized the king, and his most distinguished subjects, translated many books into the Slavonic language, and set up public worship in this tongue. They erected churches in several places, particularly at *Olmütz* and *Brinn*; but they introduced also image worship, to which they were addicted. See *Baumgarten's* Auszug der Kirchengesch. Tom. iii. p. 1429 &c. *Schl.*]

(10) *Stredowsky*, loc. cit. Lib. i. cap. ix. p. 55 &c. [When *Charlemagne*, in his wars with the Huns and Avars, was victorious, he compelled the Moravian king *Samoslav*, to embrace christianity; and *Arno* of Salzburg, in particular, undertook to convert these tribes; and in this business, the monk *Godwin* was employed; and under *Lewis* the Pious, *Orolph* the archbishop of Lorch also. See *Pagi*, Critic. ad ann. 824. In the year 822, *Mogemir* the successor of *Samoslav*, became a confederate of the emperor *Lewis*, and gave free toleration to the christian worship, on which he himself attended. This good beginning, in the conversion of the Slavonic nations, in Moravia, was however much interrupted, by the contests that arose between the bishops of Salzburg and those of Passau; and besides, the ignorance of the christian missionaries of the Slavonic language, and their introducing the Latin formulas of worship, were serious obstacles to success. And at last, the wars between the Germans and the Moravians, the latter having wholly renounced the dominion of the former, put a full stop to the progress of the gospel among that people. See *Baumgarten's* Auszug, Vol. iii. p. 1430 &c. *Schl.*]

(11) *Jac. Lenfant*, Histoire de la guerre des Hussites, Livr. i. cap. i. p. 2 &c and compare the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, Tom. xxi. p. 2, 3, 4.

which the Roman pontiffs, afterwards, by their legates, were able but partially to reclaim them. And from this source, great commotions occasionally arose.

§ 4. Under the Greek emperor, *Basil* the Macedonian, who ascended the throne AD 867, the Slavonic nations, the Arentani and others, who inhabited Dalmatia, sent ambassadors to Constantinople, and voluntarily placed themselves in subjection to the Greek empire; and, at the same time, they professed a readiness to receive christianity. Greek priests were therefore sent among them, who instructed and baptized them.(12) The same emperor, after concluding a peace with the warlike nation of the Russians, persuaded them by presents and other means, to promise him, by their ambassadors, that they would embrace christianity. The nation stood to their promise, and admitted, not only christian teachers among them, but also an archbishop, commissioned by *Ignatius*, the Greek patriarch.(13) This was the commencement of christianity among the Russian people. They were inhabitants of the *Ukraine*; and a little before had fitted out a fleet at Kiow, in which they appeared before Constantinople, to the great terror of the Greeks.(14)

§ 5. The christian missionaries to the heathen, in this age, were men of more piety and virtue, than most of those who undertook the conversion of the pagans, in the preceding century. They did not resort to coercive measures; they either disregarded altogether, or promoted only in a moderate degree, the private interests of the Roman pontiff; and their lives were free from arrogance, insolence, and the suspicion of licentiousness. Yet the religion they inculcated, was very wide of that simple rule of truth and holiness, which the apostles of Christ preached, and was debased by many human inventions and superstitions. Among the nations which they converted, also, these preachers allowed too many

(12) This we learn from *Constantine* Porphyrogenitus, de Administrando Imperio, cap. xxix; in *Anselmi Bandurii* Imperium Orientale, Tom. i. p. 72, 73. *Constantine* also relates the same, in his life of his grandfather, *Basil* the Macedonian, § liv. Corpus Hist. Byzantin. Tom. xvi. p. 133, 134.

(13) *Constantine* Porphyrogenitus, de Vita Basilii Macedonis, § xcvi, in the Corpus Hist. Byzant. Tom. xvi. p. 157; and Narratio de Ruthenorum conversione; published Gr. and Lat. by *Banduri*, Imperium Orientale, in his notes to Porphyrogenitus, de Administrando Imperio, Tom. ii. p. 62.

(14) *Mich le Quien*, in his Christianus Oriens, Tom. i. p. 1257, gives account of this conversion of the Russians to christianity, in the reign of *Basil* the Macedonian: but he has made a number of mistakes, as others had done before him. He first tells us, that the Russians here intended, were those that bordered on the Bulgarians: but, a little after, he tells us, they were the *Gazari*. For this opinion, he has but one reason, namely, that among the teachers sent to instruct the Russians, was that *Cyrl*, who was active in the conversion of the *Gazari*. The learned author was ignorant of both the Russians and the *Gazari*. He has made also other mistakes. The subject is developed much better, and more accurately, by *Theoph. Sigfr. Bayer*, Diss. de Russorum prima expeditione Constantinopolitana; published in the sixth vol. of the Commentar. Acad. Scientiar. Petropolitanae, AD. 1738. 4to. [See also *Schroekh*, Kirchengesch. vol. xxi. p. 507 &c. and *J. E. C. Schmidt's* Kirchengesch. vol. iv. p. 166 &c. Tr.]

relics of the old superstitions to remain ; and, in truth, they were more earnest to inculcate an external form of piety, than piety itself. Yet, it must be allowed, that these pious and good men, were obliged to yield up several things to the rudeness of those savage nations.

CHAPTER II.

THE ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Success of the Saracens — § 2, 3. The Norman pirates.

§ 1. The Saracens were in possession of all Asia, to the borders of India, a few regions only excepted. They also held the best parts of Africa ; and in the West, Spain and Sardinia. In the year 827, relying on the treason of individuals, they subjugated the very fertile island of Sicily.(1) And near the close of the century, the Asiatic Saracens got possession of many cities in Calabria, and spread terror quite to the walls of the city Rome. They also either ravaged, or took possession of Crete, Corsica, and other islands. How great the injury to the christian cause, every where, from these successes of a nation accustomed to wars and rapine, and hostile to the christians, every one can easily comprehend. In the East especially, numberless families of christians embraced the religion of their conquerors, to render their lives comfortable. Those possessed of more resolution and piety, gradually sunk into a wretched state, being not only stripped of the chief of their property, but, what was still more lamentable, they fell by degrees into a kind of stupor, and an amazing ignorance ; so that they retained almost nothing christian, except the name, and a few religious rites. The Saracens in Europe, and particularly those of Spain, became divested in a great measure of their ferocity ; and they suffered the christians, their subjects, to live quietly, according to their own laws and institutions. Yet instances of cruelty were not wanting among them.(2)

(1) [*Euphemius*, a general in Sicily, became enamored with a nun, and forcibly took her to his bed. Her brothers complained to the viceroy, who laid the case before the emperor ; and he ordered the nose of *Euphemius* to be cut off. *Euphemius* repelled the force sent to arrest him, and fled to Africa. There he offered the Saracen governor, to put him in possession of all Sicily, if he would entrust him with an army, and allow him to assume the title of a Roman Emperor. The governor consented ; and *Euphemius* fulfilled his promise. But he had scarcely accomplished his design, when he lost his life at Syracuse, by assassination. See the account given by *John Curopalata*, as cited by *Baronius*, *Annal. Tom. ix. ad ann. 827. § xxiv &c. Tr.*]

(2) See, for example, the martyrdom of *Eulogius* of Corduba, in the *Acta Sanctor. ad d. xi. Martii*, *Tom. ii. p. 88.*—and those of *Roderic* and *Salomon*, Spanish martyrs of this century ; in the same Vol. *ad d. xiii. Martii*, p. 328. [The Saracens of Spain were tolerant to the christians, so long as they demeaned themselves as quiet and peaceable citizens ; and they allowed them the free exercise of their religion. But they would not allow them to revile *Muhammed* and his religion. And this was the source of all the difficulties. *Abdalrahman*, consulted *Reccafid*, a christian bishop, on the subject. The bishop stated, that when christians traduced the Muhammedan religion, without urgent cause, and labored to introduce their own in place of it, if they thereby lost their lives, they could not be accounted martyrs. A number of christians agreed with *Reccafid* ;

§ 2. Another and a more direful tempest came upon the European christians, from the regions of the North. The Normans, that is, the people inhabiting the shores of the Baltic, in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, who were accustomed to rapine and slaughter, and whose petty kings and chieftains practiced piracy, infested the coasts along the German and Gallic oceans, as early as the reign of *Charlemagne*; and that emperor established garrisons and camps, to oppose them. But in this century, they became much more bold, and made frequent descents upon Germany, Britain, Friesland, but especially France, plundering and devastating, with fire and sword, wherever they went. The terrific inroads of these savage hordes, extended not only to Spain,⁽³⁾ but even to the center of Italy: for it appears from the writers of those times, that they destroyed the city of Luna, in the year 857, and Pisa and other cities of Italy, in the year 860.⁽⁴⁾ The early histories of the Franks, detail and deplore, at great length, their horrid enormities.

§ 3. The first views of these savages, extended only to collecting plunder and slaves, in the countries they invaded;⁽⁵⁾ but by degrees, becoming captivated with the beauty and fertility of those countries, they took up residence in them; nor could the European kings and princes prevent their doing so. In this very century, *Charles* the Bald was obliged, AD. 850, to cede a considerable part of his kingdom to these bold invaders.⁽⁶⁾ And a few years after, in the reign of *Charles* the Fat, king of France, *Godfred*, one of their most valiant chieftains, persevered in his military enterprises, till he had subdued all Friesland.⁽⁷⁾ Yet

but the majority dissented. And *Eulogius* wrote against *Reccafid*, and compiled histories of the Spanish martyrs. He and those in his sentiments, exerted all their efforts to run down Muhammedism, and to make converts to christianity. They also courted martyrdom; and, in several instances, invited the judges to put them to death. The particular offence of *Eulogius*, for which he was put to death, was detaining and secreting a Spanish girl, whom he had converted from the Musselman to the christian faith; and not giving her up to her parents and friends. See his three Books, de Martyribus Cordubensibus; his Apologeticus pro martyribus adv. Calumniatores; and his Exhortatio ad martyrium; in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xv. p. 666 &c. and *Schroeckh*, Kirchengesch. vol. xxi. p. 294 &c. Tr.]

(3) *Jo. de Ferreras*, Histoire generale d'Espagne, Tom. ii. p. 583. Piracy was esteemed among these northern nations, a very honorable and laudable profession; and to it, the nobility and the sons and the kindred of kings were trained. Nor will this surprise us, if we consider the religion of those nations, and the barbarism of the times. See *Jo. Lud. Holberg*, Historia Danorum et Norvegorum navalis; in the Scripta Societatis Scientiarum Hafniensis, Tom. iii. p. 349, where he relates many interesting accounts, respecting these maritime robberies, from the annals of the Danes and Norwegians.

(4) See the Scriptores rerum Italicar, by *Muratori*, in various passages.

(5) [This object of the Normans, (making plunder,) occasioned the destruction of a vast number of churches and monasteries, in England, France, Germany, and Italy. For in these places were deposited large treasures, partly belonging to the establishments, and partly placed there for safe keeping. These places were therefore, generally fortified; and the bishops and abbots, who were also bound to do military service for their lands, were obliged to defend them against the incursions of foreign enemies. *Schl.*]

(6) *Annals*, by an unknown author, in *Pithoei* Scriptores Francici, p. 46.

(7) *Regino* Prumiensis, Annales, Lib. ii. p. 60, in *Pistorii* Scriptore. German.

becoming permanently settled among christians, they gradually became civilized ; and intermarrying with the christians, they exchanged the superstitions of their ancestors for the religion of the christians. This was the case with *Godfred*, the conqueror of Friesland, in this century, when he had received *Gisela*, the daughter of king *Lothaire* Junior, from the hands of *Charles* the Fat, for his wife.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LEARNING AND SCIENCE.

§ 1. State of learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. State of philosophy.—§ 3. Learning among the Arabians.—§ 4. State of learning under Charlemagne and his sons.—§ 5. Impediments to its progress.—§ 6. List of learned men.—§ 7. John Scotus.

§ 1. The Greeks experienced many things in this age, which could not but damp their ardor for learning and knowledge. Still however, the munificence of the emperors, some of whom themselves were devoted to study, and the precautions of the patriarchs, among whom *Photius* shone conspicuous for erudition, prevented an absolute dearth of learned men, particularly at Constantinople. Hence there were among the Greeks, some who excelled both in prose and in poetic composition; who shewed their skill in argumentation, by their writings against the Latins and others; and who composed histories of their own times, not altogether destitute of merit. In particular, when their disputes with the Latins became warm, many who would otherwise have suffered their talents to be eaten up of rust, were roused to set about cultivating elegance and copiousness of diction.

§ 2: That the study of philosophy, among the Greeks of this century, continued for a long time neglected, is testified expressly, by *John Zonaras*. But under the emperors *Theophilus*, and his son *Michael III*, the study of it revived, through the influence especially of *Bardas*, the Caesar,⁽¹⁾ who, though himself not learned, was the friend of *Photius*, who was a very learned man and a great *Mæcenas*, and by whose counsels, no doubt, *Bardas* was guided in this matter. At the head of all the learned men, to whose protection he intrusted the interests of learning, *Bardas* placed *Leo the Wise*, a man of great learning, and afterwards bishop of Thessalonica.⁽²⁾ *Photius* himself expounded, what are called, the *Categories* of Aristotle: and *Michael Psel-*

(1) *Annales*, Tom. ii. Lib. xvi. p. 126, in the *Corpus Byzant.* Tom. x.

(2) [Among the Greek emperors, who advanced science, *Basil the Macedonian* should not be forgotten. He was himself not without learning; as is evident from his speeches, letters, and counsels to his son *Leo*, that are still extant. This son of his, who was surnamed the *Wise*, and the *Philosopher*, on account of his learning, composed largely: the most important of his works are, the sixty Books of his *Basilicon*, or Imperial Laws, his *Tactica*, and his speeches. *Schl.*]

lus wrote brief explanations of the principal books of that philosopher. Others, I pass over.

§ 3. The Arabians, who hitherto had been intent only on conquests, and had neglected the cultivation of science, being now excited, by the attachment of *Al Mamun*, or *Abu Gaafar Abdallah*, to literature, and his patronage of learned men, made much greater progress. For this excellent kaliph of Babylon and Egypt, who began to reign about the time that *Charlemagne* died, and ended his days AD. 833, founded celebrated schools at Bagdad, Cufa, Basora, and other places; drew learned men around him, by conferring on them great rewards; established ample libraries; procured at great expense, the translation of the best works of the Greeks into Arabic; and neglected no means, which would do honor to a prince greatly attached to literature and science, and himself a distinguished proficient.(3) Through his influence, the Arabians began to find pleasure in Grecian science; and to propagate it, by degrees, not only in Syria and Africa, but also in Spain, and even in Italy. Hence they celebrate a long list of renowned philosophers, physicians, astronomers and mathematicians, of their nation, extending through several centuries.(4) Yet we must not take all, that the modern Saracenic historians tell us, of the merits and endowments of these men, in the most literal sense.(5) From the Arabians, the christians afterwards profited in the sciences. For all the knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and philosophy, propagated in Europe from the tenth century onward, was derived principally from the schools and the books of the Arabians in Italy and Spain. And hence, the Saracens may, in some measure, be considered as the restorers of learning in Europe.

§ 4. In the part of Europe subject to the Franks, *Charlemagne* while he lived cherished and honored learning of all kinds with great earnestness. If his successors had followed him with equal strides, or been capable of doing so, ignorance and barbarism would have been expelled. Indeed his example was, in some degree imitated. *Lewis the Meek*, copying after his father, devised and executed several projects, suited to promote and advance the useful arts and sciences.(6) His son, *Charles the*

(3) *Abulpharajus*, Historia Dynastiar. p. 246. *Geo. Elmacin*, Historia Saracena. Lib. ii. p. 139. *Barthol. Herbelot*, Biblioth. Orientale; Article, *Mamun*, p. 545.

(4) See *Leo Africanus*, Tract de Medicis et Philosophis Arabibus; republished by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, in his Biblioth. Graeca, Vol. xii. p. 259 &c.

(5) [In the abstruse sciences, they are said to have been mere copyists, or rather plagiarists, from the Greeks and Latins; particularly from *Aristotle*, *Euclid*, *Galen* &c. Even *Avicenna*, whose Canon, or system of physic, was classic in the European medical schools, so late as the 16th century, we are told, advanced nothing very important, but what is to be found in *Galen* and others. Their astronomy was more properly *astrology*, or divination from the starry heavens. See *Schroeckh*, Kirchengesch. vol. xxi. p. 279—292. Tr.]

(6) See the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tom. iv. p. 583 &c. [The Palatine school continued to flourish under *Lewis the Meek*. Also many monasteries were reestablished, or instituted anew, in which the sciences were studied. From

Bald, went beyond his father, in this matter : for this emperor was a great patron of learning and learned men ; he invited men of erudition to his court, from all quarters ; took delight in their conversation ; enlarged the schools and made them respectable, and cherished in particular the Palatine or court school.(7) In Italy, his brother, the emperor *Lothaire*, from AD. 823, labored to restore the entirely fallen and prostrate cause of learning, and founded schools in eight of the principal cities.(8) But his efforts appear to have had little effect ; for during this whole century, Italy scarcely produced a man of genius.(9) In England, king *Alfred* obtained great renown, by promoting and honoring literary enterprise.(10)

§ 5. But the infelicity of the times prevented these plans and efforts from imparting that prosperity to learning, which the rank and power of the noble actors might lead us to expect. In the first place, the wars that the sons of *Levis* the Meek waged with their father, and afterwards between themselves, interrupted that prosperity in a considerable degree, in the countries subject to the Franks. In the next place, the incursions and victories of the Normans, which afflicted a large portion of Europe during the whole century, were such an obstruction to the progress of learning, that at the close of the century, in most of these countries, and even in France itself, few remained who deserved to be

his Capitulare ii. (in *Hardwin's Concilia*, Tom. iv. p. 1251. No. 5.) may be seen, how desirous this emperor was of promoting learning and the establishment of schools. He there says to the bishops : " The institution of schools in suitable places, for the education of children and the ministers of the church, which you formerly promised us, and which we enjoined upon you, wherever it has not been done, must not be neglected by you." *Schl.*]

(7) *Herm. Conringius*, *Antiquitates Academicæ*, p. 320. *Caes. Egass. de Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. i. p. 178. *Jo. Launoy*, de *Scholis Caroli M. cap. xi, xii*, p. 47 &c. *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tom. v. p. 483.

(8) See his ordinance, or *Capitulare* ; which is published by *Muratori*, *Rerum Italicar. Scriptor.* Tom. i. P. ii. p. 151. [In this ordinance, the emperor represents the cultivation of literature as wholly prostrate in the Italian states ; in consequence of the negligence of the clergy and the civil officers ; that he had therefore appointed teachers, who should give instruction in the liberal arts ; and whom he had directed to use all possible diligence to educate the rising generation. He also mentions the cities, in which he had stationed these teachers ; namely, Pavia, Ivrea, Turin, Cremona, Florence, Fermo, Verona, Vicenza, and Forum Julii, or the modern Ciudad del Friuli. *Schl.*]

(9) See *Muratori*, *Antiquitates Ital. mediæ ævi*, Tom. iii. p. 829 &c.

(10) See *Ant. Wood*, *Historia et Antiq. Acad. Oxoniensis*, Lib. i. p. 13 &c. *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. i. p. 211. and *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Crit.* Tom. i. article, *Elfred*, p. 234. [" This excellent prince not only encouraged by his protection and liberality such of his own subjects as made any progress in the liberal arts and sciences, but invited over from foreign countries men of distinguished talents, whom he fixed in a seminary at *Oxford*, and of consequence, may be looked upon as the founder of that noble university. *Johannes Scotus Eriugena*, who had been in the service of Charles the Bald, and *Grimbold*, a monk of St. Bertin in France, were the most famous of those learned men who came from abroad ; *Asserius*, *Werefrid*, *Plagmund*, *Dunouf*, *Wulfwig*, and the abbot of St. Neot's, deserve the first rank among the English literati, who adorned the age of *Alfred*. See *Collier's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. Book iii. p. 165, 166 &c. *Rapin Thoyras*, in the reign of this illustrious monarch." *MacL.*]

called learned men.(11) What little, incoherent knowledge remained among the clergy, was chiefly confined to the episcopal and monastic schools. But the more the priests and monks increased in wealth and riches, the less they attended to the cultivation of their minds.

§ 6. And yet a large part of this century was adorned with the examples and the labors of men, who derived a literary spirit from *Charlemagne* and his institutions and laws. Among these, in Germany and France, *Rabanus Maurus* held perhaps the first rank; and to his lectures, the studious youth resorted in great numbers. As historians, and not wholly without merit, appeared *Eginhard*, *Freculphus*, *Theganus*, *Haymo*, *Anastasius*, *Ado*, and others. In poetry, *Florus*, *Walafrid Strabo*, *Bertharius*, *Rabanus*, and others, distinguished themselves. In languages and philology, *Rabanus*, (who wrote acutely concerning the causes and origin of languages,) *Smaragdus*, *Bertharius*, and others, possessed skill. Of Greek and Hebrew literature, *William*, *Servatus Lupus*, *John Scotus*, and others, were not ignorant. In eloquence, or the art of speaking and writing with elegance, *Servatus Lupus*, *Eginhard*, *Agobard*, *Hincmar*, and others, were proficient.(12)

§ 7. The philosophy and logic, taught in the European schools, in this century, scarcely deserved the name. Yet there were, in various places, and especially among the Irish, subtle and acute men, who might not improperly be called philosophers. At the head of these, was *John Erigena*(13) *Scotus*, i. e. the Irishman, a companion and friend of *Charles* the Bald, a man of great and excelling genius, and not a stranger to Grecian and Roman learning. Being acquainted with Greek, he expounded *Aristotle* to his pupils; and also philosophized, with great acuteness, without a guide. His five Books on the *Division of Nature*, (de *Divisione naturae*,) are still extant; an abstruse work, in which he traces the causes and origination of all things, in a style not disagreeable, and with no ordinary acumen; and in which he so explains the philosophy of christianity, as to make it the great aim of the whole system, to bring the minds of men into intimate union with the Supreme Being. To express the thing, in words better understood,—he was the first of those who united *Scholastic theology*, with that which is called *Mystic*. Some have viewed him, as not very far from the opinion, which supposes God to be connected with nature, as the soul is with the body. But per-

(11) *Servatus Lupus*, *Epistolae*, p. 69, Ep. xxxiv. *Conringius*, *Antiqq. Acad.* p. 322. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, Tom. iv. p. 251 &c.

(12) Fine illustrations of these remarks may be derived from the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, by the Benedictine monks, Tom. iv. p. 251, 271 &c. and especially from *Le Beau*, *Etat des sciences en France depuis Charlemagne jusqu'au Roi Robert*; in his *Recueil de divers Ecrits pour servir d'éclaircissement à l'Histoire de France*, Tom. ii. p. 1. &c. Paris 1738, 8vo.

(13) [*Erigena* signifies properly a native of *Ireland*, as *Erin*, or *Irin*, was the ancient name of that kingdom. *Macl.*]

haps he advanced nothing, but what the *Realists*, as they were called, afterwards taught; though he expressed his views with less clearness.(14) He did not, so far as I know, found a new sect. About the same time, one *Macarius*, also an Irishman, or Scot, disseminated in France, that error concerning the soul, which *Averroes* afterwards professed; namely, that all men have one common soul: an error, which *Ratram* confuted.(15) Before these men, and in the times of *Charlemagne* and *Lewis* the Meek, *Dungal*, a Scot and a monk, taught philosophy and astronomy in France, with great reputation.(16) Nearly contemporary with him, was *Heiric*, or *Heric*, a monk of Auxerre, a very acute man, who is said to have pursued his investigations, in the manner of *Des Cartes*.(17)

(14) This book was published by *Thomas Gale*, Oxon. 1681. Fol. *Chr. Aug. Heumann* made some extracts from it, and treated learnedly of *Scotus* himself, in the German *Acta Philosophorum*, Tom. iii. p. 858 &c.

(15) See *Jo. Mabillon*, *Praef. ad Saecul. iv. P. ii. Actor. Sanctor. ord. Benedicti*, § 156 &c. p. liii &c.

(16) *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tom. iv. p. 493. [But *Muratori*, *History of Italy*, vol. iv. p. 611. German ed. and elsewhere, thinks, this *Dungal* taught in *Pavia*, Italy, and not in the monastery of St. Denys, France. Tr.]

(17) *Le Beuf*, *Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, Tom. ii. p. 481. *Acta Sanctor.* Tom. iv. m. Junii ad diem 24. p. 829. et ad diem 31. Julii p. 249. For this philosopher obtained a place among the saints.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

§ 1. The lives of the clergy very corrupt.—§ 2. Causes of this.—§ 3. The Roman pontiffs.—§ 4. Their frauds for establishing their power : papeess Joanna.—§ 5, 6. Friendship of the popes for the kings of France.—§ 7.—The emperors suffered their rights in matters of religion, to be wrested from them. The power of bishops curtailed.—§ 8. Documents forged by the Roman pontiffs. Decretal Epistles.—§ 9. Success of these frauds.—§ 10. Monks gain access to courts, and to civil offices.—§ 11. Attempts to reform their prodigal lives.—§ 12. Canons and canonesses.—§ 13. The principal Greek writers.—§ 14. The more distinguished Latins.

§ 1. The ungodly lives of most of those entrusted with the care and government of the church, are a subject of complaint, with all the ingenuous and honest writers of this age. (1) In the East, sinister designs, rancor, contentions, and strife were every where predominant. At Constantinople, or New Rome, those were elevated to the patriarchal chair, who were in favor at court; and upon losing that favor, a decree of the emperor hurled them from their elevated station. In the West, the bishops hung around the courts of princes, and indulged themselves in every species of voluptuousness : (2) while the inferior clergy and the monks were

(1) See Agobard, de privilegiis et jure Sacerdotii, § 13. p. 137. Tom. i. of his Opp. ed. Baluze.

(2) See Agobard, passim; and laws (or canons) enacted in the councils of the Latins: also *Servatus Lupus*, Epist. xxxv. p. 73, 281. and the annotations of *Steph. Baluze*, p. 371. [The council of Pavia, AD. 850, canon 3d, say: "It is our opinion, that bishops should be contented with *temperate meals*; and should not urge their guests to eat and to drink, but rather set examples of sobriety. Let all provocations to debauchery, be removed from their conviviality, let no ludicrous shows, no vain garrulity, no buffoonery of wits, no scurrilous tricks, there find a place." *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. v. p. 25. In a subsequent canon, they forbid bishops' keeping hounds and hawks, for hunting; and their having superfluous trains of horses and mules, and gaudy dresses, for vain display.—The council of Aix-la-Chapelle, AD. 836, forbid bishops getting drunk. *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. iv. p. 1392, No. 6. And they state, with reprobation, the fact, that some of their order, neglected their charges, and traveled here and there, not from necessity, but to gratify their avarice, or their love of pleasure. Ibid. p. 1393. No. 12. Of presbyters and the inferior clergy, they complain, that they kept women in their houses, to the great scandal of the ministry; and this, notwithstanding the attempts of former councils and princes to remove the evil. Also, that presbyters turn bailiffs, frequent taverns, pursue filthy lucre, practice usury, conduct shamefully and lewdly in the houses they visit, and do not blush to indulge in revelry and drunkenness. Ibid. p. 1397. No. 7, 8. They say of the nunneries, that "in some places they seemed to be rather brothels than monasteries"—*quæ in quibusdam locis lupanaria potius videntur esse, quam monasteria*. Ibid. p. 1398. No. 12. The council of Mayence, AD. 888, decreed: "That the clergy be wholly forbidden to have females resident in their houses. For, although there were canons allowing *certain females* [mothers and sisters] to reside in clergymen's houses; yet, what is greatly to be lamented, we have often heard, that by such permission, numerous acts of wickedness have been committed; so that some priests, cohabiting with their own sisters, have had children by them. (Sæpe audivimus, per illam concessionem plurima scelera esse commi-

sensual ; and by the grossest vices, corrupted the people whom they were set to reform. The ignorance of the clergy in many places, was so great, that few of them could read and write ; and very few could express their thoughts with precision and clearness. Hence, whenever a letter was to be penned, or any thing of importance was to be committed to writing, recourse was generally had to some one individual, who was supposed to excel common men by possessing some dexterity in such matters. The example of *Servatus Lupus* is evidence of the fact.(3)

§ 2. Various causes operated in Europe, to produce and to foster this corruption of the persons, who ought to have been examples to others. Among the principal ones, must be reckoned the calamities of the times, such as the perpetual wars between *Lewis the Meek*, and his sons and posterity, the incursions and ravages of the barbarous nations, the gross ignorance of the nobility, and the vast wealth that was possessed by the churches and monasteries. To these leading causes, others of less magnitude may be added. If a son of a high nobleman lacked energy and talent, an elevated place was sought for him among the rulers of the church.(4) The patrons of churches, not wishing to have their vices exposed and proved, gave the preference to weak and inefficient men, for parish ministers and guardians of the souls of men.(5) The bishops and the heads of monasteries held much real estate or landed property by a feudal tenure ; and therefore, whenever a war broke out, they were summoned to the field, with the quota of soldiers, which they were bound to furnish to their sovereigns.(6) Kings and princes, moreover, that they might be able to reward their servants and soldiers for their services, often seized upon consecrated property, and gave it to their dependants ; and the priests and monks, who had before been supported by it, to relieve their wants, now betook themselves to every species of villainy, and fraud, and imposition.(7)

sa, ita ut quidam sacerdotum cum propriis sororibus concumbentes, filios ex eis generassent.) And therefore this holy synod decrees, that no presbyter shall permit any female to live with him in his house ; so that the occasion of evil reports, or of iniquitous deeds, may be wholly removed." Ibid. vol. vi. p. 406. No. 10. Tr.]

(3) See his Works ; Ep. xcvi, xcix, p. 126, 148, 142 ; also his *Life*. To these add, *Rodolphi Bituricensis Capitula ad Clerum suum* ; in *Baluze, Miscellanea*, Tom. vi. p. 139, and p. 148.

(4) *Hincmar*, Opus posteriorius contra Godeschalum, cap. xxxvi, in his Opp. Tom. i. p. 318. *Servatus Lupus*, Epist. lxxix. p. 120.

(5) *Agobard*, de privilegiis et jure Sacerdotum, cap. xi. in his Opp. Tom. i. p. 341.

(6) *Stephen Baluze*, Appendix Actorum ad servatum, p. 508. *Muratori*, Antiqq. Ital. mediæ ævi, Tom. ii. p. 446 &c. *Mabillon*, Annales Benedict. Tom. vi. p. 587. *Du Fresne*, ad *Joineville* Historiam Ludovici S. p. 75, 76. [Yet military service was not always required for church lands, some donations expressly granting exemption from it. See *Mabillon*, l. c. Tr.]

(7) *Agobard*, de dispensa. rerum ecclesiast. § 14. Opp. Tom. x. p. 270. *Flodoard*, Hist. eccles. Rhemensis, Lib. iii. cap. ix. *Servatus Lupus*, Epist. lxx. p. 87, 437 &c. but especially, *Lud. Ant. Muratori*, Antiqq. Italicae, Tom. vi. p. 302 &c. and

§ 3. The Roman pontiffs were elected by the suffrages of the whole body of the clergy and people [at Rome]; but the emperors must approve of their appointment, before they were consecrated. (8) There is indeed extant, an edict of *Lewis* the Meek, dated AD. 817, in which this right of the emperors is relinquished, and power given to the Romans, not only of electing a pontiff but of installing and consecrating him, without waiting for the consent of the emperor : (9) but eminent men have shewn, by arguments entirely satisfactory, that this document is a forgery. (10) Yet I readily admit, that after the times of *Charles* the Bald, who obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the Roman pontiff, the state of things was materially changed, and the consent of the emperors was not asked by the Romans. It is at the same time true beyond a question, that from the time of *Eugene* III, (11) who was placed in St. Peter's chair AD. 884, the election of a pontiff was nearly destitute of any rule or order, and for the most part tumultuous; and this irregularity did not cease until the times of *Otto* the Great.

§ 4. Few of those who, in this century, were raised to the highest station in the church, can be commended for their wisdom, learning, virtue, and other endowments proper for a bishop. The greater part of them, by their numerous vices, and all of them, by their arrogance and lust of power, entailed disgrace upon their memories. Between *Leo* IV, who died AD. 855, and *Benedict* III, a woman, who concealed her sex, and assumed the name of *John*, it is said, opened her way to the pontifical throne by her learning and genius, and governed the church for a time. She is commonly called the *papess Joanna*. During the five subsequent centuries, the witnesses to this extraordinary event, are without number; nor did any one, prior to the reformation by *Luther*, regard the thing as either incredible, or disgraceful to the church. (12) But in the seventeenth century, learned men, not

Lud. Thomassin, *Disciplina ecclesiae vet. et nova circa beneficia*, P. ii. Lib. iii. c. xi. The custom prevailed also among the Greeks and the Lombards. See *Mich. Le Quien*, *Oriens Christianus*, Tom. i. p. 142.

(8) See the illustrious *de Bünau*, *Historia Imperii German.* Tom. iii. p. 28 &c. 32 &c.

(9) *Harduin*, *Concilia*, Tom. iv. p. 1236. *Car. le Coigne*, *Annales Ecclesiae Francor.* Tom. vii. ad ann. 817. § 6. *Baluze*, *Capitular. Regum Francor.* Tom. i. p. 591.

(10) *Muratori*, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Eccles.* p. 54 &c. and *Antiquitates Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. iii. p. 29, 30; where he conjectures, that this document was forged in the eleventh century. *Bünau*, *Hist. Imp. German.* Tom. iii. p. 34. And yet some popish writers, e. g. *Fontanini*, and others, most earnestly defend this edict of *Lewis*; though ineffectually. [The evidence of the spuriousness of this edict, is well summed up, by *Pagi*, *Critica* in *Baron.* ad ann. 817. No. 7. Vol. iii. p. 492. Tr.]

(11) [Here is a mistake. It was *Hadrian* III, who became pope in the year 884; and not *Eugene* III, who was not raised to that dignity, till AD. 1145. *von Einem*.]

(12) The arguments of those who hold the story to be true, are carefully and learnedly collected and stated, by *Fred. Spanheim*, in his *Exercit. de Papa* fo-

only among the Roman catholics, but others also, exerted all the powers of their ingenuity, both to invalidate the testimony on which the truth of the story rests, and to confute it by an accurate computation of dates. (13) But there still are very learned men, who, while they concede that much falsehood is mixed with the truth, maintain that the controversy is not wholly settled. Something must necessarily have taken place at Rome, to give rise to this most uniform report of so many ages; but what it was that occurred, does not yet appear. (14)

§ 5. Great as the vices and enormities of many of the pontiffs were, they did not prevent the growth of the pontifical power and influence, both in church and state, during these unhappy times. It does not indeed appear, from any authentic documents, that they acquired any new *territories*, in addition to those they had received from the bounty of the French kings. For, what they tell us of the donations of *Lewis the Meek*, is destitute of probabili-

mina; Opp. Tom. ii. p. 577. and *Jac. Lenfant*, has exhibited them in a French translation, better arranged, and with various additions, in a 3d ed. at the Hague, 1736. 12mo.

(13) The arguments of those who deny the existence of a *papess*, after *David Blondell's* appropriate treatise, and some others, are ingeniously stated by *Peter Bayle*, Dictionnaire, Tom. iii. Art. *Papesse*, p. 2162. See also *Geo. Eccard*, Historia Franciæ Oriental. Tom. ii. Lib. xxx. § 119 &c. p. 436 &c. who however, so far as we know, has followed the reasoning of *Leibnitz* on the subject. *Michael le Quien*, Oriens Christianus, Tom. iii. p. 777. and in the Lutheran church, *Chr. Aug. Heumann*, in his Sylloge Diss. sacrar. Tom. i. P. ii. p. 352 &c. The arguments on both sides of the question, are neatly stated, by *Christopher Wagensiel*; in *Jo. Geo. Schelhorn's* Amoenitates Litterar. P. i. p. 146 &c. and by *Jac. Basnage*, Histoire de l'Eglise, Tom. i. p. 408. The names of the other writers, who are very numerous, may be seen in *Casp. Sagittarius*, Introductio in Hist. Eccles. Tom. i. c. xxv. p. 676 &c. and in the Bibliotheca Bremensis, Tom. viii. P. v. p. 935. [See also *Schroëckh*, Kirchengesch. vol. xxii. p. 75—110. *J. E. C. Schmidt*, Kirchengesch. vol. iv. p. 274—279, and *A. Bower's* Lives of the Popes, vol. iv. p. 246—260. Tr.]

(14) So thought *Paul Sarpi*, Lettere Italiane, Lott. lxxxii. p. 452. *Jac. Lenfant*, Biblioth. Germanique, Tom. x. p. 27. *Theod. Hasaeus*, Biblioth. Bremens. Tom. viii. P. v. p. 935. *Christ. Matth. Pfaff*, Instit. Histor. Eccles. p. 402. ed. 2. To whom, might be added *Wernsdorf*, *Boecler*, *Holberg*, and many others. I will not undertake the office of judge in this controversy, yet I am of opinion, there was something in this affair, that deserves further investigation.—[Few, if any, in modern times, admit the reality of a *female pope*: and among the English, *Pope Joan* has become a proverbial epithet, for a fictitious character, which is too ridiculous to be mentioned in serious earnest. None of the contemporary writers mention such a pope; for the passage in *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, who then lived at Rome, and wrote the Lives of the Popes, is undoubtedly spurious. (An eye witness, could not have written, "It is said, that a female succeeded to *Leo IV.*" if he had known it a fact; nor would he have given currency to such a falsehood, had he known it to be such. Nor is this the only proof, that the passage is an interpolation.) It was nearly two centuries, before any writer affirmed the fact. But from that time to the reformation, it was generally believed. Yet not universally, as *Dr. Mosheim* intimates. *Platina*, (Lives of the Popes, *John VII.*) after relating the story, says: Hæ quæ dixi, vulgo feruntur, incertis tamen et obscuris auctoribus: quæ ideo ponere breviter et nudè institui, ne obstinate et pertinaciter omisissæ videar, quod fere omnes affirmant. This surely is not the language of one who does not question the truth of the story. Yet *Platina* wrote before *Luther* was born.—The history of this *papess* is briefly this, as stated by writers of the 12th and following centuries. She was the daughter of an English missionary, who left England to preach among the newly converted Saxons. She was born at *Ingelheim*; and, according to different authors, was named *Jo-*

ty : (15) nor is there more certainty, in what many state, that *Charles* the Bald, in the year 875, when *John VIII* had enabled him to gain the rank of emperor, relinquished all right and all jurisdiction over the city Rome and its territory, and bestowed various other gifts, of immense value, upon the pontiffs. Yet it must be obvious, to all who read the history of those times, that the Roman pontiffs advanced in power, influence, wealth and riches, from the age of *Lewis* the Meek ; and especially after the commencement of the reign of *Charles* the Bald. (16)

§ 6. Upon the decease of *Lewis II*, [AD. 875,] a violent war broke out among the descendants of *Charlemagne*, each of them contending for the imperial dignity. The Roman pontiff, *John VIII*, and with him the Italian princes, eagerly seized this opportunity, to exclude the voice of all foreigners, and make the election of emperors depend wholly on them. Hence *Charles* the Bald, the king of the Franks, by a vast amount of money and other presents, and by still greater promises, obtained from the Roman pontiff and the other Italian princes, to be proclaimed king of Italy and emperor of the Romans, in a public assembly, AD. 876. His successors in the kingdom of Italy and in the imperial dignity, *Carloman* and *Charles* the Fat, were likewise chosen by the Roman pontiff and the Italian princes. After them, turbulent times came on, in which those who promised most, or who gave most, generally ascended the royal and imperial throne, by the aid of the pontiffs. (17)

§ 7. The power of the Roman pontiffs in matters of a religious nature, was augmented with equal rapidity and success ; and nearly from the same causes. The wisest and most impartial among the Roman Catholic writers, acknowledge and prove, that from

anna, Agnes, Gerbert, Isabel, Margaret, Dorothy, and Jutt. She early distinguished herself for genius and love of learning. A young monk of Fulda conceiving a passion for her, which was mutual, she eloped from her parents, disguised her sex, and entered the monastery of Fulda. Not satisfied with the restraints there, she and her lover eloped again, went to England, and then to France, Italy, and finally to Athens in Greece, where they devoted themselves to literary pursuits. On the death of the monk, Joanna was inconsolable. She left Athens, and repaired to Rome. There she opened a school, and acquired such reputation for learning and feigned sanctity, that on the death of *Leo IV*, AD. 855, she was chosen pope. For something more than two years, she filled the papal chair, with reputation, no one suspecting her sex. But she had taken one of her household, whom she could trust, to her bed ; and by him, she became pregnant. At length, being nearer her time than she had supposed, she ventured, on Whitsun-week, to join in the annual procession, with all her clergy. While passing the street between the church of St. Clement and the Amphitheatre, she was seized with violent pains, fell to the ground, amidst the crowd, and while her attendants were endeavoring to minister to her, was delivered of a son. The child died ; and some say, the mother too, on the spot. Others say, she survived, but was sent immediately to prison, the object of universal execration. See *Bower* and *Platina*, l. cit. Tr.]

(15) See above, § 3.

(16) *Bunau*, *Historia Imperii Rom.* Germann. Tom. iii. p. 482 &c. *Jo. Ge. Eccard*, *Historia Franciæ Oriental.* Tom. ii. Lib. xxxi. p. 606 &c.

(17) This is illustrated, by *Carol. Sigonius*, *de regno Italiæ*, and by the other writers of German and Italian history.

the times of *Lewis the Meek*, the ancient system of ecclesiastical law in Europe, was gradually changed, and a new system introduced, by the policy of the court of Rome. The kings and emperors suffered their rights, in matters of religion, which had been handed down to them from *Charlemagne*, to be insensibly taken from them. The competence of bishops, to make regulations in matters of religion, declined; and the authority of ecclesiastical councils was diminished. For the Roman pontiffs, exulting in their prosperity and the daily accessions to their wealth, endeavored to instil into the minds of all, and they did, notwithstanding the opposition of the reflecting, and of those acquainted with the ancient ecclesiastical constitution, actually instil into many, the sentiment, that the bishop of Rome was constituted, by *Jesus Christ*, a legislator and judge over the whole church; and therefore, that other bishops derived all their authority solely from him; and that councils could decide nothing, without his direction and approbation.(18)

§ 8. To bring men to listen to, and receive, this new system of ecclesiastical law, which was so very different from the ancient system, there was need of ancient documents and records, with which it might be enforced and defended against the assaults of opposers. Hence the Roman pontiffs procured the forgery, by their trusty friends, of conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and other documents; by which they might make it appear, that from the earliest ages of the church, the Roman pontiffs possessed the same authority and power, which they now claimed.(19) Among these fraudulent supports of the Romish power, the so called *Decretal Epistles* of the pontiffs of the first centuries, hold perhaps the first rank. They were produced by the ingenuity of an obscure man, who falsely assumed the name of *Isidore*, a Spanish bishop.(20) Some vestiges of these fabricated epistles appeared

(18) See the excellent work of an unknown writer, who signs himself D. B. entitled: *Histoire du droit ecclesiastique publique François*; first published, London 1737. 2 vol. 8vo. and lately republished splendidly in a larger form. The author neatly and acutely points out the steps, by which the Roman pontiffs advanced their power. Of the ninth century, he treats in vol. i. p. 160 &c. [*Bower's Lives of the Popes*, vol. iv and v.—*G. J. Planck*, *Gesch. d. christl. Kirchl. Gesellschafts-Verfassung*, vol. ii and iii. Tr.]

(19) It is no improbable supposition, that these and other documents, such as the donations of *Constantine* and *Lewis the Meek*, were fabricated with the privacy and approbation of the Roman pontiffs. For, who can believe that the pontiffs, who made use of these writings during many ages to substantiate their authority and their prerogatives, would have ventured to confront kings, princes, ecclesiastical councils, and bishops, with the fictions and impositions of private individuals? In that age, frauds for the benefit of the church, and of God, were deemed lawful; so that it is not strange, that the Roman pontiffs should suppose, they did no moral wrong, by permitting and approving the fabrication of such papers as would be a rampart and bulwark to the see of *St. Peter*.

(20) That the author of these Epistles, wished to be regarded as *Isidore*, a distinguished Spanish bishop of the sixth century; or, to speak more definitely, that he wished to make the world believe, that these Epistles were collected by *Isidore*; is perfectly clear. See *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Lat. medii ævi*, Tom. v. p. 561. The bishops were accustomed, in token of their humility, to

in the preceding century ; (21) but they were first published, and appealed to in support of the claims of the Roman pontiffs, in this century. (22) Of similar origin and value, are the decrees of a Roman council, said to have been held under *Sylvester*, (AD. 324,) but which was never known of by any one, till the ninth century : and, than which nothing could be better suited to enrich, and to exalt above all human authority, the Roman pontiff. (23)

§ 9. There were indeed, among the western bishops, some discerning men, who perceived that designs were formed, against them and the church : in particular, the French bishops vigorously opposed the admission of these Epistles, and other similar spurious productions, among the books of ecclesiastical law. But these men were overcome, by the pertinacity of the Roman pontiffs, especially by *Nicolas I.* And as all science and learning, in the following period, retired from the Roman world, there scarcely remained any one, capable, or even disposed, to move controversy respecting these pious frauds. How great the evils, to which they gave rise, and how audaciously the Roman pontiffs abused them, to overthrow the ancient system of church government, to weaken the authority of bishops, to increase their own revenues and emoluments, and to abridge the prerogatives of kings and princes, numberless facts in the history of the subsequent centuries will shew. Nor is this denied, at the present day, by respectable and honest men, even though in other res-

subjoin to their names the word *peccator* (*sinner*) ; hence the author of this forgery, annexed the surname *Peccator*, to the assumed name of *Isidore*. Some of the transcribers, ignorant of the ancient customs and literature, corrupted this signature, by exchanging *Peccator* for *Mercator*. And hence the fraudulent compiler of the Decretal Epistles, is called *Isidorus Mercator*.

(21) See *Aug. Calmet*, Histoire de Lorraine, Tome i. p. 528. *Just. Henn. Böhm*, Praef. ad novam editionem Juris Canon. Tom. i. p. x. xix. Notes. [*Fleury* says of them, that "they crept to light near the close of the eighth century." *Fleury* in *Hist. eccles. Diss. iv. § 1. Tr.*]

(22) The spuriousness of these Epistles has been demonstrated, not only by the *Centuriatores Maredburgenses* and some others, but most learnedly and in an appropriate treatise, by *David Blondell*, in his *Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes*, Genév. 1628. 4to And, at the present day, the friends of the Roman Pontiffs, who follow reason and truth, confess the cheat. See *Jo. Fran. Buddeus*, *Isagoge in Theologiam*, Tom. ii. p. 762 Add, *Peter Constant*, *Prolegom. ad Epistolas Pontificum*, Tom. i. p. cxxx &c *Fleury*, *Diss. prefixed to his Histoire Ecclesiastique* Tome xvi. [and still better, in his *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, itself, Livre, xlv. § xxii. These Epistles, bearing the names of various Romish bishops, from *Clement I.* to *Damasus I.* AD. 384, are in the early collection of councils by *Sever. Binnius* ; but are not inserted in the *Bullarium Magnum* of *Cherubin*, published by authority of the court of Rome, near the close of the seventeenth century. It is believed, they are now universally given up, even by the Catholics. The oldest papal Epistles, now admitted by any, to be genuine, are those collected by *Dionysius Exiguus* ; who says he could find none, by the pontiffs anterior to *Syricius* ; who succeeded *Damasus I.* AD. 385. The earliest in the *Bullarium Magnum*, are those of *Leo I.* AD. 447. *Tr.*]

(23) See *Jo. Lawsoy*, de Cura Ecclesiae erga pauperes et miseros, cap. i. *Observ. i.* p. 576. of his *Opp. Tom. ii. Pt. ii.* [Likewise *Jo. Cabassut*, *Notitia Ecclesiast.* p. 132. and *Pagi*, *Critica in Baron.* ad ann. 324. § xvii. xviii. who do not hesitate to pronounce this council a fiction. *Tr.*]

pects favorably disposed towards the Romish church and its sovereign. (24)

§ 10. the estimation in which a monastic life was held, was astonishingly great, both in the eastern empire, and in the western. In the former, this excessive estimation had long existed; but among the Latins, it takes date only from the preceding century. Hence even kings, and dukes, and counts, abandoning their honors and their wealth, voluntarily retired to monasteries, to devote themselves to the service of God. Of this, quite a number of examples occurred in Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, during this century; and there were some also in the preceding century. Those who, in their life time, could not bring themselves to the resolution of abandoning society, would yet demand the monastic garb, when dying, and actually put it on, before they left the world; that they might enjoy the prayers and spiritual succors of the fraternity, among whom they were received. Another and a striking proof of the high estimation in which monks were held, is the custom of the emperors and kings of the Franks, in this age, of calling monks and abbots to their courts, and entrusting them with civil affairs, and business of great moment, both at home and in foreign countries. For those unsuspecting princes thought, that no persons could more safely be entrusted with the management of public affairs, than men of such sanctity and piety, men who had subdued all their natural desires, and become free from all concupiscence. Hence it is, that, in the history of these times, we read of so many abbots and monks, who performed the functions of ambassadors, commissioners or extraordinary judges, and ministers of state, sometimes indeed with good success, but not seldom unsuccessfully.

§ 11. And yet those who conferred such honors upon monks and the monastic life, did not deny, that most of that class lived vicious lives; and they labored to reform their morals, and recal them to obedience to their monastic rules. The efforts of *Lewis the Meek* especially, in this particular, deserve notice. That emperor employed *Benedict*, abbot of Aniane, and afterwards of Indre, a man distinguished for piety and the fear of God, to reform

(24) See *Jo. Launoy*, de Regia potestate in causis matrimonial. in his *Opp.* Tom. Pt. ii. p. 764. and *Peter Constant*, Praef. ad Epist. Romanor. Pontiff. Tom. i. p. cxxvii &c. [*Fleury*, Diss. vii. § v. in Historiam Eccles. says: *Falsae Isidori Decretales*, circa octavi finem saeculi invectae, jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam in tribus articulis *admodum concusserunt*, scilicet quoad concilia, Judicia Episcoporum, et appellationes. See also Diss. iv. § 1 &c.—*Peter de Marca*, de Concordia sacerdotii et imperii, Lib. vii. cap. xx. § 1. &c. Sub secunda Regum nostrorum dynastia *novum jus canonicum* in ecclesiam Gallicanam, aequae ac in ceteras Occidentis provincias, introduci coeptum est, *inventis eam in rem suppositiis illis veterum Pontificum Romanorum epistolis*, in quibus extant quam plurima constituta prorsus adversa veterum canonum statutis." But while these, and other Catholic writers, trace the commencement of a great revolution in the constitution of the Catholic church, to the Decretal Epistles, and other forgeries of the eighth and ninth centuries; they say, it was only the commencement; for the revolution was not completed, till after the publication of the Decretum of *Gratian*, in the twelfth century. Tr.]

the monasteries, first in Aquitaine, and then throughout the kingdom of France, and to purge them of the enormous vices which had crept into them; and afterwards, in the council [of abbots assembled] at Aix-la-Chapelle, AD. 817, in which the same *Benedict* presided, he caused good canons to be enacted, for restoring the prostrate discipline of the monasteries. This *Benedict*, therefore, who has been called the second father of the western monks, subjected all the monks to the single rule of *St. Benedict* of Monte Cassino, suppressing all diversities of rites and customs, and introducing one uniform rule: he also banished the greater vices from the monasteries; and he brought all associations of monks, who had before been bound together by no ties, to become in a sense one body or society. (25) This discipline flourished for a while; but from various causes, it gradually declined: and at the end of this century, such devastations had every where been made, both in church and state, that only some slight traces of it remained in a few places.

§ 12. The order of canons, which was devised by *Chrodegang*, and had been extensively introduced in the preceding century, *Lewis* the Meek cherished with great care, and extended through all the provinces of his empire. He also added an order of *canonesses*, which had been unknown in the christian world, till that time. (26) A rule for each of these, he caused to be drawn up in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, superseding the rule of *Chrodegang*; and these new rules continued to be followed in most of the convents of canons and canonesses, till the twelfth century, although they were disagreeable to the court of Rome. The compiler of the rule for *canons*, was undoubtedly *Amalarius*, a presbyter of Metz; but whether he also drew up that for *canonesses*, is uncertain. (27) From this time onward, numerous con-

(25) See *Jo. Mabillon*, Acta Sanctor. ord. Benedict. Saecul. iv. Pt. i. Praef. p. xxvii. and Praef. ad Saecul. v. p. xxv. also his Annales Ordinis S. Bened. Tom. ii. p. 430 &c. and many other places in that volume. *Aug. Calmet*, Histoire de Lorraine, Tom. i. p. 596. Concerning *Benedict* of Aniane, and his merits generally, see the Acta Sanctor. Tom. ii. Febr. p. 606. and Histoire litteraire de la France, Tom. iv. p. 447 &c. [Also, the Life of *Benedict*, by *Ardo*, one of his disciples; in *Mabillon*, Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Saecul. iv. Pt. i. Tom. v. p. 183—215.—This *Benedict* appears to have been a very sincere man, and a great reformer of the monasteries; that is, one who brought them to greater uniformity in dress, living, worship, and usages. He was himself most rigorous in voluntary mortifications; and the rule of *St. Benedict* he revered, as if it had come immediately from God, and was the only true guide to heaven. Tr.]

(26) See *Mabillon*, Annales Ord. Bened. Tom. ii. p. 428 &c.

(27) *Lud. Thomassin*, Disciplina eccles. vetus et nova, Pt. i. Lib. iii. cap. 42, 43, &c. *Muratori*, Antiquitates Ital. medii aevi, Tom. v. p. 185, 540 &c. and all the writers, who treat of the order of canons; though they are not all of equal value. The least worthy of credit are, those who belonging themselves to the order of canons, have treated of the origin and progress of that order; as e.g. *Raymund Chaponnel*, Histoire des Chanoines, Paris 1699. 8vo. For these writers are so attached to the order, that they usually trace its origin back to *Christ* himself, and his Apostles, or at least to the first ages of the christian church. [This ordinance of *Lewis*, for regulating the order of canons, is in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. iv. p. 1055—1180. The following abstract, by *Schlegel*, contains its most

vents of canons and canonesses were founded in every part of Europe, and endowed with ample revenues, by pious individuals. But this institution, like the others, degenerated, and very soon became widely different from what it was designed to be. (28)

§ 13. Of the writers among the Greeks, the following were the most distinguished. *Photius*, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of superior talents, and of various and extensive knowledge. His *Bibliotheca*, (29) *Epistles*, and other writings, are yet highly valua-

essential features.—“It contains 145 articles; of which the first 113 are mere extracts from the fathers and Acts of councils, describing the duties of bishops and priests. These are followed by two sermons of *Augustine*, on living in associations. Then commence the rules framed by this council. First, the prevailing error, that the prescriptions of the Gospel were obligatory only upon monks and clergymen, is confuted; and then the distinction between monks and canons is defined. The latter may wear linen, eat flesh, hold private property, and enjoy that of the church; the former can not. Yet, equally with the monks, they should avoid all vices, and practice virtue. They should live in well secured cloisters, containing dormitories, refectories, and other necessary apartments. The number of canons in each cloister, should be proportioned to the exigencies of the church, to which it belonged. In their dress, they should avoid the extravagances of ornament and finery, and likewise uncleanness and negligence, &c. The second part of the rule relates to *canonesses*, and contains 28 articles. The six first are extracts from the fathers, and relate to the duties of ladies who consecrate themselves to God. They may have private property; yet must commit the management of it to some kinsman or friend, by a public act or assignment. They may also have waiting maids, and eat in the refectory, and sleep in the dormitory. They are to be veiled, and to dress in black. Their business must be prayer, reading, and laboring with their hands: and especially, they must fabricate their own clothing, from the flax and wool given to them.” *Tr.*]

(28) *Calmet*, *Histoire de Lorraine*, Tom. i. p. 591. *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tom. iv. p. 536 &c.

(29) See *Camusat*, *Histoire des Journaux*, Tome i. p. 87 &c. [*Photius* was of noble parentage, well educated, and perhaps the greatest genius of his age. He certainly was a great scholar. While in civil life he cultivated all learning, sacred and profane. He was commander of the imperial body guards, first senator of Constantinople, and chief private secretary to the emperor. He was also employed on embassies. During a Syrian embassy he wrote his famous *Bibliotheca*, or *Μυρίβιβλον*, giving a critical account of 280 authors, which he had read, and frequently also summaries of their contents, with considerable extracts. As many of these authors are no longer extant, the account of them by *Photius* is extremely valuable. In the year 858, the emperor *Michael III* deposed *Ignatius*, the patriarch of Constantinople; and *Photius* was ordained, sub-deacon, deacon, priest, and patriarch, in four successive days. The friends of *Ignatius*, and the bishops of Rome, refused to acknowledge *Photius* as a legitimate patriarch. Yet he held the office, till AD. 867; when, having offended the emperor, he was deposed, and *Ignatius* was restored. But in the year 877, *Ignatius* died, and *Photius* again took the chair, till AD. 886, when the new emperor, *Leo* the Philosopher, deposed and banished him to a convent in Armenia, where he died about AD. 890. The *Bibliotheca* of *Photius*, Gr. and Lat. with the notes of *Hæschelius*, (the very faulty Latin by *Schott*), was first published 1601, Fol. and has been several times reprinted. A better edition was promised in the last century, but not produced. His *Epistles*, to the number of 248, were published Gr. and Lat. by *R. Montague*, Lond. 1651, Fol. His *Nomocanon*, or collection of eccl. canons, embracing xiv Tituli, with the Commentary of *Theod. Balsamon*, was published, Gr. and Lat. by both the *Justell's*; the last in his *Biblioth. Juris. Canon.* Paris 1662, Tom. ii. p. 789. Several additional letters and tracts have crept to light in different collections; but his extensive commentaries on scripture, his large lexicon, and several smaller works, remain still in MS.—For an account of his writings, see *Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Gr.* Vol. ix. p. 381—519. Of his public life, and the controversies in which he was involved, notice will be taken in the next chapter, § 27 &c. *Tr.*]

ble.—*Nicephorus*, also patriarch of Constantinople, who wrote against the opposers of images, and some other works.(30)—*Theodorus Studites* is likewise indebted to the controversy respecting images, for the greater part of his reputation among those who have come after him.(31) Not much better or more learned were, *Theodorus Graptus*, who suffered much in defence of image worship;(32) *Methodius*, entitled the Confessor, because no penalties or pressure could induce him to abandon the defence of images;(33) *Theodorus Abucara*;(34) *Petrus Siculus*;(35)

(30) See the *Acta Sanctor.* Tom. ii. Martii ad diem xiii. p. 293. *Oudin*, *Scriptores Eccles.* Tom. ii. p. 2 &c. [*Nicephorus*, after being secretary of state at Constantinople, and in high honor, retired from the world, and became a monk. He was learned, devout, and exceedingly zealous for image-worship. He was made patriarch of Constantinople, AD. 806; but was expelled his see, ten years after, by the emperor *Leo V*, who was opposed to image-worship; and died in exile, AD. 828. His best work is, a *Compendious History*, from *Maurice*, AD. 600, to AD. 769; extant in the *Corpus Hist. Byzantinae*. He also wrote a *Chronologia Tripartita*, or a Catalogue of public men, among the Hebrews, Greeks, Latins, &c. and a *Συναγωγὴ*, or Index of canonical, ecclesiastical, and apocryphal books; annexing to each, the number of lines (στίχοι) it contained. Besides these historical works, he wrote a long Epistle to pope *Leo III*, containing his creed; several small collections of canons, and a number of books in defence of image-worship. Tr.]

(31) [*Theodorus Studites* was born at Constantinople, AD. 759, became a monk in 781, and abbot in 794, and four years after head of the monastery *Studium* in Constantinople; whence his surname *Studites*. He was zealous even to madness, in favor of image-worship; and for thirty years, was the instigator of rebellions, and the dauntless leader of them, (when out of prison,) against the government; which was opposed to image-worship. He died, AD. 826, aged 67. Besides a few tracts on monkery, and monkish saints, he has left us 134 catechetical Discourses, and a vast number of inflammatory letters, in defence of image-worship, most of which, or at least parts of them, *Baronius* has inserted in his *Annals*. He was a man of some learning and talent; but wasted all his strength on the controversy respecting images. Tr.]

(32) [*Theodorus Graptus* was a monk of Palestine, went to Constantinople, AD. 818, to plead the cause of image-worship; was banished four times, for his abuse of emperors and others, and his seditious movements in favor of images; and at last died in exile, about AD. 840. He has left us a Dispute, an Epistle, and Creed; all in defence of Images. Tr.]

(33) [*Methodius Confessor*, was well born, at Syracuse in Sicily; went to Constantinople, and there became a monk. About AD. 820, the patriarch sent him as his envoy to Rome. Here he was guilty of adultery, and did penance. Returning to Constantinople, he became very zealous in defence of image-worship; was banished, and imprisoned, and whipped. But in 842, he was made patriarch of Constantinople. He died AD. 847; and has left us five orations, in praise of monkery, and a collection of canones poenitentiales. Some of his orations have passed for works of *Methodius Patarensis*, who flourished AD. 290. Tr.]

(34) *Peter Bayle*, *Dictionaire*, Tom. i. p. 35 &c. [The word *Abucara*, signifies *bishop of Caria*. He followed the party of *Photius*; but afterwards renounced it, and joined that of *Ignatius*. According to *Cave*, he flourished AD. 867. He has left us about 40 Dissertations, doctrinal and polemic, against heretics, Jews, and Muhammedans; which were published, Gr. and Lat. by *Jac. Gretser*, with the *Hodegus* of *Anastasius*, Ingolstadt 1606. 4to. Tr.]

(35) [*Petrus Siculus*, (flourished, AD. 392,) was a learned nobleman, whom the emperor *Basil I.* sent to negotiate an exchange of prisoners in Armenia. There he became acquainted with the sect of the new *Manichaeans*, or *Paulicians*; the history of whose origin, progress, and decline, he afterwards composed; published Gr. and Lat. Ingolstadt 1604, 4to. and partially, in Latin, by *Baronius*, *Annals*, Tom. ix; and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xxii. Tr.]

Nicetas David, (36) and others; whose names would perhaps have not been handed down to this day, had not the Greeks been involved in contests with the Latins, on several subjects, and among themselves, respecting image worship.—Among the Syrians, the name of *Moses Barcephas* is famous; and not undeservedly. For he possessed genius, and skill in writing, beyond most others; as his works evince. (37)

(36) [*Nicetas David*, a learned bishop of Paphlagonia, flourished about AD. 880, and was strongly attached to the party of *Ignatius*; whose life he composed, full of reproaches against *Photius*. He also wrote encomiums on the xii apostles, and several other saints; a defence of the synod of Chalcedon, and a commentary on some parts of Greg. Naz. His life of Ignatius, was published, Gr. and Lat. with the Acts of the eighth general Council, Ingolstadt 1604. 4to; and in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. v. p. 944—1009. Tr.]

(37) *Jos. Sim. Asseman*, Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana, Tom. ii. p. 127 &c. [*Moses Barcephas* was a Syrian bishop of Beth-Raman, and inspector of the churches in Babylonia. He probably flourished near the close of this century; *Cave* says, about AD. 990.—His three Books de Paradiso, in a Latin translation from the Syriac, by *Andr. Masius*, were published, Antw. 1569. 8vo; and then in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xvii. p. 456.

The Greek writers omitted by Dr. *Mosheim*, are the following.

Nicephorus, Chartophylax, who flourished, perhaps AD. 801, and wrote two Epistles to *Theodosius* a monk of Corinth, containing solutions of several difficult questions in ethics: extant, Gr. and Lat. in the Jus Gr. et Roman. Lib. v. p. 341. and Lat. in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xii.

Josephus, archbishop of Thessalonica, brother of *Theodorus Studites*, and also a zealot for image-worship. He was deposed, AD. 809, exiled, and died after AD. 816. *Gretzer* (de Cruce, Tom. ii. p. 1200,) has published Gr. and Lat. an Oration of his, on the exaltation of the holy cross; and *Baronius*, (*Annales*, ad ann. 808, § 22.) has given us an Epistle of his, in Latin.

Ignatius, a grammarian and deacon at Constantinople, and then metropolitan of Nice. He flourished AD. 810, and was alive AD. 828. His life of the patriarch *Tarasius*, is extant, Lat. in *Surius*, and in *Bolland*, on Feb. 25th. His life of the patriarch *Nicephorus*, was published, Gr. and Lat. by *Henschenius*, and *Papebroch*, on March 12th.

Naucratus, a monk of Constantinople, very active in favor of image-worship, for which he was often imprisoned. He flourished from AD. 813, till after AD. 820. Several letters addressed to him are given us by *Baronius*; and a very long one of his, containing an account of the sufferings of the image-worshippers, is inserted, Latin, in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xiv. p. 903. *Cave* (*Hist. Lit. Tom. ii.*) gives a specimen of the Greek; but did not deem it worth publishing entire.

Theophanes, the brother of *Theodorus Graptus*, (see Note (32) pa. 81.) and of the same character, conduct, and fortune. Yet he became metropolitan of Nice, about AD. 845. We have a Hymn, consisting of ix odes, in memory of his brother; edited by *Combes*, Gr. and Lat. in his Orig. Constantinop. p. 224.

Michael, Syncellus, leader of the choir at Constantinople, a zealot for image-worship, in which cause he suffered much. He flourished about AD. 830: and wrote an Encomium on St. Dionys. Areop. which is extant, Gr. and Lat. in the Opp. Dionys. Areop. Tom. ii. p. 207: also Encomium on the holy angels and archangels of God; extant Gr. and Lat. in *Combes*, Auctuar. Nov. Tom. i. p. 1525.

George, Hamartolus, an Archimandrite, who flourished about AD. 842, and wrote a Chronicon from the creation to AD. 842, which still exists in MS. From it the succeeding chronologists, *Cedrenus*, *Theophanes*, *Glycas*, &c. have copied all that is valuable.

Ignatius, son of the emperor Michael Curopalata, castrated and banished by *Leo* the Armenian, lived a monk about 30 years, was made patriarch of Constantinople AD. 847, quarrelled with *Barda*, and was deposed and banished AD. 858. In the year 867, *Photius*, his competitor, was deposed, and *Ignatius* restored. He died in 878, aged 80 years. Two letters and one discourse of his are extant, Latin, in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. v. p. 791, 872, 937.

§ 14. At the head of the Latin writers, may justly be placed *Rabanus Maurus*, whose last office was that of archbishop of Mentz. He was the common preceptor of Germany and France; with whom, no one in this century, can be compared, either for genius, or extent of learning, or the multitude of books he composed. Whoever acquaints himself with the opinions of *Rabanus Maurus*, learns all that the best of the Latins thought and believed, for about four centuries: for his writings were in the hands of all the learned. (38)—*Agobard* of Lyons, a man of character

Metrophanes, metropolitan of Smyrna, AD. 858—859, and AD. 867—880. He was a strenuous opposer of *Photius*, and rose as he fell. He has left us a letter, giving us the history of *Photius*, from AD. 858, to 870; which is extant in Latin, in *Baronius*, *Annales*, ad ann. 870, § 453; and Gr. and Lat. in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. v. p. 1111.

Basil the Macedonian, Greek emperor from AD. 867—886. He wrote Exhortations to his son *Leo*, some orations, addresses, and epistles, still extant; besides some things which are lost.

Michael Psellus, a philosopher who flourished AD. 870, is supposed to have written some of the pieces, which go under the name of another *Michael Psellus*, that lived in the eleventh century; particularly a paraphrase on most of the books of *Aristotle*, a Dialogue on the operations of demons, a Tract concerning demons, &c.

Stylianus, surnamed *Mapa*, metropolitan of Neo-Cesarea in the Provincia Euphratensis, who flourished about AD. 870. He was a strong partizan of *Ignatius*, in opposition to *Photius*; for which he suffered a temporary deprivation of his see. He has left us two Epistles, Gr. and Lat. in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. v. p. 1122, 1130.

Michael, the monk, Syncellus to the patriarch *Ignatius*; flourished, AD. 878; and wrote an Encomium on *Ignatius*; extant, Gr. and Lat. in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. v. p. 1009; and a life of *Theodorus Studites*, from which *Baronius*, in his *Annals*, has made various extracts.

George, chartophylax of the great church at Constantinople, and archbishop of Nicomedia, about AD. 880. He was a warm friend of *Photius*. Several orations, and some poems of his, in praise of saints, are extant, Gr. and Lat. in *Combesis*, *Auctuar.* Nov. Paris 1648. Tom. i. p. 995.

Leo the Philosopher, Greek emperor from AD. 886, to AD. 911. He has left us xvi sacred orations; some letters and tracts; *ῥόγμῳ νομικῶν*, sive *Delectus Legum*, in lx Tituli; a huge digest of the laws of the Greek empire, published, Paris 1647. Gr. and Lat. in vii. Tomes, Fol. *Novellae Constitutiones* III; and *Tactica*, seu de re militari *Opus*.

Nicolaus, surnamed *Mysticus*, patriarch of Constantinople from AD. 892, to AD. 903, when he was deposed and banished, for opposing the divorce of the empress, and the marriage of another. But in 911, he was restored, and lived till 924. He has left us eight Epistles; extant in the collections of councils, or in *Baronius' Annals*. Tr.]

(38) See the *Acta Sanctor.* Tom. i. Febr. p. 500. *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tome v. p. 151. [Also, *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor.* Ord. Benedict. Tom. vi. p. 1—45.—*Rabanus*, or *Hrabanus*, surnamed *Maurus*, was of French extract, and born of respectable parentage, at Mayence, AD. 776. He studied first at Fulda, where he was made deacon in 801. The next year, he removed to Tours, to study under the famous *Alcuin*. After one or two years, he returned to Fulda, and was made head of the school there, at the age of 25. As an instructor he was so celebrated, as to draw young men of talents from a great distance. Among his pupils were, *Walafrid Strabo*, *Servatus Lupus*, and others, who were among the first scholars of their age. In the year 822, he was made abbot of Fulda; in which office, he was for a time popular; but at length the monks complained, that he was so engaged in writing books, as to neglect his active duties. He now resigned his abbacy, and retired to a literary life. This was in 842. Five years after, he was made archbishop of *Mayence*; in which office he continued till his death, AD. 857.—He wrote commentaries on all the canonical books, and

and discernment, and not destitute of learning, would have deserved more commendation, if he had not been a defender of the rebellion of the sons of *Lewis* the Meek, against their own father. (39)—*Hilduin* obtained notoriety, by his work entitled *Areopagitica*. (40)—*Eginhard*, abbot of Seligenstadt, the celebrated author of the life of *Charlemagne*, and of other works, was distinguished for the neatness of his style, and was not destitute of other excellences. (41)—*Claudius* of Turin is in reputation at this day, for his exposition of certain books of scripture, and for his *Chronology*. (42)—*Freculphus* of Lisieux, whose *Chronicon* is

several of the apocryphal; also sermons, letters, and tracts. Most of his works, as published, are comprized in vi vol. Folio, Cologne 1627. Tr.]

(39) *Colonia*, Histoire litter. de la ville de Lyon, Tom. ii. p. 93. Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Critique, Tom. i. p. 178. Histoire Litteraire de la France, Tome iv. p. 567 &c. [and *Cave's*, Historia Litteraria, Tom. ii. *Agobard* was a Franc, called from Spain to be coadjutor of *Leidrad*, archbishop of Lyons, AD. 813, whom he afterwards succeeded. He was a man of an ardent, independent mind, of great learning, and inflexibility. He attacked the superstitions of the age, so far as he discovered them, with boldness; was very zealous against the Jews, to whom the French kings were disposed to grant privileges; and taking sides with *Lothaire* and *Pipin* against their father *Lewis* the Meek, he went so far, that on a reconciliation between those sovereigns, he was deprived of his bishopric. However, he was restored, and held his office till his death in 840. He attacked *Felix* of Urgel; wrote against image-worship, against the trial by ordeal, and against the belief that evil spirits can produce storms and hail and thunder; and when some pretended *witches* were arraigned before him, he caused them to be whipped, till they confessed that they deceived the people, in order to gain a livelihood. His works were first published by *Masson*, Paris 1605, 8vo; and then, much better, together with those of *Leidrad* his predecessor, and *Amulo* his successor, by *Stephen Baluze*, Paris 1666. ii. vol. 8vo. Tr.]

(40) Histoire Litteraire de la France, Tome iv. p. 607. [and *Cave*, Historia Litteraria, Tom. II.—*Hilduin* was made abbot of St. Denys, about AD. 814, and of St. Germain near Paris in 816; also archchaplain of the palace. After being in great favor with *Lewis* the Meek, he joined the rebellion of his sons, and was deprived of his offices, and banished to Corbey in Saxony, AD. 830. But soon after he was restored to his Parisian abbacies. *Lewis* now directed him to write a full history of St. *Dionysius*, the founder of his monastery, and the reputed first bishop of Paris. This *Hilduin* executed in his famous *Areopagitica*. He there makes *Dionysius* the Areopagite, mentioned Acts xvii. 34, after being bishop of Athens, to have traveled to Rome, thence to Arles, and at last to Paris, where he founded the monastery of St. Denys (*Dionysius*), converted vast numbers, was bishop of that region, and at length suffered martyrdom, in the reign of *Domitian*. To him also, he ascribes all the works, that go under the name of *Dionysius* the Areopagite. This is his famous *Areopagitica*, a mere bundle of idle tales, once indeed generally believed, but now universally rejected. Tr.]

(41) Histoire Litteraire de la France, Tome iv. p. 550; and his Life of *Charlemagne*, as published by *Herm. Schmincke*. [See above, pa. 18. Note (35). Tr.]

(42) See *Rich. Simon*, Critique de la Bibliotheque Eccles. de M. du Pin, Tome i. p. 284. [*Claudius* was a native of Spain, and educated under *Felix* of Orgel. In 812 or 813, he became a presbyter in the court of *Lewis* the Meek, and commenced writing commentaries. In 821, *Lewis* made him bishop of Turin. He immediately set himself against all image-worship, and even removed and destroyed the pictures, and images, throughout his diocese. This excited strong opposition, and involved him in controversy all his life. Yet he persevered, denounced image-worship as idolatry, denied that the cross was to be honored, disapproved of pilgrimages, questioned the supremacy of the pope, &c. Hence some have considered him as a great reformer, and as the founder of the sect of the *Waldenses*. He certainly opposed some of the superstitions of the age; and probably contributed to preserve more independence of the pope, and greater purity of doctrine and worship in the Alpine countries, than in most other

still extant, compiled almost entirely in the very words of the ancient writers.(43)—*Servatus Lupus*, whose Epistles and tracts are still extant, ranks among the most agreeable writers of those times; nor was he so much lacking in subtilty, as in elegance and extent of learning.(44)—*Drepanius Florus*, called also *Florus Magister*, has left us Poems, Expositions of some books of scripture, and a few other writings.(45)—*Christian Druthmar* expounded the Gospel of St. Matthew.(46)—*Godeschalcus*, a monk of Orbais, is rendered immortal by the controversies respecting di-

parts of Europe. The Catholics have never been partial to him. Indeed, they tax him with great errors. Yet he was never arraigned as a heretic; nor removed from his bishopric, till his death, about AD. 839. His commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, is in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xiv. p. 134. His other commentaries, though not inferior perhaps to those of *Rabanus*, still lie in MS. Probably, they are unfavorable to popery: for it appears, that he maintained the original parity of bishops and presbyters. He wrote on Genesis three Books; on Exodus four Books; on Leviticus; on the Gospel of Matthew; on the other epistles of Paul; a short scripture Chronology; and tracts on the worship of images and saints, which are lost, except large fragments quoted by his antagonists. See *Cave*, Hist. Litteraria; *Fleury*, Histoire Ecclesiastique, Livr. xlvii. cap. 20, 21. *Schroeckh*, Kirchengesch. vol. xxiii. p. 231, 407 &c. and *Milner's Church Hist. Cent. ix. ch. iii. Tr.]*

(43) [*Proculphus* was a Benedictine monk of Fulda, and was made bishop before AD. 824. *Levis* the Meek sent him as an envoy to the pope, AD. 829. He was present in various councils, AD. 829, 835, 837, 846, and 849: and died about AD. 850. His Chronicon is in twelve Books; the seven first, extend from the creation to the christian era; the other five reach to AD. 606. The work was published, Cologne 1539. Fol. Heidelb. 1597. 8vo. and in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xiv. p. 1061. Tr.]

(44) Histoire Litteraire de la France, Tome v. p. 255. [*Lupus*, surnamed *Servatus*, was a French Benedictine monk, of Ferrara. From about AD. 828, he spent eight years at Fulda, under *Rabanus*; then some time at Seligenstadt, with *Eginhard*. He next went to court, and in 842 was made abbot of Ferrara. He was in several councils, and once envoy to Rome. His death was after AD. 861. He wrote Liber de tribus questionibus; ss. free will, predestination, and the superabundance of Christ's merits; also a Collectaneum, on the same subjects; the life of St. Wigbert; the life of St. Maximin of Treves; and 130 Epistles; all well edited by *S. Baluze*, Paris 1664. 8vo, and then in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xiv. p. 1.—*Dr. Mosheim's* account of his style, seems not very consistent. *Lupus* wrote in an easy, flowing style, tolerably chaste for that age; but not very vigorous, nor very brilliant: yet on the whole agreeable. Tr.]

(45) *Colonia*, Histoire Litteraire de Lyon, Tom. ii. p. 135. Hist. Litter. de la France, Tom. v. p. 213 &c, [*Florus* was a deacon in the church at Lyons, and flourished about AD. 837; yet he was a writer as late as AD. 852. His commentaries on all the epistles of Paul, are printed as the work of *Beda*. They are a compilation from Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, and about 9 other fathers. He also wrote on the canon of the mass; on using compulsion with the Jews; on the election and duties of a bishop; a commentary on the Psalms; three Books on predestination, against *John Scotus*; nine poetic paraphrases of some Psalms, Hymns, and Epistles; and five other poems. Some of these are published, in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. viii, and xv. *Mabillon*, Analect. Tom. iv. *Dachier*, Spicileg. Tom. xii. *Mauguin*, Vindiciae Gratiae &c. Tom. i. &c. The rest were never printed. Tr.]

(46) Histoire Litter. de la France, Tom. v. p. 84. [*Druthmar* was a French Benedictine monk of Corbey, and flourished about AD. 840. His commentary on Matthew, is so opposed to the doctrine of transubstantiation, that the friends of that doctrine have labored hard, to prove the work corrupted by the Lutherans; but in vain, for it was first published, before *Luther* began to assail popery, in the year 1514, by *Edm. Albertin*. It is now in the Biblioth. Patrum Tom. xv. p. 86. See *Cave*, Historia Litter. Tom. ii. Tr.]

vine grace and predestination, to which he gave rise.(47)—*Paschasius Radbert*, a man of fame in the controversies respecting the Lord's supper, has left us, besides other works, a book on that subject, which afforded matter for a long debate in that age.(48)—*Bertram* or *Ratramn*, a monk of Corbey, was the principal antagonist of Radbert. His tract on the Lord's supper, drawn up by order of *Charles* the Bald, occasioned likewise much debate among the learned.(49)—*Haymo* of Halberstadt, wrote books of various sorts, which are specimens rather of industry, than of genius and learning.(50)—*Walafrid Strabo* deserved well of the

(47) [*Godeschalcus* or *Gotteschalcus*, was of Saxon origin, and educated in the monastery of Fulda. When arrived at manhood, he wished no longer to lead a monastic life; but was compelled to it, on the ground that his father had devoted him to such a life in his childhood, and that no human power could vacate the transaction. He now removed to Orbais, was ordained a presbyter, and was so distinguished as a scholar, that he was surnamed *Fulgentius*. Upon some disaffection between him and the bishop of the diocese, he travelled to Italy, and thence to Dalmatia and Pannonia. *Augustine* was his favorite author; and he now began to advance the opinions of *Augustine* respecting divine grace, and a twofold predestination. Many favored those views: but more were opposed to them. The synod of Mayence, AD. 847, condemned his sentiments; and the president, *Rabanus Maurus*, sent him to *Hincmar*, archbishop of Rheims, to whose diocese he belonged. The next year, he was arraigned before the synod of Chiersey, condemned, degraded, and shut up by *Hincmar* in the monastery of Hauteville; and after 21 years confinement, died in prison. He persevered to the last in his opinions, and was denied christian burial. He wrote two statements of his faith, a longer and a shorter; both of which are extant. In one of them he offered to be cast into boiling water or oil, and to stake the truth of his doctrine on the issue. He also wrote a letter or two, and a tract, on predestination; but they are lost. See *Cave's Historia Litter. Mauguin*, *Vindiciae Prædestinationis et Gratiae*, Tom. ii. p. 45 &c. *L. Cellot*, *Historia Gotteschalci Prædestinationiani*; *Schroëckh*, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiv. p. 5 &c. *J. Milner*, church Hist. Cent. ix. ch. iv. Tr.]

(48) [*Paschasius Radbert* was a French monk, born about AD 786. In the year 844, he became abbot of Corbey in France. He was a member of the synod of Chiersey; which condemned *Godeschalcus*, AD. 849: and died Apr. 26, AD. 851. The Protestants regard him as the man who introduced the doctrine of transubstantiation into the Romish church. *Berengarius* taxed him with this; and even *Bellarmin* (de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. p. 268,) says: *Hic auctor primus fuit, qui serio et copiose scripsit de veritate corporis et sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia*. But *Mabillon*, (Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. vi. Praef. p. ix &c.) endeavors to confute this charge. He wrote Expositions of Matthew, of the book of Lamentations, of the 44th Psalm; de Sacramento corporis et sanguinis D. N. Jesu, ad Pacidum Liber; de corpore et sang. Domini, ad Frudegardum Epistola; the life of St. Adelhard; the passion of SS. Rufinus and Valerius: all which were published by *Sirmond*, Paris 1618. Fol. He also wrote the life of St. Wala; and de partu virginis, Libri ii. See *Cave*, Hist. Litt. vol. ii. and *Mabillon*, Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. vi. p. 126—142. Tr.]

(49) Concerning both *Radbert* and *Ratramn*, see the *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tom. v. p. 287, and 332. [*Bertram* or *Ratramn*, was a French monk of old Corbey, and afterwards abbot of Orbais. He flourished as early as 840, and was still alive in 870. He was a devout, modest, and learned man: and wrote de partu virginis, proving that the Savior was born in the ordinary manner; which *Radbert* answered, maintaining the perpetual virginity of Mary; de prædestinatione Libri ii, in vindication of the sentiments of *Godeschalcus*; contra Graecorum errores Libri iv; de corpore et sang. Domini; in opposition to *Radbert*; and de anima Liber. Tr.]

(50) Of the works commonly ascribed to *Haymo*, a considerable part are not his, but the productions of *Remigius* of Auxerre. See *Casimir Oudin*, Comment. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. Tom. ii. p. 330. *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tom. v.

church in that age, by his Poems, his Lives of Saints, and his Exposition of difficult passages of scripture.(51)—*Hincmar* of Rheims, deserves a very honorable place among the Latin writers of this century. For his writings on various subjects, shew, that his mind was not of the ordinary class, but elevated, independent, and zealous for truth. But he at the same time was arrogant, and of a restless temper. His works throw much light on both the civil and the ecclesiastical history of that age.(52)—*John Erigena Scotus*, the friend and companion of the emperor *Charles the Bald*, combined the study of philosophy with that of theology, and acquired great reputation and fame, by the acuteness of his mind, and by his translations from Greek into Latin, as well as by his original compositions.(53)—*Remigius*,(54) *Bertharius*,(55) *A-*

p. 111. Tom. vi. p. 106. *Le Beuf*, Recueil des Diss. sur l'Histoire de la France, Tom. i. p. 278. [*Haymo* or *Aymo*, was a disciple of *Alcuin*, an intimate friend and fellow student of *Rabanus Maurus*, a monk of Fulda, abbot of Hersfeld AD. 839, and bishop of Halberstadt AD. 841. He was at the synod of Mayence in 848, and died 853. Among the writings ascribed to him, are Commentaries on the Psalms, on Isaiah, on the epistles of Paul, on the Apocalypse; all of which are mere compilations from the fathers; *Historiae Eccles. Breviarium*, sive de Christianorum rerum memoria Libri x. a mere abridgement of *Rufinus*; some Homilies; de amore patriae coelestis Libri iii; and de corpore et sang. Domini Tractatus. See *Cave*, Hist. Litt. Tom. ii. and *Mabillon*, Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. v. p. 585 &c. Tr.]

(51) See *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tom. v. p. 59. [*Walafrid Strabo*, (or *Strabus*, i. e. *squint-eyed*), was a Suabian; studied in the monastery of *Richenau*, then at Fulda, under *Rabanus*; became head of the school, and at last abbot of *Richenau*, AD. 842. His death is placed in the year 849. He was learned, and a pleasing writer; yet bathed in monkish superstition. He wrote de Officiis divinis, sive de exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticarum Liber; Lives of *St. Gall*, *St. Otho*, *St. Blathmaz*, *St. Mamma*, *St. Leudegar*; and the vision of *St. Wittin*; various Poems; a Tract on the destruction of Jerusalem; and the *Glossa Ordinaria interlinearis* in *S. Scripturam*; which is extracted chiefly from the writings of *Rabanus Maurus*. Tr.]

(52) *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tom. v. p. 544. [*Hincmar* was a Frenchman, of noble birth, educated under *Hilduin*, in the monastery of *St. Denys* near Paris. He was distinguished as a scholar and a theologian, and in great favor at court. In the year 830, he had leave to accompany *Hilduin* in his banishment to Saxony. In the year 845, he was made archbishop of Rheims, in which office he continued till his death, AD. 882. Possessing talents of the first order, and great activity and perseverance, his influence at court, and in all the ecclesiastical transactions of that part of the country, was immense. Against Augustinianism, and in favor of the liberties of the Gallican church, he was equally strenuous. Yet he was not free from superstition; as appears from his justification of a trial by ordeal, (Opp. Tom. ii. p. 676,) and his belief in purgatory and visions, (Ibid. p. 806). Most of his writings are still extant, edited by *Sirmond*, Paris 1645, 2 vol. Fol. They consist of letters on important subjects and events; Capitula, or ecclesiastical rules; confutations of *Gotteschalchus*, &c. See *Cave*, Hist. Litt. Tom. ii. *Schroeckh*, Kirchengesch. Vol. xxiv. p. 20 &c. Tr.]

(53) See *Herm. Conringius*, Antiquitates Academicæ, p. 309. *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tom. v. p. 416 &c. and others. [*John Scotus Erigena*, was a native either of Scotland, or Ireland; and a very profound scholar. He passed most of his life in France, and at the court of *Charles the Bald*. About the year 850, he wrote his tract de Prædestinatione Dei contra Gotteschalchum, in 19 chapters. Being well acquainted with Greek, he acquired the subtlety of an Aristotelian, and the propensity to mysticism of a Platonist. His great work, he entitled *ἐπεὶ φυσικῶν μερίσματος*, de divisione naturæ, seu de rerum naturis, Libri v. ed. Oxon. 1681. Fol. He translated the works of the *Pseudo-Dionysius Areop.* and the Scholia of *St. Maximus* on difficult passages of *Gregory Naz.* and com-

do,(56) *Aimoin*,(57) *Heric*,(58) *Regino* of Prum,(59) and others, are here passed over, as a sufficient knowledge of them may easily be obtained from common writers.(60)

posed a Tract on the Lord's supper; which is lost, but in which he is said to have denied the doctrine of transubstantiation.—Several writers confound him with *John*, a Saxon monk, whom king *Alfred* invited over from France to England, to teach in his school at Oxford, and who was murdered by the envious monks. But *Mabillon* (*Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. vi. p. 114 &c.*) shows, that he was a different person; and that there is no evidence of his going to England, in the days of *Alfred*. He was alive AD. 872. *Tr.*]

(54) [There were two eminent men in this century, of the name of *Remigius*. The one, bishop of Lyons, and active from AD. 850 to AD. 875, in several councils, in behalf of Augustinianism, and Godeschalchus. He wrote de tribus Episcoporum epistolis Liber, seu Responsio ecclesiae Lugdunensis nomine facta adversus Hincmari, Rabani, et anonymi Episcopi epistolas; (in defence of Augustinianism;) Libellus de tenenda Scripturae veritate, et SS. Patrum auctoritate sectanda; and Absolutio questionis de generali per Adamum damnatione, et speciali per Christum ex eadem ereptione electorum. These Tracts are in the Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. xv, and in *Mauguin*, Collectio Scriptor. de Praedestinatione &c. Tom. i.—The other *Remigius* was a Benedictine monk of St. Germain, in Auxerre; and hence called Autissiodorensis. In the year 882, or subsequently, he was called to Rheims, to take charge of the bishop's school. He died about AD. 900. His works are Commentaries on all the Psalms of David; on the 11 last minor prophets; on the epistles of St. Paul; (sometimes ascribed, though falsely, to *Haymo* of Halberstadt;) and an exposition of the mass. All these are compilations from the fathers. *Tr.*]

(55) [*St. Bertharius* was of noble French origin, and first a monk, and then abbot of Monte Cassino in Italy, from AD. 856, till his death in the year 884. The Saracens frequently plundered that monastery, and at last slew *Bertharius* at the altar. See *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. vi. p. 472 &c.* He wrote several discourses, poems, and lives or eulogies of saints; most of which remain unpublished in the archives of his monastery. *Tr.*]

(56) [*Ado*, a French monk, born about AD. 800, made archbishop of Vienne AD. 860, and died AD. 876. He was much esteemed, and active in several councils, in favor of Augustinianism. He wrote a Martyrology, before he was a bishop, and afterwards, a brief chronology, from the creation to about AD. 870; also the lives of some saints. See *Mabillon*, l. c. Tom. vi. p. 278—290. *Tr.*]

(57) [*Aimoin* a Benedictine monk of St. Germain near Paris, near the close of this century. He wrote the history of the miracles and of the removal of the relics of St. Germain and St. George; which is extant in *Mabillon*, l. c. Tom. iv. p. 96 &c. and Tom. vi. p. 45 &c. This *Aimoin* must not be confounded with *Aimoin* the Benedictine monk of Fleury, in the 11th century, the author of the *Historia de rebus gestis Francorum*. See *Labbe* de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. ad *Bel-larminum*, p. 305 &c. *Tr.*]

(58) [*Hericus* or *Erricus*, born at *Hery*, a village near Auxerre, and a Benedictine monk at Auxerre, near the close of this century. He wrote six Books of poetry, on the life of St. Germain; and two Books of prose, respecting his miracles; besides numerous Homilies, some of which are now inserted in the *Homiliarium* of *Paul Diaconus*. See *Cave*, *Hist. Litt. Tom. ii. Tr.*]

(59) [*Regino* was a German, a monk of Prum, in the diocese of Treves, chosen abbot there AD. 892; opposed, and induced to resign AD. 899. He died AD. 908. His *Chronicon*, from the christian era to the year 907, and continued by another hand to AD. 972, relates chiefly to the affairs of the Franks and Teutones. It is printed among the *Scriptores rerum German. ed. of Pistorius*, Tom. i. His two Books de disciplinis ecclesiasticis et religione christiana (a collection from councils, and the fathers, relating to ecclesiastical law,) are best edited by *Steph. Baluze*, Paris 1671. 8vo. *Tr.*]

(60) [The Latin writers omitted by *Dr. Mosheim*, are the following. *Benedictus* Anianensis, born in lower Languedoc, AD. 751, educated at court, and for some years employed in civil life. In the year 774, he retired to a monastery: and 6 years after, to avoid being made abbot, withdrew to a cell near the river Aniane, where monks gathered around him, and he became abbot of

that, and a dozen other monasteries propagated from it. He died AD. 814. See his life, written by *Ardo*, his disciple, in *Mabillon*, Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. v. p. 183—215. He wrote *Codex Regularum Monasticar.* (a collection of the rules of most orders of monks, previous to his time;) edited by *L. Holsteinus*, 1661, and Paris 1664. 4to.—*Concordia Regularum*;—a collection of exhortations to monks; *Modus diversarum poenitentiarum*; and some epistles.

Ludger, a monk of Utrecht, who spent some time in England, and traveled in Italy; became abbot of Werden, and bishop of Mamegauen, AD. 802, and died AD. 809. See his life, written by *Altfred*, the second bishop after him, in *Mabillon*, l. c. Tom. v. p. 14—33. He wrote the life of *St. Gregory* bishop of Utrecht, and some letters, still extant.

Smaragdus, abbot of St. Michael, in the diocese of Verdun; flourished about AD. 810, and wrote commentaries on the Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles; *Diadema Monachorum*; a commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict; *Via Regia*; a letter for *Charlemagne* to the pope; Acts of a conference at Rome AD. 810; and a grammatical commentary on *Donatus*, in fourteen Books. The last, never published.

Amalarius, a deacon, and perhaps rural bishop of Metz. He flourished from AD. 812, to AD. 836; and wrote de divinis sive ecclesiasticis officiis Libri iv; and de ordine antiphonarum Liber; (both in the Biblioth. Patrum Tom. xiv.) also some epistles, Ecloga in canonem missae, and regula seu institutio canonicorum.

Hatto, abbot of Richenau, and bishop of Basle AD. 811—836. He wrote some capitula for his diocese, and an account of the visions of *Wettin*, *Hildegard*, and other monkish saints.

Hettius or *Hetto*, archbishop of Treves, AD. 814 &c. has left us two Epistles.

Protharius, abbot of St. Aper, and bishop of Toul, AD. 817—837. He wrote Epistolarum Liber, addressed to various bishops; published by *Duchesne*, among the Scriptores rerum Francicarum, Tom. ii. p. 719.

Ebbo or *Ebo*, a German, educated at the imperial court, employed some time in civil affairs, then abbot of St. Remigius, and AD. 816 archbishop of Rheims. In 822, he went to Rome, and obtained a commission to convert the northern nations; in consequence of which he made two journeys to Denmark. In the year 833, he joined the revolt of *Lothaire* against his father *Lewis*; for which he lost his bishoprick, and was kept in custody at Fulda and other places. In 840, he was restored to his see; but lost it the next year. In 844, he was made bishop of Hildesheim; and died AD. 851. Of this restless prelate, we have nothing remaining, but his *Apologeticus*, presented to the council of Hildesheim; and published in the collections of Councils.

Haliugarius, bishop of Cambray and Arras, AD. 816. He accompanied *Ebbo* in one of his excursions to Denmark. In 823, the emperor *Lewis* sent him as envoy to Constantinople. He returned the next year, with abundance of relics; and died in 831. He wrote Opus de vitiis et virtutibus, remediis peccatorum, et ordine et judicii poenitentiae sex Libris absolutum; published by *H. Canisius*, and in the Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. xiv. p. 906.

Paschal II. pope AD. 817—824, has left us three Epistles; which are in the collection of the Councils.

Sedulius, a Scot, who flourished about AD. 818, and compiled from the fathers a *Collectaneum*, seu Explanatio in Epistolas S. Pauli; which is extant in the Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. vi. p. 494. He is to be distinguished from *Sedulius* the poet. See *Labbe*, de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. apud *Bellarminum*, de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. p. 149—152.

Dungal, a monk of St. Denys near Paris, AD. 821. He wrote a confutation of *Claudius* of Turin, in vindication of image-worship; which is in the Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. xiv. p. 196, and a letter to *Charlemagne*, de eclipsi solari.

Jonas, bishop of Orleans, AD. 821—843. He was much employed on councils; and wrote against *Claudius* of Turin, an *Apologeticum* for retaining images, but without worshipping them, in three Books; also de institutione laicorum Libri iii, and de institutione regia Liber; extant in the Bibliotheca Patrum, Tom. xiv. p. 166.

Eugenius II. pope, AD. 824—827, has left us two Epistles, and nine Decreta; which are extant in the collections of Councils.

Gregory IV, pope, AD. 828—844. Three of his Epistles are in the collections of Councils; and another, concerning the monastery of Fleury, in *Baluzii Miscell.* Tom. ii. p. 145.

Ansegisus, abbot of various monasteries in France, from AD. 807, till his death in 833. He collected the *Capitularia Caroli Magni de rebus præsertim ecclesiasticis*, in four Books; best edited by *Steph. Baluze*, Paris 1677, ii Tomi, Fol. His life, written by a contemporary, is in *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. v. p. 593 &c.

Ardo, called *Smaragdus*, abbot of Aniane, and author of the life of his predecessor *Benedictus Anianensis*; which is in *Mabillon*, l. c. Tom. v. p. 183 &c. Several other works have been ascribed to him; but some adjudge them to another of the same name.

Theganus, a learned French gentleman, and suffragan to the archbishop of Treves. He flourished about AD. 837; and wrote *Annales de gestis Ludovici Imp. ab ann. 813, usque ad ann. 837*; extant among the *Scriptores rerum Francicar. ed. Duchesne*, Tom. ii.

Amulo, *Amulus*, or *Amularius*, archbishop of Lyons, AD. 841—852, or longer. He wrote *Epistola ad Theobaldum*, exploding certain relics and the vendors of them: *ad Godeschalcum Epistola*, disapproving his opinions: and three tracts, on free will, predestination, and grace: all which were published by *S. Baluze*, subjoined to the works of Agobard, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xiv. p. 329.

Nithardus, grandson of *Charlemagne*; first a courtier and soldier, and then a monk. He flourished AD. 843, and died in 853. He has left us four Books, de *Dissidio filiorum Ludovici Pii*, from AD. 814—843; published by *Pithoeus*, and by *Duchesne*, *rerum Francicarum Scriptores*, Tom. ii. p. 259.

Sergius II, pope AD. 844—847, has left one *Epistle*; extant in the collections of Councils.

Prudens or *Prudentius*, a Spaniard, but bishop of Troyes in France. He flourished AD. 846, and died in 861. He wrote several tracts on predestination &c. against *John Scotus*, *Hincmar* &c. which are extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Tom. xv. p. 598; and also in *Mauguin*, *Vindiciae gratiae*, Tom. ii.

Paradul, bishop of Laon, AD. 847—856. His *Epistle to Hincmar of Rheims*, is printed inter *Opera Hincmari*, Tom. ii. p. 838.

Eulogius of Corduba, flourished from AD. 847, to 859, when he was beheaded by the Saracens, for his opposition to their laws. He wrote *Memoriale Sanctorum*, sive *Libri iii. de martyribus Cordubensibus*; *Apologeticus pro martyribus*; *Exhortatio ad martyrium*; and several *Epistles*; all extant inter *Rerum Hispanicarum scriptores*, Tom. iv, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xv. p. 242.

Alvarus, a Spanish christian of Corduba, the intimate friend of Eulogius. He wrote the life of Eulogius, several epistles, and a tract entitled *Scintillae Patrum*; all of which, except the last, are published with the works of Eulogius.

Leo IV, pope AD. 847—855, has left us two entire epistles, and fragments of several others; besides a good homily, addressed to presbyters and deacons, on the pastoral duties: extant, in the collections of Councils.

Wendelbert, a Benedictine monk of Prum, who flourished AD. 850. He wrote the life and miracles of St. Goar; (in *Mabillon*, *Acta SS. ord. Bened.* Tom. ii. p. 269 &c.): also a martyrology, in heroic verse, published among the works of *Beda*, Tom. i. under the title of *Ephimeridum Bedae*.

Aeneas, bishop of Paris, AD. 854—869. He wrote *adversus objectiones Graecorum Liber*; published by *Dachier*, *Spicileg.* Tom. vii. and a short epistle to *Hincmar*.

Benedict III, pope AD. 855—858. Four of his epistles are in the collections of Councils.

Herard, archbishop of Tours, AD. 855—871, has left us 140 *Capitula*, addressed to his clergy; and some other papers, in the collections of Councils.

Hincmar, bishop of Laon, AD. 858—871, when he was deposed. This proud and tyrannical prelate quarrelled with his uncle, *Hincmar* archbishop of Rheims, with the king, with his clergy, and others; appealed to Rome, and obtained support from the pope. But was finally put down. He died about AD. 881. There remain of him several epistles, and documents relating to his contests; extant in the works of *Hincmar* of Rheims, and in the collections of Councils.

Angelmus, a Benedictine monk of Luxeuil in Burgundy, who flourished AD. 856. He wrote *Stromata*, or *Commentaries*, on the four Books of kings; and also on the Canticles; which are extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Tom. xv. p. 307.

Nicolaus, pope AD. 858—867. He began the controversy with *Photius* patriarch of Constantinople, and opposed king *Lothaire's* divorce of his queen. He has left us about 100 epistles; a Reply to the Interrogatories of the Bulgarians in

106 Capitula, besides decrees and rescripts on various subjects. His letters were published at Rome, 1542, Fol. and with his other works, are now in the collections of Councils.

Isaac, bishop of Langres, AD. 859—878, or longer. He, or *Isaac* abbot of Poitiers, wrote a long epistle de canone Missae; published by *Dachier*, Spicileg. Tom. xiii. He is the author of a collectio Canonum, like the Greek Nomocanon, compiled from the Capitula of the French kings, and the decisions of councils; which was published by *Sirmond*, and since in other collections of Councils.

Huldric, *Udalric*, or *Hulric*, bishop of Augsburg, AD. 860—900. He was a distinguished prelate, and wrote a long letter to pope *Nicolaus*, reprobating his rigid enforcement of celibacy upon the clergy. This famous letter, which pope Gregory VII. condemned as heretical, AD. 1079, has been often printed by the Protestants.

Hadrian or *Adrian*, pope AD. 867—872. He continued the contest with *Photius*, and assumed great power in France. Twenty-six of his epistles, besides some addresses and papers, are extant in the collections of Councils.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius, an abbot, presbyter, and librarian at Rome, who was papal envoy to Constantinople, to Naples &c. He was one of the most learned men of his time, (AD. 870—886), and well acquainted with the Greek language. He wrote Acta Concilii Constantinop. iv. in Latin, falsely called the eighth general Council, AD. 869; Acta Concilii Nicaeni ii. AD. 787, Latine versa; Historia Ecclesiastica, sive Chronographia Tripartita, compiled from *Niceph.* Patr. of Cpl. *George* Syncell. and *Theophanes* Confessor; Historia de vitis Romanorum Pontificum, seu Liber Pontificalis, from *St. Peter*, to pope *Nicolaus* I. Collectanea de iis, quae spectant ad historiam Monothelitarum; besides various letters, and tracts, either original, or translations and abstracts; published by *Sirmond*, Paris 1620. 8vo. His Acts of councils and his lives of the popes, are inserted in the collections of Councils.

John VIII, pope AD. 872—882. He was an active pope, but greatly harassed by the Saracens, who infested all southern Italy. There are extant in the collections of Councils and elsewhere, 326 of his epistles.

Hartmutus, or *Hartmannus*, abbot of St. Gall, AD. 872—883. He wrote some poems and hymns, published by *Canisius*, Lectiones Antiquae. Tom. v. also the life of *St. Wiborada*, a virgin martyr; extant in *Mabillon*, Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Tom. vii. p. 42 &c.

John, a deacon at Rome, and the friend of *Anastasius* Biblioth. who flourished AD. 875. He wrote the life of *St. Gregory* the Great, in iv. Books; which is in all the editions of the works of Gregory; and in *Mabillon*, Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Tom. i. p. 389 &c.

Usuardus, a French monk of St. Germain, near Paris, who flourished AD. 876. Displeased with the brevity of the martyrologies of *Jerome* and *Beda*, he wrote one more full and particular, under the countenance of *Charles* the Bald. It was published, Louvain 1568. 8vo; and with omissions of what displeased the Papists, at Antwerp, 1587. 8vo.

Abbo, a monk of St. Germain, having witnessed the siege of Paris by the Normans, in the year 887, composed a history of it, in three Books of very uncouth verses; published among the *Scriptores Historiae Franc.*

Stephen V, pope AD. 885—891, has left us three Epistles, and part of another.

Wolfhardus, a Benedictine monk and presbyter, in the diocese of Eichstadt, who flourished AD. 886, has left us a life of *St. Walpurga*, or *St. Walpurgis*, in four Books; extant in *Mabillon*, Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Tom. iv. p. 260 &c.

Herembertus, or *Erchembertus*, a monk of Monte Cassino, AD. 887. He wrote a Chronicle, or a full History of the Lombards, continued to AD. 888; an abridgment of which, made (it is supposed) by the author himself, was published at Naples 1626. 4to, together with three other Chronicles.

Adrevaldus, or *Adalbertus*, a Benedictine monk of Fleury, AD. 890; wrote the history of the removal of the remains of *St. Benedict* and *St. Scholastica* from Monte Cassino to Fleury; extant in *Mabillon*, Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Tom. ii. p. 338 &c. He also wrote de Corpore et sanguine Domini, in opposition to the views of *John Scotus*; extant in *Dachier*, Spicileg. Tom. xii.

Asserius, a British monk, much employed by *Alfred* the Great, and by him made bishop of Sherburne. He flourished AD. 890, and wrote a history of the life and achievements of king *Alfred*; which is published among the *Scriptores rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Franci. 1602. p. 1 &c.

Gulielmus, librarian of the church of Rome, AD. 890. . He continued *Anastasi*'s lives of the popes, from AD. 867, to AD. 891.

Solomon, a German monk, abbot, and at last bishop of Constance, AD. 890—920. He left several poems; published in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xvi.

Formosus, pope AD. 891—896. He had sharp contests with the citizens of Rome; and when dead, his successor *Stephen VII* dug up his remains, deposed him, mutilated his body, and cast it into the Tiber. Two of his Epistles are extant in the collections of Councils.

Auzilius, a writer little known, who flourished about AD. 894, and composed a history of pope *Formosus*, and the contests respecting him, in two Books; in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xvii. p. 1.

The popes *Stephen VII*, AD. 896—897, *John IX*, AD. 898—900, and *Benedict IV*, AD. 900—904, have left us, the first ii Epistles, the next iv, and the third ii; which are in the collections of Councils. Tr.]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. The low state of religion and learning.—§ 2. Causes of this evil.—§ 3. The corruption of the age manifest in the worship of saints and relics.—§ 4. Canonization of saints.—§ 5. Biographies of saints.—§ 6. Attachment to relics.—§ 7. Regard for the holy scriptures.—§ 8. Faults of the Latin expositors.—§ 9. The Allegorists.—§ 10. Method of treating theological subjects.—§ 11. State of practical theology.—§ 12. Progress of mysticism.—§ 13. Polemic theology.—§ 14, 15. Controversy respecting images, among the Greeks.—§ 16. Among the Latins.—§ 17. Iconoclasts among the Latins.—§ 18. Controversy respecting the procession of the H. Sp. continued.—§ 19. Paschasius Radbert's controversy respecting the Lord's supper.—§ 20. His opposer, Bertram.—§ 21. The involved controversy about sterocoranism.—§ 22. Controversy respecting grace and predestination; Godeschalvus.—§ 23. History of this contest.—§ 24. Judgment respecting it.—§ 25. Hincmar and Godeschalvus contend about a three-fold Deity.—§ 26. Strife respecting the parturition of St. Mary.—§ 27, 28. First controversy between the Greeks and Latins, respecting Photius.—§ 29, 30, 31, 32. Their second controversy.

§ 1. So long as those persons survived, whom the liberality of *Charlemagne* and his zeal for christianity, had prompted to the study of the bible and to a candid investigation of truth, a barrier existed to the ingress of many errors and superstitions. And accordingly, not a few proofs may be collected out of the writers of this age, shewing, that the truth had some strenuous vindicators. But as these men were gradually removed, and barbarism regained its former ascendancy, a flood of superstitious and pious follies, and of base and degrading opinions, rushed in from all quarters. And none were more zealous and active in the propagation of them, than the professed teachers and patrons of piety and religion; who were corrupted, partly by their great ignorance, and partly by their selfish passions. The state of things was not much better in the East, and among the Greeks; although here and there an individual arose, who was disposed to succor the sinking cause of pure religion.

§ 2. The causes of this unhappy state of things, will readily be apprehended, by those acquainted with the occurrences among christians in this century. The oriental doctors, wholly occupied with their intestine broils and their foreign controversies, became disqualified for more sober investigations: and as one error generally draws others in its train, it was the natural consequence of the fierce disputes of the orientals, (among themselves respecting image-worship, and with the Latins respecting the superiority of their discipline and the divinity of their dogmas,) that many other evils and faults should exist. Moreover the uncomfortable and irrational mode of life, pursued by those who retired to deserts and solitary retreats, was inconsistent with a sound mind, and a sober judgment. Yet the persons of this class were immensely

numerous, and their influence by no means small. In the West, the incursions of the barbarous tribes, the wars and abominable crimes of the sovereigns, the neglect of every branch of learning, the infatuated purpose of the Roman pontiffs to display and extend their power, and the impositions and falsehoods of the monks, were ruinous to the cause of virtue, of mental cultivation, and piety.

§ 3. How great the ignorance and perverseness of this century, appears from the single fact of the extravagant and stupid veneration paid to saints, and to their bones and carcases. For in this, consisted the greatest part of their piety and religion. They all believed, that they should never find God propitious to them, unless they obtained some intercessor and patron among the glorified saints. And each separate church, and almost each individual person, sought for some particular and appropriate patron; as if afraid, that a patron engaged to manage the concerns of others, would neglect theirs, if committed to him. For they were inclined to estimate the condition of the blessed, according to the maxims and principles of common life on the earth. And hence arose the rage for making, almost daily, new tutelar protectors. And the priests and monks were most successful, in dispelling the darkness that concealed the wondrous deeds of many holy men; or rather, in fabricating the names and the histories of saints, that never existed; so that they might have patrons enough for all the credulous and senseless people. Many however, provided for themselves, by committing their interests and their salvation to phantoms of their own creation; or to delirious persons, who, they supposed, had led very holy lives, because they had lived like fools and mad men.

§ 4. To this licentiousness of multiplying daily the number of ministers, at that celestial court which ill-informed men pictured to themselves, the ecclesiastical councils endeavored to set bounds; for they ordained, that no person should be accounted a glorified saint, unless he was declared worthy of that honor, by a bishop and provincial council, in presence of the people.⁽¹⁾ This fallacious remedy laid some restraint upon the inconsiderateness of the people. There were also some in this age, who deemed it not absolutely necessary, though useful and proper, that the decisions of bishops and councils should be sanctioned and confirmed, by the approbation of the *first* bishop, that is, by the bishop of Rome. Nor will this excite surprise, if we consider the great increase of the papal power in the unenlightened, rude, and superstitious age. There is indeed no example extant, older than the tenth century, of any one's being solemnly sainted by the

(1) *Jo. Mabillon*, Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Saecul. v. [Tom. vii.] Praef. p. xliv &c. [p. lvii. &c. ed. Venice]. *Jo. Launoy*, de Lazari, Magdalenae et Marthae in Provinciam appulsa, cap. i. § xii. Opp. Tom. ii. Pt. i. p. 342. *Franc. Pagi*, Breviarium Pontif. Romanor. Tom. ii. p. 259. Tom. iii. p. 30.

Romish bishop : (2) yet that he was sometimes consulted on such matters, and his opinion asked respecting those to be consecrated, may be shown by some testimonies : (3) and it was by such steps as these, that the bishops attained to that power of creating tutelary divinities, which is denominated *canonization*.

§ 5. The number of celestial or glorified saints being so preposterously multiplied, nothing better was to be expected, than that their biographies would be written, filled with falsehoods and fables ; and that accounts should be published of transactions, which no one ever performed. There is still extant a great mass of such idle tales ; which, it appears, was produced for the most part by the idle monks. And these deceivers of the simple, were not ashamed to debase, with false accounts and fictitious miracles, the histories of those who really suffered persecution and death for the cause of Christ, in the earlier ages ; and there are not wanting some respectable writers of those times, who chastise this their temerity. (4) Some were led to practice these impositions, by their false notions of religion. For in this rude and ignorant age, it was supposed, that the saints in heaven delight in praise, and therefore shew special favors to such as proclaim abroad their deeds. Others were prompted to such presumptuous conduct, by their lust for honor or for lucre. Because the rabble, in their perplexities and seasons of danger, flocked in great numbers and with presents, to the temples of those saints, who were said to be ancient and to have performed many wonders while alive. And hence, such as were appointed to write the history of the patron saint of any associated body, deemed it necessary to practice deception, and to add false miracles to their account. (5)

(2) See *Dan. Papebrock*, de solennium canonisationum initiis et progressu, in Propylæo Actor. SS. mense Maii, p. 171 &c. [*Jo. Mabillon*, ubi supra. *J. F. Budeus*, de Origine 'Αποδοσεως, seu canonisationis, in Eccl. Rom. in his *Miscell. Sacr.* p. 463 &c.] and the authors referred to, on this subject, by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* cap. vii. § xxv. p. 270.

(3) See the very temperate and ingenuous discussion of this subject, by the sovereign pontiff, *Benedict XIV.* previously, *Prosper Lambertinus* ; de servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione, Lib. i. cap. vii. in his *Opp.* Tom. i. p. 50. ed. Rome. It were to be wished, the historians of the church of Rome would learn to imitate the discretion and fairness of their pontiff. [The earliest solemn canonization by the popes, of which we have authentic records, is that of *Ulrich* bishop of Augsburg, by *John XV.* AD. 995. Yet bishops, metropolitans, and provincial councils, were concerned in such acts, for more than a century after this. And it was not till the pontificate of *Alexander III.* AD. 1160—1181, that the popes claimed the exclusive power of adding new saints to the *Kalendar*. See *Mabillon*, ubi supra. p. lix. § 91, and p. lxxviii. § 99 &c. Tr.]

(4) See *Servatus Lupus*, *Vita Maximini*, p. 275, 276 ; and the ingenuous and learned remarks on this subject, made in several places by *John Launoy* ; *Disruptio epistolæ Petri de Marca*, de tempore, quo in Gallia Christi fides recepta, cap. xiv. p. 110.—*Dissert. iii. de primis christianæ relig. in Gallia initiis*, Diss. ii. p. 142, 144, 145, 147, 168, 169, 184.—de *Lazari*, *Magdal. et Marthæ in Galliam appulsu*, p. 340.—de duobus *Dionysiis*, *Opp.* Tom. ii. Pt. i. p. 527, 529, 530. See also *Martens*, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* Tom. i. p. 151. and the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tome iv. p. 273.

(5) Among all the lives of saints, composed in this age, none are more to be

§ 6. In the bones of those who were accounted saints, and the utensils which they used while alive, and even in the very ground which they had touched, there was supposed to reside a marvellous power of repelling all evils, both bodily and mental, and especially of paralyzing the machinations of the prince of darkness. Hence, scarcely any one ventured to be unprovided with these useful safeguards. The eagerness for relics led some to encounter severe toils and troublesome journeys, to no purpose; while others it prompted to delude the people with base impositions. To obtain a sufficiency of relics, to accommodate all who were zealous for them, the latent carcasses of departed saints were first sought for by the priests with prayer and fasting, and then were discovered by the guidance and monitions of God. The exultation, on the discovery of such a treasure, was immense. Some made journeys into the East, and travelled over the regions and places made famous by the presence of Christ and his friends, in order to bring from them what would afford comfort to the faint-hearted, and protection to their country and their fellow citizens. Nor did such travellers return empty: for the cunning Greeks, always versatile and knavish, took from the honest Latins their genuine coin, and sent them home loaded with spurious merchandise. In this way the numerous holy bodies, and parts of bodies, of *Mark, James, Bartholomew, Cyprian, Pantaleon*, and others, in which the West still exults, were introduced among the Latins. Those who were unable to procure these precious treasures, by either journeys or prayers or frauds, deemed it expedient to steal them, or to seize them by violence and robbery. For, whatever means were resorted to in such a cause as this, were supposed to be pious, and acceptable to God; provided they were successful. (6)

§ 7. There were few among the Greeks, who attempted to explain the sacred volume, except *Photius*; who has left *Questions on the holy Scriptures*, (7) an explanation of St. Paul's epistles, and some other things of this nature. He made use of his own reason and ingenuity; and yet he cannot be esteemed a good interpreter. All the other Greeks, who attempted expositions of the scriptures, merely collected passages from the writers of preceding

suspected, than those written by Britons and Armoricans. See *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* Tom. i. Preface, p. viii.

(6) Read *Murator*, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, Tom. v. p. 6 &c. who presents us with examples.

(7) [This work is entitled *Amphilochia*, because it was addressed to *Amphilochius*, bishop of Cyzicum. Though several manuscripts of it still exist, it has never been published entire. Among other large extracts, *J. C. Wolf* has subjoined one of 65 pages, to the fourth volume of his *Cursus Philologicae*. ed. 2. Hamb. 1741. He also gives account of the work, in his preface to that volume. Most of the questions relate to difficult texts, in the Old and New Testaments; but some of them are theological, philosophical, grammatical, historical, and literary. About one sixth part of the whole, is to be found in the Epistles of *Photius*, published by *R. Montague*, London 1651. Tr.]

ages, and attached them to the declarations of the sacred volume. Thus it was in this century, and among the Greeks, that what are called *catenae*, that is, expositions of scripture compiled from the writings of the fathers, of which no small number has come down to us, first began to be drawn up. For most theologians, feeling their incompetence to more arduous labors, supposed they could best accomplish their object, by collecting together the fine thoughts of the ancient fathers.

§ 8. The Latin interpreters were far more numerous : for *Charlemagne* had, in the preceding century, awakened an ardor for the study and exposition of the sacred volume. Among these interpreters, here and there one is not wholly destitute of merit ; as e. g. *Christian Druthmar*, whose Commentary on Matthew has come down to us ; (8) and *Bertharius*, to whom are ascribed two Books reconciling difficult texts (*ἀντικειμένων*). But most of them were incompetent to their work ; and, like the interpreters of the preceding age, may be divided into two classes, those who trod in the steps of former expositors and collected their opinions, and those who searched for mysteries and various recondite meanings, in the plainest texts, and for the most part, without much discrimination. At the head of the former class, stands *Rabanus Maurus* ; who confesses, that he drew his expositions of Matthew and of Paul's epistles, from the writings of the fathers. Of the like character were *Walafrid Strabo*, author of what is called the *Glossa Ordinaria*, and who drew his materials chiefly from *Rabanus* ; *Claudius* of Turin, who followed *Augustine* and *Origen* ; *Hincmar* [of Rheims], whose Stromata on the four Books of Kings, compiled from the fathers, are still extant ; *Remigius* of Auxerre, who elucidated the Psalms of David and other books of scripture, from the same source ; *Sedulius*, who expounded the epistles of Paul, according to the views of the fathers ; *Florus* Magister, who chose *Augustine* for his guide ; *Haymo* of Halberstadt ; and others.

§ 9. At the head of the latter class, we again find *Rabanus Maurus* ; whose very diffuse work, on the Allegories of the scriptures, is yet extant. He is followed by *Smaragdus*, *Haymo*, *Scotus*, *Paschasius Radbert*, and many others, whose names it would be needless to mention. The expositors of this class all agree, that besides the literal import, there are other meanings of the sacred books ; but as to the number of these meanings, they are not agreed. For some of them make *three* senses, others *four* or *five* ; and one, who is not the worst Latin interpreter of the age, *Angelome*, a monk of Lysieux, maintains that there are *seven* senses of the sacred Books. (9)

(8) See *Rich. Simon*, Histoire critique des principaux Commentat. du N. T. cap. xxv. p. 348. and Critique de la Bibliothèque Eccles. par M. du Pin, Tome i. p. 293 &c. He treats of most of the other commentators, here noticed ; *ibid.* cap. xxvi, xxvii.

(9) See the Preface to his Commentary on the books of Kings, in the Bibliothèque Vol. II.

§ 10. In explaining and supporting the doctrines of religion, the Greeks and Latins were equally neglectful of their duty. Their manner of treating such subjects, was dry; and better suited to the memory than to the understanding. The Greeks, for the most part, followed *Damascenus*; the Latins acquiesced in the decisions of *Augustine*. The authority of the ancients was substituted for arguments and proofs; as may be clearly seen by the *Collectaneum de tribus questionibus* by *Servatus Lupus*, and the *Tract of Remigius*, on holding firmly to the truths of scripture, and adhering faithfully to the authority of the holy and orthodox fathers. Those who appealed to the testimony of the sacred writers, either construed their words in what is called the *allegorical sense*, or deemed it wrong to put any other construction upon them, than had been put on them by councils and the fathers. The Irish doctors alone, and among them *John Scotus*, ventured to explain the doctrines of christianity in a philosophical manner. But they generally incurred strong disapprobation; for the Latin theologians of that age, would allow no place for reason and philosophy, in matters of religion. (10)

§ 11. Practical theology was treated negligently and unskilfully, by all who attended to it. Some gleaned sentences from the writings of the ancients, relating to piety and the duties of men; as may be seen in the *Scintillae patrum* of *Alvarus*. Others composed treatises on the virtues and vices; as *Hildegarius*, *Rabanus Maurus*, and *Jonas* of Orleans; but it is not easy to discover in them a likeness with the patterns left us by Christ. Some endeavored to unfold the will of God, and make it intelligible to the unlearned, by a tissue of *allegories*; a method, the faults of which are manifest. The writers of sermons, and of treatises on penance, of whom the number was not inconsiderable among the Latins, I pass over in silence. Some of the Greeks began to apply themselves to the solution of, what are called, *cases of conscience*. (11)

§ 12. The doctrines of the mystics, which originated from *Dionysius*, falsely called the Areopagite, and which taught men to abstract their minds from all sensible things, and to join them in an inexplicable union with God; had long been in the highest estimation among the Greeks, and especially by the monks. And the praises of this *Dionysius* were splendidly sung, in this century, by *Michael Syncellus*, and *Methodius*; who thus endeavored to

ca Patrum maxima, Tom. xv. p. 308 The commentary of *Angelome* on the book of Genesis, was published by *Bernh. Pez*, *Thesaurus Anecdotor*. Tom. i. Pt. i. But it would have been no loss to sacred literature, had it remained in obscurity.

(10) Respecting the dislike of *Scotus*, see *Boulay*, *Historia Academ. Paris*. Tom. i. p. 182. Add the Life of John of Gortz, in *Mabilony*, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Saecul. v.* [Tom. vii.] p. 392.

(11) See *Nicephorus* Chartophylax, *Epistolae* ii. in the *Biblioth. magna Patrum*, Tom. iii. p. 413.

multiply the admirers and followers of the man. The Latins had hitherto been unacquainted with this imposing system. But when *Michael* the Stammerer, emperor of the Greeks, sent a copy of *Dionysius*, as a present to *Lewis* the Meek, AD. 824, (12) at once the whole Latin world became remarkably attached to it. For *Lewis*, to put the Latins in possession of so great a treasure, ordered the works of *Dionysius* to be forthwith translated into the Latin language. (13) Afterwards *Hilduin*, abbot of St. Denys, by the order of *Lewis*, published his *Areopagitica*, or Life of *Dionysius*; in which, according to the custom of the age, he not only states many things void of truth, but he basely confounds *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, with *Dionysius* bishop of Paris; designing, no doubt, to advance the glory of the French nation. (14) And this fable, caught up by credulous ears, became so firmly fixed in the minds of the French, that it is not yet fully eradicated. The first translation of *Dionysius*, made by order of *Lewis* the Meek, was perhaps considerably obscure and barbarous. Therefore his son, *Charles* the Bald, procured a new and more neat translation to be made, by the celebrated *John Erigena Scotus*; and the circulation of this translation, swelled the number of the patrons of mystic theology, in France, Germany, and Italy. *Scotus* himself was so captivated with this new system of theology, that he did not hesitate to accommodate his philosophy to its precepts, or rather to explain its principles by the rules of his philosophy. (15)

§ 13. In defence of christianity, against Jews, pagans, and others, only a few took the field; because the internal contests among christians, engrossed all the attention of those who were inclined to be polemics. *Agobard* inveighed against the arrogance and other faults of the Jews, in two short tracts. *Amulo* and *Rabanus Maurus*, likewise assailed them. The Saracens were confuted by the emperor *Leo*, by *Theodorus Abucara*, and by others,

(12) *Jac. Usher*, Sylloge Epistolar. Hibernicarum, p. 54, 55.

(13) This we are explicitly taught, by *Hilduin*, in his epistle to the emperor *Lewis* the Meek, prefixed to his *Areopagitica*, p. 66. ed. Cologne 1563. 8vo; in which he says: De notitia librorum, quos (Dionysius) patrio sermone conscripsit et quibus petentibus illos composuit, lectio nobis per Dei gratiam et vestram ordinationem, *cujus dispensatione interpretatos*, scriinia nostra eos petentibus reserat, satisfacit. Those err therefore, who tell us, that the Latin translation of *Dionysius* was not made, till the reign of *Charles* the Bald. And those err also, who say, (with *Jo. Mabillon*, Annal. Benedict. Tom. ii. Lib. xxix. § lix. p. 488 and the authors of the *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tome v. p. 425 &c.) that *Michael* the Stammerer, sent to *Lewis*, the works of *Dionysius*, translated from Greek into Latin. The contrary is most clearly signified, by *Hilduin*, in the place cited: Authenticos namque eosdem (Dionysii) libros *Graeca lingua conscriptos*, cum echnomus ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae et caeteri missi Michaelis legatione—functi sunt—pro munere magno suscepimus.

(14) *Jo. Launoy*, Diss. de discrimine Dionysii Areop. et Parisiensis, cap. iv. Opp. Tom. ii. Pt. i. p. 38. and the other writings of this great man, and of others, concerning the two *Dionysii*.

(15) [*Scotus* was partial to the Platonic philosophy; which, being one of the primary sources of the mystic theology, would easily amalgamate with it, and serve to explain and enforce it. Tr.]

whose writings are lost. But these, and other opposers of the Muhammedans, advanced various false and unsubstantiated statements, respecting *Muhammed* and his religion ; which, if brought forward designedly, (as would seem to be the fact,) prove, that the writers did not aim so much at convincing the Saracens, as at deterring Christians from apostacy.

§ 14. Among themselves, the christians had more strenuous and animated contests, than against the common enemy ; and these contests, involved them continually in new calamities ; and brought reproach upon the cause of true religion. Upon the banishment of *Irene*, [AD. 802,] the contest about image-worship, was renewed among the Greeks ; and it continued, with various success, for nearly half this century. For *Nicephorus*, [who now ascended the throne,] though he would not revoke the Nicene decrees, nor remove the images from the temples, yet laid restraints on the patrons of images, and would not allow them to use any violence or do any harm to the opposers of image-worship. His successor, *Michael* Curopalates, was a timid prince, who feared the rage of the monks and priests who contended for images, and therefore, during his short reign, [AD. 811—813,] he favored the cause of images, and persecuted the opposers of them. *Leo* the Armenian had more vigor,⁽¹⁶⁾ and assembling a council at Constantinople AD. 814, he explicitly rescinded the Nicene decrees, respecting the worship of the images of saints ; yet he did not enact any penal laws against the worshipers of them.⁽¹⁷⁾ As this temperate procedure was not satisfactory to

(16) [And more ingenuousness, too. For before calling the council, the emperor, in an interview with *Nicephorus*, requested him to show the fact, by proofs from the writings of the apostles and of the earlier fathers, if, as the patriarch asserted, the worship of images was in early use in the church. The answer he received, was, that in this case we must be satisfied with unwritten tradition ; and that what had been decided in a general council, was never to be controverted. After this, the emperor brought the contending parties to a conference in his presence ; which *Theodorus Studites* and his party frustrated, by telling the emperor, to his face, that doctrinal controversies were not to be discussed in the palace, but in the church ; and, that if an angel from heaven should advance a doctrine contrary to the decrees of the Nicene council, they would treat him with abhorrence. The emperor punished this insolence, by merely sending the monks back to their cloisters, forbidding them to raise disturbances about images, and requiring them to be peaceable citizens. *Schl.*]

(17) [According to *Mansi*, (Supplem. Concil. Tom. i p. 755,) there were several councils held at Constantinople, under *Leo* the Armenian, in regard to images. One was held under the patriarch *Nicephorus*, AD. 814 ; and condemned *Anthony*, bishop of Sillaeum, as an Iconoclast, and established image-worship. The next council was called by *Leo* himself, in the year 815 ; and this it was, deposed *Nicephorus*, and declared him a heretic. The third was held under the new patriarch, *Theodorus*, and established the doctrines of the Iconoclasts. Images were now removed ; and the unsubmissive monks were banished, but restored again to their cloisters, as soon as they promised to remain quiet, and to hold communion with the new patriarch *Theodorus*. There were however among them, blind zealots, who, with *Theodorus Studites* at their head, belched forth most shameful language, against those bishops and monks who yielded obedience to the emperor's commands, and even against the emperor himself. The former, they declared to be enemies of Christ, deniers of him, and apostates ; the emperor, they called an Amorite, another Og of Bashan, the great Dragon, a vessel

Nicephorus, the patriarch, and to the other friends of images, and as dangerous tumults seemed ready to break out, the emperor removed *Nicephorus* from his office, and repressed the rage of some of his adherents with punishments. His successor, *Michael* the Stammerer, who was also opposed to image-worship, found it necessary to pursue the same course; for although he at first shewed great clemency to image-worshippers, he was obliged to depart from that clemency, and to chastise the restless faction that served images, and especially the monks. (18) His son, *Theophilus*, [AD. 829—842,] bore harder upon the defenders of images; and even put some of the more violent of them to death. (19)

§ 15. But after the death of *Theophilus*, in the year 842, his surviving consort, *Theodora*, who administered the government of the empire, wearied out and deluded by the menaces, the intreaties, and the fictitious miracles of the monks, assembled a council at Constantinople, AD. 842, and there re-established the decisions of the Nicene council, and restored image-worship among the Greeks. (20) Thus, after a contest of one hundred and ten years, image-worship gained the victory; and all the East, except the Armenian church, embraced it; nor did any one of the succeeding emperors attempt to cure the Greeks of their folly in this matter. The council of Constantinople, held under *Photius*,

of wrath, an Ahab, a second Julian; and to insult him, they extolled their images, by chanting their praises in the most public places.—These indeed were taken up and punished; and *Theodorus Studites* was sent into exile; and, as this did not tame him, he was imprisoned; yet so as to be allowed free correspondence by letters. *Schl.*]

(18) [Notwithstanding *Michael* ascended the throne under a very dubious title, the image-worshippers described him as a second David, and a Josiah; so long as they accounted him one of their party; because he released those imprisoned, and recalled the exiles. He in fact showed great gentleness towards the image-worshippers. He caused conferences to be held, for allaying the controversies; and these proving ineffectual, he allowed them to retain their images, though not to display them in Constantinople; and only required silence from both parties, so that the bitterness between them might subside. This gentleness was the more remarkable, as the superstition of the image-worshippers knew no bounds, and led on to the grossest follies. For they set up images, instead of the cross; lighted candles before them; burned incense to them; sung to their praise; made supplications to them; used them as sponsors for their baptized children; scraped off the colors from the pictures, and mixed them with the wine of the eucharist; and placed the bread of benediction in the hands of the images, in order to receive it as from them. See the Epistle of *Michael* to the emperor *Lewis* the Meek, in *Baronius' Annals*, ad ann. 824. § 26. *Schl.*]

(19) [It is impossible to believe all that the Greek monks tell us of the cruelties of this emperor, against the image-worshippers; as he was, in other respects, an upright ruler. And it is well known, that he was very indulgent and kind towards *Theoktista*, the mother of his empress, who worshipped images in her house, and endeavored to instil the love of them into the young princesses of the emperor. And if some persons did actually suffer severely under him, they suffered rather on account of their slanderous language, their disobedience to the laws, and their seditious conduct; to which they were prompted by their mad zeal for promoting image-worship. *Schl.*]

(20) See *Fred. Spanheim, Historia Imaginum*, Sect. viii. Opp. Tom. ii. p. 845 &c. *Jac. Lenfant, Preservatif contre la Reunion avec le Siege de Rome*, Tome iii. Lettr. xiv. p. 147 &c. Lettr. xviii, xix. p. 509 &c.

in the year 879, and which is reckoned by the Greeks the *eightth* general council, fortified image-worship by new and firm guards, approving and renewing all the decrees of the Nicene council. The Greeks, a superstitious people, and controled by monks, regarded this as so great a blessing conferred on them by heaven, that they resolved to consecrate an anniversary, in remembrance of it, which they called the *Feast of Orthodoxy*.(21)

§ 16. Among the Latins, image-worship did not obtain so easy a victory ; although it was warmly patronized by the Roman pontiffs. For the people of the West still maintained their ancient liberty of thinking for themselves, in matters of religion ; and could not be brought to regard the decisions of the Romish bishop as final and conclusive. Most of the European christians, as we have seen, took middle ground between the *Iconoclasts* and the image-worshippers. For they judged, that the images might be tolerated, as helps to the memory ; but denied, that any worship or honor was to be paid to them. *Michael* the Stammerer, emperor of the Greeks, when he sent an embassy to *Lewis* the Meek, AD. 824, for the purpose of renewing the confederation with him ; instructed his ambassadors, if possible, to draw *Lewis* over to the side of the *Iconoclasts*. *Lewis* chose to have the subject thoroughly discussed by the bishops, in the council assembled at Paris AD. 824.(22) They decided, that they ought to abide by the opinions of the council of Francfort ; namely, that the images of Christ and the saints were not indeed to be cast out of the temples, yet that religious worship should by no means be paid to them. Gradually, however, the European christians swerved from this opinion ; and the opinion of the Roman pontiff, whose influence was daily increasing, got possession of their minds. Near the close of the century, the French first decided, that some kind of worship might be paid to the sacred images : and the Germans, and others, followed their example.(23)

§ 17. Still there were some among the Latins, who inclined to the side of the *Iconoclasts*. The most noted of these, was *Clau-*

(21) See *Jac. Gretser*, *Observat. in Codinum de officiis aulae et ecclesiae Constantinop.* Lib. iii. cap. viii. and the *Ceremoniale Byzantinum*, lately published by *Reiske*, Lib. i. cap. 28. p. 92 &c.

(22) [*Fleury*, *Le Seur*, and the other historians, place unanimously this council in the year 825.—It may be proper to observe here, that the proceedings of this council evidently show, that the decisions of the Roman pontiff were by no means looked upon, at this time, either as obligatory, or infallible. For when the letter of pope *Adrian*, in favor of images, was read in the council, it was almost unanimously rejected, as containing absurd and erroneous opinions. The decrees of the second council of Nice, relating to image-worship, were also censured by the Gallican bishops ; and the authority of that council, though received by several popes as an *oecumenical* one, absolutely rejected. And what is remarkable is, that the pope did not, on this account, declare the Gallican bishops heretics, nor exclude them from the communion of the apostolic see. See *Fleury*, Liv. xlvii. § 4." *Macl.*]

(23) *Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. ii. p. 488. *Idem*, *Praef. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Saecul. iv.* Pt. i. p. vii, viii. *Car. le Cointe*, *Annales Eccl. Francor.* Tom. iv. ad ann. 824 : and many others.

dius bishop of Turin, a Spaniard by birth, and educated under *Felix* of Urgel. As soon as the favor of *Lewis* the Meek had raised him to the rank of bishop, in the year 823, he cast all the crosses and sacred images out of the churches, and broke them. The next year, he published a book, not only defending the procedure, but advancing other principles also, which were at variance with the opinions of the age. Among other things, he denied the propriety of worshipping the cross, which the Greeks conceded; spoke contemptuously of all sorts of relics, and maintained that they had no efficacy; and disapproved of all pilgrimages to the tombs of the saints and to holy places. He was opposed by the adherents to the inveterate superstition; and first, by the abbot *Theodemir*, and afterwards, by *Dungal*, *Scotus*, *Jonas* of Orleans, *Walafrid Strabo*, and others. But this learned and ingenious man defended his cause with energy; (24) and thence it was, that long after his death, there was less superstition in the region about Turin, than in the other parts of Europe.

§ 18. The controversy, which commenced in the preceding century, respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, and respecting the words, *and the Son*, (*Filioque*,) inserted by the Latins into the Constantinopolitan creed; broke out with greater vehemence in this century; and from being a private dispute, gradually became a public controversy of the whole Greek and Latin church. The monks of Jerusalem contended about this matter, and particularly about the words *filioque*; and one of their number, *John*, was dispatched into France, to the emperor *Charlemagne*, AD. 809. (25) This subject was discussed in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in this

(24) *Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. ii. p. 488. *Præf. ad Saecul. iv.* Actor. Sanctor. Ord. Bened. p. viii. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, Tome iv. p. 491. and Tome v. p. 27, 64. Among the Reformed, *Jac. Basnage*, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, Tom. i. Period. iv. p. 38 &c. ed. in 4to.—[It is to be regretted, that we have only those testimonies of *Claudius* against the superstitions of his time, which his opposers, and especially *Jonas* of Orleans, have quoted from his writings. Yet in these quotations, there is much that is solid, and expressed in a nervous and manly style. Against images, he thus expresses himself: "If a man ought not to worship the works of *God*, much less should he worship and reverence the works of *men*.—Whoever expects salvation, which comes only from *God*, to come from *pictures*, must be classed with those mentioned Rom. i. who serve the *creature*, more than the *Creator*."—Against the cross, and the worship of it, he thus taught: "God has commanded us to *bear* the cross; not to *pray* to it. Those are willing to pray to it, who are unwilling to bear it, either in the spiritual or in the literal sense. Thus to worship *God*, is in fact to depart from him."—Of the pope, he said, (when accused for not yielding to his authority,) "*He* is not to be called the *Apostolical*," (a title, then commonly given to the Pope,) "who sits in the apostle's chair; but he who performs the duties of an apostle. For, of those who hold that place, yet do not fulfil its duties, the Lord says: *They sit in Moses' seat* &c."—See bishop *Jonas*, *Libri iii*, de Imag. in the *Biblioth. Patr. max. Lugd.* Tom. xiv. p. 166. *Schl.*]

(25) See *Steph. Baluze*, *Miscellan.* Tom. vii. p. 14. [The occasion of this transaction was as follows; some French monks, residing at Jerusalem as pilgrims, chanted the creed in their worship, as was common with their countrymen, with the addition of *filioque*. The Greeks censured this custom; and the Franks sought the protection and the determination of the emperor. *Schl.*]

year; and also at Rome, before the pontiff *Leo III*, whither *Charlemagne* had sent envoys. *Leo III* approved the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son; but disapproved of the alteration of the creed, and wished the words *filioque* to be disused by degrees.(26) And his successors held the same sentiments; but the interpolation, being once admitted, retained its place, in spite of the pontiffs, and at length was received by all the Latin churches.(27)

§ 19. To these ancient controversies, new ones were added, among the Latins. The first was, respecting *the manner* in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacred supper. Though all christians believed, that the body and blood of Christ were presented to the communicants in the Lord's supper, yet up to this time, their views had been various and fluctuating, respecting the *manner* in which the body and blood of Christ are present; nor had any council prescribed a definite faith on the subject. But in this century, *Paschasius Radbert*, a monk and abbot of Corbey, in his treatise on the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, written AD. 831, attempted to give more clearness and stability to the views of the church.(28) Upon the presentation of this book, enlarged and improved, to *Charles the Bald*, in the year 845, a great dispute arose out of it. *Paschasius* taught, in general, that in the Lord's supper, after the consecration, there remained only the form and appearance of bread and wine; and that the real body, or the flesh and blood of Christ, were present; and indeed, *the identical body, that was born of the virgin, suffered on the cross, and arose from the tomb.*(29)

(26) [The conference of the imperial envoys with pope *Leo III*, is still extant, in *Harduin's* collection of Councils, Tom. iv. p. 970 &c. From this it appears, that *Leo* was displeased, not with the doctrine itself, but with the unauthorised interpolation of the creed; and disapproved the recent decision of the council of Aix-la-chapelle, the confirmation of which was requested by the imperial envoys. Pope *John VIII*, in a letter to *Photius*, went still further; for he called the expression, that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the *Son*, blasphemy; though the abolition of it was attended with difficulty and required time. *Schl.*]

(27) See *Carl. le Cointe*, Annal. Eccles. Francor. Tom. iv. ad. ann. 809 &c. *Longueval*, Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane, Tom. v. p. 151, and the other writers above cited. [The pope had not, either in the eighth century, or the fore part of the ninth, such influence and authority over the Spanish and French churches, as to be able to compel them directly, to expunge the interpolation. *Schl.*]

(28) See *Mabillon*, Annales Benedict. Tom. ii. p. 539. The treatise of *Paschasius* was published in a more accurate manner than before, by *Edm. Martene*, Amplissima Collectio veter. Scriptor. Tom. ix, p. 378 &c. The life and character of *Paschasius* are formally treated of, by *Mabillon*, Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Saecul. iv. P. ii. p. 126 &c. and by the Jesuits, in the Acta Sanctor. Antw. ad diem 26. Aprilis; and by many others.

(29) [Far too corporeal conceptions of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist, had existed in preceding times, and indeed ever since *Cyril's* notion of the nature of Christ's becoming flesh, had been received; and the holy supper had been compared to an offering or sacrifice. But such gross corporeal expressions, as *Paschasius* employed, no one had before used; nor had any carried their conceptions so far. In his book de corpore et sanguine Domini, he says: Licet figura panis et vini hic sit, omnino nihil aliud quam caro et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt—nec alia (caro) quam quae nata est de Maria, passa in cruce, resurrexit de sepulcro; et haec, inquam, ipsa est, et ideo Christi caro est, quae pro vita mundi adhuc hodie offertur. *Schl.*]

This doctrine seemed to many, to be new and strange ; and especially the last part of it. *Rabanus Maurus* therefore, *Heribald*, and others, opposed it ; but on different grounds. And the emperor, *Charles* the Bald, commanded two men, of distinguished learning and talents, *Ratramn* and *John Scotus*, to give a true exposition of that doctrine which *Radbert* was supposed to have corrupted.(30) Both of them did so ; but the work of *Scotus* is lost ; and that of *Ratramn*, which is still extant, has given occasion to much disputation, both in former ages, and in the present.(31)

§ 20. The writers who engaged in this controversy, were not agreed among themselves, nor were they self-consistent throughout their respective treatises. Indeed the mover of the controversy, *Radbert* himself, was lacking in consistency, and not unfrequently recedes, manifestly, from what he had asserted. His principal antagonist, *Bertram* or *Ratramn*, seems in general, to follow those who think, the body and blood of Christ are not truly present in the eucharist, but are only *represented* by the bread and wine : and yet he has passages, which appear to depart widely from that sentiment ; and therefore, it is not without some plausibility, that he has been understood and explained diversely.(32) *John Scotus* only, as being a philosopher, expressed his views perspicuously and properly ; teaching, that the bread and wine are *signs* and *representatives* of the absent body and blood of Christ. All the others fluctuate, and assert in one place what they gainsay in another, and reject at one time what they presently after maintain. Among the Latins, therefore, in this age, there was not yet a determinate, common opinion, as to the *mode* in which the body and blood of Christ are in the eucharist.

§ 21. The disputants in this controversy, as is common, taxed each other with the odious consequences of their opinions. The most considerable of these consequences, was that which, in the eleventh century, was denominated *stercoranism*. Those who held, with *Radbert*, that after the consecration, only the forms of bread and wine remained, contended, that from the sentiments of

(30) Concerning *Ratramn* or *Bertram*, and his book, which has caused so much discussion, see *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Lat. med. ævi*, Tom. i. p. 661 &c. [Concerning *Ratramn's* Book, there has been dispute, as to its genuineness, some ascribing it to *John Scotus*; and also as to the doctrine it contains. The Catholics would make it teach transubstantiation ; the Lutherans, consubstantiation ; and the Reformed, only a mystical or sacramental presence of Christ. *Tr.*]

(31) This controversy is described at length, though not without partiality, by *Jo. Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* [Tom. vi.] Sæcul. iv. P. li. p. viii &c. With him, compare *Jac. Basnage*, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Tom. i. p. 909 &c.

(32) [*Bertram's* Treatise, in a new English translation, was published at Dublin, A.D. 1753 ; and with a learned historical Dissertation prefixed. *Mabillon*, (*Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. vi. Præf. p. xxx &c.) evinces, triumphantly, the genuineness of the book ; and then goes into an elaborate argument, to prove in opposition to *John Claude*, that the author was a believer in the *real presence*. But, the mere reading his argument, with the full and candid quotations it contains, has left on one mind, at least, the conviction, that *Dr. Mosheim* has truly stated the character and contents of that work. *Tr.*]

their adversaries, who believed that in the holy supper there was nothing more than the figure or signs of Christ's body and blood, this consequence would follow, namely, that the body of Christ was ejected from the bowels, with the other feces. On the other hand, those who rejected the transmutation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, taxed the advocates of this doctrine, with the same consequence. Each party, probably, cast this reproach upon the other, without reason. The crime of *stercoranism*, if we do not mistake, was a fabricated charge; which could not justly fall on those who denied the conversion of the bread into the body of Christ; but which might be objected to those who believed in such a transmutation, although it was probably never admitted, by any one who was in his right mind. (33)

§ 22. At the very time the sacramental controversy was at its height, another controversy sprung up, which related to *divine grace and predestination*. *Godeschalcus*, a Saxon of noble birth, and, against his own choice, a monk, first at Fulda, and then at Orbais in France; upon his return from a journey to Rome, in the year 847, lodged with his friend, (and perhaps also, relative,) count *Eberald*; and there, in presence of *Nothingus*, bishop of Verona, entered into discussion respecting predestination; and maintained, that God had predestinated, from eternity, some to everlasting life, and others to the punishments of hell. When his enemy, *Rabanus Maurus*, heard of this, he first by letter charged him with heresy; and afterwards, when *Goteschalcus* came from Italy to Germany, in order to purge himself, and appeared before the council of Mayence, AD. 848, *Maurus* procured his condemnation, and transmitted him, as one found guilty, to *Hincmar*, archbishop of Rheims in France. (34) *Hincmar*, who was

(33) Respecting the *Stercoranists*, see *John Mabillon*, Acta SS. ord. Bened. [Tom. vi.] Praef. ad Saecul. iv. P. ii. p. xxi. *Jac. Basnage*, Histoire de l'Eglise, Tom. i. p. 926 &c. and the late treatise of the venerable *Pfaff*, Tubing. 1750. 4to.—[It is not easy to determine the precise form of this indecent charge, as advanced by either party. The believers in transubstantiation, supposed the sacramental elements not to pass through the human body, like ordinary aliments, but to become wholly incorporated with the bodies of the communicants; so that, on their principles, they could not be justly charged with stercoranism. On the contrary, the opposers of transubstantiation, supposed the substance of the sacramental elements, to undergo the ordinary changes in the stomach and bowels of the communicant; so that, by assuming, that these elements had become the real body and blood of Christ, they might be charged with stercoranism; but it was only by assuming, what they expressly denied, namely, the truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Thus neither party could be justly taxed with this odious consequence; and yet, a dextrous disputant, by resorting to a little perversion of his antagonist's views, might easily cast upon him this vulgar and unseemly reproach. Tr.]

(34) *Nothingus*, by letter, gave *Rabanus* an account of the tenets advanced by *Godeschalcus*. Upon this, *Rabanus* wrote a long letter to *Nothingus*, and another to count *Eberald*, loading the sentiments of *Godeschalcus* with reproaches. *Godeschalcus* therefore set out immediately for Germany; in order to vindicate his assailed principles. On his arrival at Mayence, he presented to *Rabanus*, his tract on a twofold predestination. *Rabanus* laid this before a synod; which con-

a friend of *Rabanus*, condemned him anew, in a council held at Chiersey, AD. 849; and as he would not renounce his sentiments, which he said, and said truly, were those of *Augustine*, *Hincmar* deprived him of his priestly office; ordered him to be whipped, till he should throw the statement he had made at Mayence into the flames; and then committed him to prison, in the monastery of Hautvilliers. (35) In this prison, the unhappy monk, who was a man of learning, but high-minded and pertinacious, ended his days, in the year 868 or 865; retaining firmly, till his last breath, the sentiments he had embraced.

§ 23. While *Godeschalcus* remained in prison, the Latin church was involved in controversy on his account. For distinguished and discerning men, such as *Ratramn* of Corbey, *Prudentius* of Troyes, *Lupus* of Ferrieres, *Florus* a deacon of Lyons, and *Remigius* bishop of Lyons, together with his whole church, and many others, defended with energy, both orally and in writing, either the person or the sentiments of the monk. On the other hand, *Hincmar* his judge, *Amalarius*, *John Scotus* the

demned the sentiments it contained, but did not venture to punish *Godeschalcus*, because he did not belong to their jurisdiction, but to that of Rheims. They however exacted from him an oath, not to return again to the territories of king *Levis*; and transmitted him, as a prisoner, to *Hincmar*, the archbishop of Rheims. The synodal epistle of *Rabanus* accompanying the prisoner, contained this statement: "Be it known to your goodness, that a certain vagabond monk, named *Gothescalc*, who says he was ordained priest in your diocese, came from Italy to Mayence, introducing new superstitions, and pernicious doctrine concerning the predestination of God, and leading the people into error; affirming that the predestination of God related to evil as well as to good; and that there are some in the world, who cannot reclaim themselves from their errors and sins, on account of the predestination of God, which compels them on to destruction; as if God had, from the beginning, made them incorrigible and obnoxious to perdition. Hearing this opinion, therefore, in a synod lately held at Mayence, and finding the man irreclaimable, with the consent and direction of our most pious king *Hudovicus*, we determined to transmit him, together with his pernicious doctrine, to you, under condemnation; that you may put him in confinement in your diocese, from which he has irregularly strolled; and that you may not suffer him any more to teach error, and seduce christian people: for we have learned, that he has already seduced many, who are negligent of their salvation, and who say: What will it profit me to exert myself in the service of God? Because, if I am predestinated to death, I can never escape it; but if predestinated to life, although I do wickedly, I shall undoubtedly obtain eternal rest. In these few words, we have written to you, describing what we found his doctrine to be," &c. See *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. v. p. 15, 16. Tr.]

(35) [The sentence upon *Godeschalcus*, passed by the synod of Chiersey, was thus worded: "Brother *Gotescalc*, know thou, that the holy office of the sacerdotal ministry, which thou hast irregularly usurped," (because, in a vacancy of the see of Rheims, he obtained ordination of the sub-bishop of Rheims,) "and hast not feared hitherto to abuse, by wicked manners and acts, and by corrupt doctrines; is now, by the decision of the Holy Spirit, (of whose grace the sacerdotal office is the administration, by virtue of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,) taken from thee; if thou ever receivedst it: and thou art utterly prohibited from ever presuming again to exercise it. Moreover, because thou hast presumed, contrary to the design and the name of a monk, and despising ecclesiastical law, to unite and confound the civil and ecclesiastical vocations; we, by our episcopal authority, decree, that thou be whipped with very severe stripes (*durissimis verberibus*), and, according to ecclesiastical rules, be shut up in prison. And that thou no more presume to exercise the functions of a teacher, we, by virtue of the eternal Word, impose perpetual silence upon thy lips." See *Harduin*, ubi supra. p. 20. This sentence was executed, without mitigation. Tr.]

celebrated philosopher, and others, by their writings, contended that both he and his opinions were justly dealt with. As the spirit of controversy waxed hotter continually, *Charles the Bald*, in the year 853, ordered another convention or council to be held at Chiersey; in which, through the influence of *Hincmar*, the decision of the former council was confirmed; and *Godeschalcus* was again condemned as a heretic. (36. But in the year 855, the three provinces of Lyons, Vienne, and Arles, assembled in council at Valence, *Remigius* presiding, and set forth other decisions, in opposition to those of Chiersey, and defended the cause of *Godeschalcus*. (37) With the decisions of the council of Valence, coin-

(36) [In this council, the opposers of *Godeschalcus* set forth their creed, in respect to the contested doctrines, in the four following articles; viz.

I. Almighty God created man, without sin, upright, endued with free will; and placed him in Paradise; and purposed his continuance in the holiness of uprightness. Man, abusing free will, sinned, and fell, and the whole human race became a mass of corruption. But the good and righteous God elected, out of that mass of perdition, according to his foreknowledge, those whom he predestinated unto life through grace, and foreordained eternal life for them: but the others, whom in his righteous judgment he left in the mass of perdition, he *fore-saw* would perish; but did not *foreordain*, that they should perish; yet being just, he foreordained eternal punishment to be their portion. And thus we affirm but *one* predestination of God, which relates either to the gift of Grace, or to the retributions of justice.

II. We lost freedom of will, in the first man; which we recover by Christ, our Lord: and we have free will to good, when *prevented* and *aided* by grace; and have free will to evil, when *forsaken* of grace. That we have free will, is because we are made free by grace, and are healed of corruption by it.

III. Almighty God wills, that all men, without exception, should become saved; and yet all men will not be saved. And that some are saved, arises from the gratuity of him who saves; but that some perish, arises from their desert of perdition.

IV. As there never was, is, or will be, a man, whose nature was not assumed by our Lord Jesus Christ; so there never was, is, or will be, a man, for whom Christ has not died; and this, notwithstanding all are not redeemed by the mystery of his passion. That all are not redeemed by the mystery of his passion, is not owing to the [limited] magnitude and value of the price; but is the fault of unbelievers, or of them who do not believe with the faith that works by love. For the cup of human salvation, which is provided for our weakness, and has divine efficacy, contains what might benefit all; but if it be not drunken, it will not produce healing.

These doctrinal articles were agreed on in the council of Chiersey, AD. 853; though sometimes attributed to the council of Chiersey in the year 843, and printed as such, in *Harduin*, Concil. Tom. v. p. 18, 19. compare p. 57. Tr.]

(37) [The council of Valence published twenty-three canons; five of which contain the doctrinal views of the friends and defenders of *Godeschalcus*. See *Harduin*, Concil. Tom. v. p. 87 &c. These five canons are too long to be inserted here, without some abridgement. The substance of them, is as follows: viz.

Can. II. "That God foresees, and eternally foresaw, both the good which the righteous will perform, and the evil which the wicked will do." Dan. ii. 29. "We hold faithfully, and judge it should be held, that he foresaw, that the righteous would certainly become righteous, through his grace; and by the same grace, would obtain eternal blessedness: and he foresaw, that the wicked would be wicked, through their own perverseness; and would be such as must be condemned by his justice to eternal punishment." According to Ps. lxi. 12. and Rom ii. 7—9 and 2 Thess. i. 7—10. "Nor has the prescience of God imposed upon any bad man a necessity, that he cannot be other than bad; but, what he

cided those of the council of Langres, AD. 459, composed of the same provinces; and likewise those of the council of Toul, AD. 860, composed of the bishops of fourteen provinces.(38) On the death of *Godeschalcus*, the author of the contest, this vehement controversy subsided.(39)

would become, by his own free volition, God, as one who knows all things before they come to pass, foresaw, by his omnipotent and unchangeable majesty. Nor do we believe, that any one is condemned, by a divine prejudication; but according to the deserts of his own wickedness. Nor do the wicked perish, because they *could not* become good; but because they *would not* become good, and through their own fault remained in the mass of condemnation, or in their original and their actual sin."

Can. III. "As to the predestination of God, we decide, and faithfully decide, according to the authority of the Apostle;" Rom. ix. 21—23. "We confidently profess a predestination of the elect, unto life; and a predestination of the wicked, unto death. But in the election of those to be saved, the mercy of God *precedes* their good deserts; and in the condemnation of those who are to perish, their *ill deserts* precede the righteous judgment of God. In his predestination, God only determined what he himself would do, either in his gratuitous mercy, or in his righteous judgment."—"In the wicked, he *foresaw* their wickedness, because it is from themselves; he did not *predestine* it, because it is not from him. The punishment indeed, consequent upon their ill desert, he foresaw, being a God who foresees all things; and also *predestined*, because he is a just God, with whom, as St. *Augustine* says, there is both a fixed purpose, and a certain foreknowledge, in regard to all things whatever."—"But that some are *predestinated to wickedness, by a divine power, so that they cannot be of another character, we not only do not believe; but if there are those who will believe so great a wrong, we, as well as the council of Orange, with all detestation, declare them anathema.*"

Can. IV. In this canon they disapproved the sentiments of some, who held "that the blood of Christ was shed, even for those ungodly ones who had been punished with eternal damnation, from the beginning of the world to the time of Christ's passion." And they held, "that this price was paid (only) for those of whom our Lord has said: "As Moses lifted up the serpent" &c. "that *every one that believeth in him*" &c. John iii. 14—16. "And the Apostle says: Christ was once offered to bear the sins of *many*."—"Moreover, the four articles, adopted without due consideration by the synod of our brethren, (at Chiersey, AD. 853,) on account of their inutility, and indeed their injurious tendency, and error, contrary to the truth; as also those other, (of *John Scotus*,) unfitly set forth in xix syllogisms; and in which, notwithstanding the boast, that they are not the result of philosophy, there appears to be rather the fabrication of the devil, than an exhibition of the faith; we wholly explode, as not to be listened to by the faithful; and we enjoin, by the authority of the Holy Spirit, that such, and all similar statements, be looked upon as dangerous, and to be avoided. And the introducers of (such) novelties, we judge, ought to be censured."

Can. V. This canon maintains the necessity of a saint's persevering in holiness, in order to his salvation.

Can. VI. In regard to saving grace, "and free will, which was impaired by sin, in the first man; but is recovered and made whole again, by Jesus Christ, in all believers in him;" this council held with various councils and pontiffs; and reject the trash vended by various persons." Tr.]

(38) [The five doctrinal canons of the council of Valence, were adopted, without alteration, by the councils of Langres and of Toul. See *Harduin*, Concil. Tom. v. p. 481 &c. 498. Tr.]

(39) Besides the common writers, an impartial history of this controversy is given by *Caesar Eglise de Boulay*, *Historia Academiae Paris*. Tom. i. p. 178 &c. by *Jo. Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. vi. or *Saecul. iv.* Pt. ii. Praef. p. xlvii. in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tom. v. p. 352. by *Jac. Usher*, *Historia Godeschalci*, Hanov. 1662. 8vo. and Dublin, 1631. 4to. and by *Gerh. Jo. Vossius*, *Historia Pelagiana*, Lib. vii. cap. iv. Add *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Lat. medii aevi*, Tom. iii. p. 210 &c.

§ 24. The cause of *Godeschalcus* is involved in some obscurity ; and many and eminent men have appeared, both as his patrons, and as his accusers. He taught, unquestionably, that there is a twofold predestination, the one to eternal life, and the other to eternal death ; that God does not will the salvation of all men, but only of the elect ; and that Christ suffered death, not for the whole human race, but only for that portion of it, to which God decreed eternal salvation. His friends put a favorable construction upon these propositions ; and they deny, that he held those whom God predestinated to eternal punishment, to be also predestinated to sin and guilt. On the contrary, they maintain, that he taught only this, that God from eternity condemned those who, he foresaw, would become sinners ; and condemned them, on account of their sins voluntarily committed ; and decreed, that the fruits of God's love and of Christ's sufferings, should extend only to the elect ; notwithstanding, the love of God and the sufferings of Christ, in themselves considered, have reference to *all* men. But his adversaries fiercely contend, that he concealed gross errors under ambiguous phraseology ; and in particular, that he wished to have it believed, that God has predestinated the persons who will be damned, not only to suffer punishment, but likewise to commit the sins by which they incur that punishment.(40) This at least, seems to be incontrovertible, that the true cause of this whole controversy, and of all the sufferings endured by the unhappy *Godeschalcus*, may be traced to the private enmity, existing between him and *Rabanus Maurus*, who was his abbot.(41)

§ 25. With this great controversy, another smaller one was interwoven, relative to the *trine God*. In the churches over which he presided, *Hincmar* forbid the singing of the last words of a very ancient hymn : *Te trina Deitas, unaque poscimus* ; [Of thee, trine Deity, yet one, we ask &c.] on the ground, that this phraseology subverted the simplicity of the divine nature, and im-

(40) The cause of *Godeschalcus* is learnedly treated, in an appropriate work, by *William Mauguin* ; who published all the writings on both sides of this controversy, that have reached us, Paris 1650, ii vol. 4to ; under the title : *Veterum auctorum, qui nono saeculo de predestinatione et gratia scripserunt, opera et fragmenta, cum historia et gemina praefatione*. A more concise account of it, is given by *Henry Noris*, *Synopsis historiae Godeschalcanae* ; in his *Opp. Tom. iv. p. 677 &c.* But he more strenuously defends *Godeschalcus*, than *Mauguin* does. All the Benedictines, Augustinians, and Jansenists maintain, that *Godeschalcus* was most unjustly oppressed and persecuted by *Rabanus* and *Hincmar*. The Jesuits take opposite ground ; and one of them, *Lewis Cellot*, in his *Historia Godeschalci praedestiniani*, splendidly printed, Paris 1655, Fol. labors to show, that *Godeschalcus* was most righteously condemned.

(41) *Godeschalcus*, who was committed to the monastery of Fulda by his parents, while an infant, agreeably to the custom of the age, when he became adult, wished to abandon a monastic life. But *Rabanus* retained him, contrary to his wishes. This produced a great contest between them, which was terminated only by the interposition of *Lewis the Meek*. Hence those conflicts and sufferings. See the *Centuriæ Magdeb. Centur. ix. c. 10. p. 543, 546.* and *Mabilony, Annales Bened. Tom. ii. ann. 829, p. 523.*

plied the existence of *three Gods*. The Benedictine monks would not obey this mandate of *Hincmar*; and one of their number, *Ratramn*, wrote a considerable volume, made up, according to the custom of the age, of quotations from the ancient doctors, in defence of a *trine Deity*. *Godeschalcus*, receiving information of this dissension, while in prison, sent forth a paper, in which he defended the cause of his fellow monks. For this, he was accused by *Hincmar* of *Thritheism*; and was confuted in a book written expressly for that purpose. But this controversy soon subsided; and in spite of *Hincmar's* efforts, those words retained their place in the hymn.(42)

§ 26. About the same time, another controversy found its way from Germany into France, relative to the manner in which the blessed Savior issued from the womb of his mother. Some of the Germans maintained, that Jesus Christ did not proceed from the womb of Mary, according to the laws of nature in the case of other persons, but in a singular and extraordinary manner. When this opinion reached France, *Ratramn* opposed it; and maintained, that Christ came into the world, in the way which nature has provided. *Paschasius Radbert* came forth in defence of the Germans, maintaining in a distinct treatise, that Christ was born, with no expansion of his mother's body; and charging those who thought otherwise, with denying the virginity of Mary. But this also was a short controversy, and gave way to greater ones.(43)

§ 27. Of all the controversies that disturbed this century, the most famous and the most unhappy was, that which severed the Greek and Latin churches. The bishops of Rome and Constantinople had long indulged, and sometime also manifested, great jealousies of each other. Their mutual animosity became violent, from the times of *Leo* the Isaurian, [AD. 716—741.] when the bishops of Constantinople, supported by the authority and patronage of the [Greek] emperors, withdrew many provinces

(42) See the writers of the history of *Godeschalcus*, who also touch upon this controversy.

(43) See *Lucas de Achery*, *Spicileg. veterum scriptorum*, Tom. i. p. 396. *Jo. Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* [Tom. vi.] Saecul. iv. P. ii. Praef. p. li &c. [After giving account of this controversy, *Mabillon* proceeds to the history of another, between *Ratramn* and *Paschasius Radbert*, respecting the unity of human souls. The controversy was of short continuance, and seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of each other, in consequence of their not clearly discriminating between numerical unity and a specific unity. See *Mabillon*, ubi supra, p. liii &c.—There was another controversy, under *Charlemagne*, respecting the seven-fold grace of the Spirit. *Charlemagne* asked the opinion of several bishops, whether Christ and believers receive the same extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit. They answered, that Christ received all the seven gifts, equally; but that believers receive each his particular gift. The emperor, dissatisfied with their answer, wrote a tract to prove, that Christ received all the gifts of the Spirit, at once, and in perpetuum, without change, increase or diminution: but that believers did not so receive them, though they might in some degree enjoy the temporary possession of them all. See *Walch's Programm*, de Gratia septiformis Spiritus, AD. 1755. Tr.]

from their subjection to the see of Rome.(44) But in the 9th century, the smothered fire which had been burning in secret, broke out into an open flame, upon occasion of the elevation of *Photius*, the most learned Greek of the age, to succeed the deposed *Ignatius* in the see of Constantinople, by the emperor *Michael*, AD. 852, [rather AD. 858 ;] and the confirmation of that elevation, as regular and correct, by the council of Constantinople, in the year 861.(45) For the Roman pontiff, *Nicolaus I*, whose aid had been solicited by *Ignatius*, in a council at Rome, AD. 862, pronounced *Photius*, (whose election he maintained was uncanonical,) together with his adherents, to be unworthy of christian communion. This thunder was so far from terrifying *Photius*, that he gave back the same measure he had received ; and in return excommunicated *Nicolaus*, in the council of Constantinople of the year 866.

§ 28. The pretence for the war which *Nicolaus I* commenced, was, the justice of the cause of *Ignatius* ; whom the emperor had deprived of his episcopal office, upon a charge, true or false, of treason. But *Nicolaus* would have been unconcerned about the injury done to *Ignatius*, if he could have recovered from the Greek emperor and from *Photius*, the provinces taken from the Roman pontiffs by the Greeks ; namely, Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia, Thessaly, and Sicily. For he had before demanded them, through his envoys at Constantinople. And when the Greeks paid no regard to his demand, he resolved to avenge his own, rather than *Ignatius*' wrong.

§ 29. In the midst of this warm conflict, *Basil* the Macedonian, a parricide, who had usurped the empire of the Greeks, suddenly restored peace. For he recalled *Ignatius* from exile, and commanded *Photius* to retire to private life. This decision of the emperor was confirmed by a council assembled at Constantinople, AD. 869, in which the legates of the Roman pontiff, *Hadrian II*, had controlling influence.(46) The Latins call this the *eighth general council*. The religious contest between the Greeks and Latins now ceased ; but the strife respecting the boundaries of the Romish [pontifical] jurisdiction, especially in regard to Bulgaria, still continued : nor could the pontiff, with all his efforts, prevail on either *Ignatius* or the emperor, to give up Bulgaria, or any other of the provinces.

(44) See *Giannone*, Histoire de Naples, Tome i. p. 535, 646. *Peter de Marca*, de Concordia sacerdot. et imperii, Lib. i. cap. i. p. 6 &c. *Le Quien*, Oriens Christianus, Tom. I. p. 96 &c.

(45) [Some of the Greeks call this a *general council*. It was attended by 318 bishops ; and its decrees were subscribed by the two Romish delegates. Its Acts are lost ; having probably been destroyed by the adherents to *Ignatius*. See *Walch's Kirchenversamml.* p. 552 &c. *Schl.*]

(46) The writers on both sides of this controversy, are named by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, Biblioth. Graeca, Vol. iv. cap. xxxviii. p. 372.

§ 30. The first schism was of such a nature, that it was possible to heal it. But *Photius*, a man of high feelings, and more learned than all the Latins, imprudently prepared materials for interminable war. For in the first place, he in the year 866, annexed Bulgaria to the see of Constantinople, which *Nicolaus* was eager to possess; and this was extremely offensive to the Roman pontiff. In the next place, what was much more to be lamented, and unworthy of so great a man, he sent *circular letters* to the oriental patriarchs on the subject; thus converting his own private controversy into a public one; and moreover accused in very strong terms, the Roman bishops sent among the Bulgarians, and through them, the whole Latin church, of corrupting the true religion, or of heresy. In his great irritation, he taxed the Romans with five enormities; than which, in their view, the mind could conceive of no greater. *First*, that they deemed it proper to fast on the seventh day of the week or the *Sabbath*. *Secondly*, that in the first week of lent, they permitted the use of milk and cheese. *Thirdly*, that they wholly disapproved of the marriage of priests. *Fourthly*, that they thought, none but the bishops could anoint the baptized with the holy oil, or confirm; and that, of course, they anointed a second time, those who had been anointed by presbyters. And *fifthly*, that they had adulterated the Constantinopolitan creed, by adding to it the words *filioque*; and thus taught, that the Holy Spirit did not proceed from the father *only*, but also from the Son.(47) *Nicolaus I* sent this accusation to *Hincmar*, and the other Gallic bishops, in the year 867; that they might deliberate in councils, respecting the proper answer to it. Hence *Odo* of Beauvais, *Ratramn*, *Ado* of Vienne, *Aeneas* of Paris, and perhaps others also, entered the lists against the Greeks, and very warmly defended the cause of the Latins in written vindications.(48)

§ 31. In the year 878, *Ignatius* died; and *Photius* was again raised, by the favor of the emperor, to the patriarchate of the Greek church. The Roman pontiff *John VIII*, gave his assent; but it was on condition, that *Photius* would allow the Bulgarians to come under the Roman jurisdiction. *Photius* promised the whole; nor did the emperor seem opposed to the wishes of the pontiff.(49) Therefore in the year 879, the legates of *John VIII*

(47) See an Epistle of *Photius* himself, which is the *second* of his Epistles, as published by *Montague*, p. 47 &c. Some enumerate ten allegations of charge by *Photius*. But they undoubtedly blend the first controversy with the second, between the Greeks and Latins; and include the criminations which were made in the time of *Michael Cerularius*, [patriarch in the middle of the eleventh century.].—Certain it is, that in the Epistle of *Photius*, from which alone the first controversy is to be judged of, there are only the *five* heads of disagreement, which we have stated.

(48) *Mabillon*, Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. vi. or Saecul. iv. P. ii. Praef. p. lv.

(49) See *Mich. Le Quien*, Oriens Christianus, Tom. i. p. 103 &c.

were present at the council of Constantinople, and gave their sanction to all its decrees.(50) But after the council, the emperor, (doubtless with the consent of *Photius*,) would not permit the Bulgarians to be transferred over to the Roman pontiff:—and it must be acknowledged, there were very strong motives for such a determination. Hence the pontiff sent *Marinus* his legate to Constantinople; and signified, that he persevered in the former sentence passed upon *Photius*. The legate was thrown into prison by the emperor, but was again liberated; and afterwards, on the death of *John VIII*, was created Roman pontiff; when, mindful of the ill usage he had received, he issued a second condemnation of *Photius*.

§ 32. Six years afterwards, AD. 886, the son of the emperor *Basil*, namely *Leo*, called the Philosopher, again deposed the patriarch *Photius*, and exiled him to a monastery in Armenia, called *Bardi*; where, in the year 891, he died.(51) Thus the author of the contest being removed, if there had been due moderation and equity at Rome, the whole strife might have been quieted, and harmony have been restored between the Greeks and Latins. But the Roman pontiffs required, that all the bishops and priests, whom *Photius* had consecrated, should be deprived of their offices. And as the Greeks would by no means submit to this, all the contentions, respecting points of religion as well as other things, were renewed with increased bitterness, and being augmented by new grounds of controversy, continued till the unhappy separation between the Greek and Latin churches became absolute and perpetual.

(50) [The entire acts of this council are in *Harduin's* collection, Tom. vi. P. i. p. 207—342. The council was called by order of the emperor *Basil*; and by all the Greeks it has been accounted a *general* council; but the Latins do not so regard it. The number of bishops present, was 383: and the legates of the Roman pontiff, and also representatives of the three oriental patriarchs, attended it. *Photius* presided; and the principal objects were obtained without difficulty, in seven sessions. *Photius* was unanimously acknowledged the regular patriarch of Constantinople; and all that had been decreed against him, at Rome and at Constantinople, was annulled and declared void. Such as should not acknowledge *Photius*, were to be excommunicated. The council proceeded to establish the true faith, by confirming the creed of the first Nicene, and the first Constantinopolitan councils, rejecting all interpolations; (that is, merely the addition, *filioque*;) and again enacting the decrees of the second Nicene council, respecting image-worship. The council was closed, by an eulogy of *Procopius* of *Cesarea* on *Photius*; and by a solemn declaration, on the part of the Roman legates, that whoever would not acknowledge the holy patriarch *Photius*, and hold ecclesiastical communion with him, ought to be accounted an associate of the traitor Judas, and no Christian; and this was assented to by the whole council. See *Walch's Kirchenversamml.* p. 575 &c. Tr.]

(51) [*Photius* had ordained one *Theodorus* a bishop, who was falsely accused of treason. This circumstance brought the patriarch under some temporary suspicion. Besides, the new emperor wished to raise his brother *Stephen* to the patriarchal chair. He therefore deposed *Photius*, and gave the office to his brother. Yet, when he learned the innocence of *Photius*, he seems to have felt some relentings; for he made his exile comfortable, and in a letter to the pope, spoke of him as having voluntarily resigned his office, and gone into retirement. Tr. from *Schl.*]

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Writers who explained the sacred rites.—§ 2. The rites themselves.—§ 3. Superstitions in civil and private life.

§ 1. That the public rites and ceremonies were gradually multiplied very considerably, is evinced by the writers who, in this century, began to compose and to publish explanations of them, for the instruction of the common people; namely, *Amalarius*, (whose numerous explanations, however, are confuted by *Ago-bard* and *Florus*,) *John Scotus*, *Angelome*, *Remigius* of Auxerre, *Walafrid Strabo*, and others. These treatises are entitled *de Divinis Officiis*: for, in the style of this age, a *divine office* is a religious ceremony. Though these works were drawn up, undoubtedly, with good intentions; yet it is difficult to say, whether they benefitted, more than they injured, the christian cause. They contained indeed some spiritual aliment, for those who attended on public worship; but it was, for the most part, crude and unwholesome. For the alleged grounds and reasons of the various rites, are to a great degree, far fetched, false, constrained, nay, ridiculous and puerile. Besides, excessive regard for external rites was increased and strengthened, by this elaborate explanation of them, to the detriment of real piety. For how could any one withhold respect and reverence from that, which he understood to be most wisely ordained, and full of mystery?

§ 2. To describe severally all the new rites adopted, either by christians generally, or by particular churches, would not comport with the designed brevity of this work. We therefore despatch the extensive subject in a few words. The corpses of holy men, either brought from distant countries, or discovered by the industry of the priests, required the appointment of new feast days, and some variation in the ceremonies observed on those days. And as the success of the clergy depended on the impressions of the people respecting the merits and the power of those saints, whom they were invited to worship, it was necessary, that their eyes and their ears should be fascinated with various ceremonies and exhibitions. Hence the splendid furniture of the temples, the numerous wax candles burning at mid day, the multitude of pictures and statues, the decorations of the altars, the frequent processions, the splendid dresses of the priests, and *masses* appropriate to the honor of saints.(1) The festival of *All Saints* was added, by *Gregory IV*, to the public holy days of the Latins.(2) The

(1) See the Tract of *Jo. Fichta*, de *Missis in honorem Sanctorum*.

(2) See *Jo. Mabillon*, de re diplomatica, p. 537. [This holds true, only of Germany and France. For, as to England, *Beda* mentioned this feast, in the

feast of *St. Michael*, which had long been observed with much reverence, by both the Greeks and the Latins, now began to be more frequented.(3)

§ 3. In the civil and private life of christians, especially among the Latins, there existed many customs, derived from ancient paganism. For the barbarous nations that embraced christianity, would not allow the customs and laws of their ancestors to be wrested from them, though very alien from the rules of christianity ; nay, by their example, they drew other nations, among whom they lived commingled, into the same absurdities. We have examples, in the well known methods of demonstrating right and innocence in civil and criminal causes, by cold water,(4) by single

preceding century ; and at Rome, it had been established by pope *Boniface IV.* See vol. i. of this work, p. 870, note (3) *Schl.*]

(3) The Latins had but few feast days, up to this century ; as appears from the poem of *Florus*, extant in *Martene's* Thesaurus, Tom. v. p. 595 &c. [The council of Mayence, AD. 813, determined precisely the number of both fasts and feasts to be observed. *Canon 34*, designates the *fasts* ; namely the *first* week in March, the *second* week in June, the *third* week in September, and the last full week preceding Christmas eve. On these weeks, all were to fast ; and were to attend church on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, at 3 o'clock P. M.—*Canon 36*, thus enumerates and sanctions the *festivals* : “ We ordain the celebration of the feast days of the year. That is, Easter Sunday is to be observed with all honor and sobriety ; and the whole of Easter week, we decree, shall be observed in like manner. Ascension day must be celebrated with full worship. Likewise Pentecost, just as Easter. In the nativity [martyrdom] of Peter and Paul, one day ; the nativity of St. John Baptist ; the assumption of St. Mary ; the dedication of St. Michael ; the nativity of St. Remigius, St. Martin, St. Andrew ; at Christmas, four days, the octaves of our Lord, the epiphany of our Lord, the purification of St. Mary. And we decree the observance of the festivals of those martyrs or confessors, whose sacred bodies repose in each diocese : and in like manner, the dedication of each church.”—The 37th canon adds : “ We ordain the observance of all the Lord's days [Sundays], with all reverence, and with abstinence from servile work ; and that no traffic take place on those days ; nor do we approve, that any one be sentenced to death, or to punishment,” on those days.—See *Harduin's* Concilia, Tom. iv. p. 1015. *Tr.*]

(4) See *Jo. Mabillon's*, *Analecta veteris aevi*, Tom. i. p. 47. *Roye*, de *Missis* Dom. p. 152. [The ordeal by immersion in cold water, was very common in the ninth and following centuries, especially for criminals of vulgar rank in society. It was sanctioned by public law, in most countries of Europe. And though disapproved by various kings and councils, yet was generally held sacred ; and was supposed to have been invented by pope *Eugene*. The person to be tried was conducted to the church, and most solemnly adjured to confess the fact, if he was guilty. If he would not confess, he received the sacrament, was sprinkled with holy water, and conducted to a river or lake. The priest then exorcised the water, charging it not to receive the criminal, if he were guilty. The criminal was now stripped naked, and bound ; and a rope was tied to him, by which to draw him out, if he sunk to a certain depth. When cast into the water, if he floated, he was accounted guilty ; but if he sunk to the depth marked on the rope, (sometimes a yard and a half,) he was instantly drawn out ; and was accounted innocent. See a large and very satisfactory account of this ordeal, in *Du Cange's*, *Glossar. Latin.* under the article *AQUAE*, vel *Aquas frigidae judicium*. Tom. i. p. 308—313. ed. Francf. 1710.—*Du Cange* proceeds to describe the ordeal by *hot water*. For this the preparatory religious ceremonies were the same as for the ordeal by cold water. Afterwards the priest heated a caldron of water, till it boiled. Then taking it off the fire, he immersed in it a stone, which he held suspended by a string, to the depth of one, two, or three palms ; and the criminal must thrust in his naked hand and arm, and seizing the stone, pull it out. His hand and arm were immediately wrapped up in linen cloths, and a

combat,(5) by red hot iron,(6) by a cross,(7) and other methods, which were in general use among the Latins, in this age and the following. No sober man, at the present day, entertains a doubt, that these equivocal and uncertain modes of deciding causes, originated from the customs of barbarians; and that they are fallacious, and abhorrent to the genius of true religion. Yet in that age, the pontiffs and inferior bishops did not blush to honor and dignify them, with prayers, with the eucharist and other rites, in order to give them somewhat of a christian aspect.

bag drawn over the whole and sealed. After three days, the hand and arm were examined; and if found not scalded, the man was accounted innocent. This ordeal was nearly as much used, as the other; but was considered rather more suitable for persons of quality. *Tr.]*

(5) *Jo. Loccenius*, *Antiquitat. Sueo-Gothicæ*, Lib. ii. cap. vii. viii. p. 144. Even clergymen did not refuse to terminate controversies by the *duellum*, or single combat. See *Just. Hen. Boekmer's Jus Eccles. Protestantium*, Tom. v. p. 88 &c. [The trial by combat originated among the northern barbarians, was in use before the christian era, and was brought by the Lombards into Italy, and by the Germans into Suabia. It was not an *ordeal*, for the trial of public offences, but was a mode of settling private disputes, and quarrels between individuals, when there was not sufficient evidence to make the case clear. The parties deposited with the judge their bonds, or goods to the requisite amount, for paying the forfeiture in case they were cast, and for the fees of court. The judge also appointed the time for the combat, and presided over it. Knights fought on horseback, and armed as for war, in complete armor, and with their horses covered with mail. Common men fought on foot, with swords and shields; covered, except their faces and feet, with linen or cotton, to any extent they pleased. Certain persons, as women, priests, and others, might employ champions to fight in their stead. See the full account, in *du Cange*, *Glossar. Latin. Article Duellum*: see also *Hallam's View of Europe in the middle ages*, vol. i. p. 292 &c. ed. Philadel. 1821. This mode of trial gradually sunk into disuse; but it was not abolished by legislative enactments, either in France or England. Hence, so late as the 19th century, the right of challenging to single combat, was asserted in an English court. *Tr.]*

(6) *Petrus Lambecius*, *Rerum Hamburg. Lib. ii. p. 39. Jac. Usher*, *Sylloge Epistolæ. Hibernic. p. 81. Johnson's Laws of the British church*; and the extracts from them, in *Mich. de la Roche, Memoires litteraires de la grande Bretagne*, Tome viii. p. 391. [This was a very common ordeal, and was esteemed more honorable than the ordeals by water. Sometimes the person walked bare-foot over nine or twelve red-hot ploughshares, treading on each. But more frequently he carried a hot iron in his naked hands, nine times the length of his foot. The religious rites attending this ordeal, were very similar to those of the ordeal by hot water. See *du Cange*, *Gloss. Lat. articles, Ferrum candens*, and *Vomer igniti. Tr.]*

(7) See *Agobard*, *contra judicium Dei Liber*, Opp. Tom. i. and *contra legem Gundobadi*, cap. ix. p. 114. *Hier. Bignonius* ad *formulas Marculphi*, cap. xii. *Steph Baluzius* ad *Agobardum*, p. 104; and others. [*Du Cange*, in *Glossar. Latin. Article Causæ judicium*, is not able definitely to state what was the mode of this ordeal. He finds some instances of persons standing long, with their arms extended horizontally, so as to present the form of a cross. If they grew weary, fainted, and fell, they were accounted guilty. He also finds other modes of trial by cross. Sometimes it was merely laying the hand on a sacred cross, and then uttering a solemn oath of purgation.—On all the forms of ordeal, see *Ree's Cyclopaedia, Art. Ordeal*.—This mode of trying difficult and dubious cases, was denominated *Judicium Dei*; and was considered as a solemn appeal to God, to show, by his special interposition, whether a person were guilty or innocent. It was therefore, a presumptuous attempt to call forth a miracle from the hand of God; and it argued both the ignorance and the superstition of those times. And thus it was viewed by some of the more discerning; for instance, by *Agobard*, bishop of Lyons. (See the references at the beginning of this note.) But others, as *Hincmar*, archbishop of Rheims, approved and defended both the ordeals, and the trial by combat. *Tr.]*

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF SECTS AND HERESIES.

§ 1. Ancient sects.—§ 2. The Paulicians.—§ 3. Persecution of them.—§ 4. Their condition under Theodora.—§ 5. Whether they were Manichaeans.—§ 6. Their religious opinions.

§ 1. Concerning the ancient christian sects, there is little new to be said. Nearly all of them that were considerable for numbers, had their residence and abettors beyond the boundaries of the Greek and Latin dominions. The *Nestorians*, in particular, and the *Monophysites*, who lived securely under the protection of the Arabians, were very attentive to their own interests, and did not cease from efforts for the conversion of the nations still in pagan ignorance. Some represent the Abyssinians or Ethiopians as being persuaded by the Egyptians, to embrace the Monophysite doctrines, in the course of this century. But it was, undoubtedly, from the seventh century, if not earlier, that the Abyssinians, who were accustomed to receive their bishop from the patriarch of Alexandria, embraced the tenets of the Monophysites: for in that century, the Arabs conquered Egypt, oppressed the Greeks [or Melchites], and protected the advocates of one nature in Christ; so that this sect was able to subject nearly the whole Egyptian church to its jurisdiction.(1)

§ 2. The Greeks were engaged with various success, during nearly this whole century, in cruel wars with the *Paulicians*; a sect allied to the Manichaeans, and residing especially in Armenia. This sect is said to have been formed in Armenia, by two brothers, *Paul* and *John*, the sons of *Callinice* of Samosata; and to have received its name from them: some however, think that one *Paul*, an Armenian who lived in the reign of *Justinian II*, gave name to the sect.(2) Under *Constans*, in the seventh

(1) *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant*, Tome iv. p. 283, 284. *Henr. le Grand*, Diss. iv. on *Jerome Lobo's Voyage historique de l' Abyssinie*, Tome ii. p. 18.

(2) *Photius*, contra Manichaeos, Lib i. p. 74. in *Wolf's Anecdota Graeca*, Tom. i. [According to the statement of *Peter Siculus*, the founder of this sect was an Armenian, named *Constantine*, and surnamed *Soloannes*. Complaint was made against him, to the emperor *Constantine Pogonatus*, in the seventh century. The emperor sent his commissioner *Simeon*, to investigate the subject; and he put the leader of the sect to death, and dispersed his adherents; but some years after, he himself joined the sect, and became its teacher. Under *Justinian II*. they were again complained of, and their principal leader was burnt alive. But this did not prevent their growth. For one *Paul*, with his two sons, *Genesius* (who was also called *Timothy*), and *Theodorus*, propagated the sect in Cappadocia. The first of these was summoned to Constantinople by the emperor *Leo*; but after a hearing, he was acquitted, and retired, with his adherents, into the territories of the Muhammedans: He was followed by his son *Zacharias*, who, with

century, it was in an exhausted and depressed state, in consequence of penal laws, and oppressions, when one *Constantine* resuscitated it. The emperors, *Constans*, *Justinian II*, and *Leo* the Isaurian, harassed them in various ways, and labored to extirpate the sect; but they were utterly unable to subdue a party so inflexible, and which despised all sufferings. In the beginning of the ninth century, their condition was more prosperous. For the emperor, *Nicephorus Logotheta*, [AD. 802—811,] favored the Paulicians, and gave them free toleration.(3)

§ 3. But, after a few years of repose, the Paulicians were again assailed, with increased violence, by the emperors *Michael* Curopalates, and *Leo* the Armenian, [AD. 811—820,] who commanded them to be carefully searched after, through all the provinces of the Greek empire, and, if they would not return to the Greek church, to be put to death. Driven to desperation by this cruelty, the Paulicians of Armenia slew the imperial judges, and likewise *Thomas*, the bishop of Neocaesaria; and then took refuge in the territories of the Saracens; from which they harassed the neighboring Greeks with perpetual incursions.(4) Afterwards this war, it seems, gradually subsided; and the Paulicians returned to their former habitations within the Grecian territories.

§ 4. But far greater calamities were produced by the inconsiderate and rash zeal of the empress *Theodora* [AD. 841—855.] In the minority of her son, she governed as regent, and decreed that the Paulicians should be exterminated by fire and sword, or brought back to the Greek church. The public officers sent into Armenia on this business, executed their commission, in the most cruel manner; for they destroyed, by various punishments, about a hundred thousand of this unhappy sect, and confiscated their property. Such as escaped took refuge, once more, among the Saracens. Being there kindly received, they built themselves a city, called *Tibrica*; and choosing *Carbeas*, a man of very great valor for their leader, and forming alliance with the Saracens, they waged fierce war with the Greeks. This war continued with various success, nearly through the century; and in it an immense number of persons perished on both sides, and several provinces of the Greeks were ruined.(5) During these troubles, and near

Joseph his assistant, again took residence in Cappadocia; but when persecution broke out, he fled to Phrygia; and during some time, taught at Antioch in Pisidia. He was succeeded by *Bahanes*, under whom the sect spread itself much in Asia, particularly in Armenia, and also in Thrace. After *Bahanes*, the principal teacher was *Sergius*, called also *Tychicus*, who opposed image-worship, most zealously, under the empress Irene. They were then likewise called *Athingias* or *Separates*, because they would have no part in the abuses of the times, especially in image-worship, and in veneration of the cross and of the hierarchy of the reigning party. *Schl.*]

(3) See *Geo. Cedrenus*, *Compendium Historiar.* Tom. ii. p. 480. ed. Paris, or p. 379. ed. Venice.

(4) *Photius*, *contra Manich.* Lib. i. p. 125 &c. *Peter Siculus*, *Historia Manichaeor.* p. 71.

(5) *Geo. Cedrenus*, *Compendium Historiar.* p. 541. ed. Paris, or p. 425. ed.

the close of the century, some of the Paulicians disseminated their doctrines among the Bulgarians; and among that people, who were recently converted to christianity, those doctrines easily took root.(6)

§ 5. These *Paulicians* are by the Greeks, called *Manichaeans*: but, as *Photius* himself states, they declared their abhorrence of *Manes*, and of his doctrine:(7) and it is certain, that they were not *genuine* Manichaeans; although they might hold some doctrines bearing a resemblance to those of that sect. There were not among them, as among the Manichaeans, bishops, presbyters, and deacons; they had no order of clergymen, distinguished from laymen by their mode of living, their dress, and other things: nor had they councils, or any similar institutions. Their teachers, whom they denominated *Sunecdemi*, (Συνεδήμι, fellow travellers,) and [*Notaplois*] *Notaries*, were all equals in rank; and were distinguished from laymen by no rights, or prerogatives, or insignia.(8) But they had this peculiarity, that such as were

Venice; and p. 547 or 429. *Jo. Zonaras*, Annal. Lib. xvi. Tom. ii. p. 122. ed. Venice. But the principal historians of the Paulicians, are *Photius*, contra Manichaeos, Liber primus; and *Peter Siculus*, whose *Historia Manichaeorum* was published, Gr. and Lat. by *Matth. Raderus*, Ingolstadt 1604. 4to. This *Peter Siculus*, as he himself informs us, was the envoy of *Basil* the Macedonian, to the Paulicians at Tibrica, in the year 870, sent to negotiate with them an exchange of prisoners; and he remained among them nine months. These facts alone show, how great the power of the Paulicians was at that period. From this *Peter*, it appears, *Cedrenus* borrowed his account. *Histor. Compend.* p. 431. The moderns, who treat of the Paulicians, as *Peter Bayle*, Dictionnaire, Article *Pauliciens*; *Jo. Christ. Wolf*, Manichaeismus ante Manichaeos, p. 247, and others, seem to have derived their information chiefly from *Bossuet*, *Histoire des variations des Eglises Protest.* [Liv. xi. § 13 &c.] Tome ii. p. 129 &c. But this writer, certainly, did not go to the sources; and being influenced by party zeal, he was willing to make mistakes.—[*Photius* wrote iv Books against the Manichaeans or Paulicians; of which, the first Book gives the history of them, to about AD. 870. The subsequent books are a confutation of their doctrines; and with the common arguments used against the Manichaeans. The history of *Peter Siculus*, terminates at the same time. The edition of it by the Jesuit *Rader*, is said to need revision. *Photius* and *Peter* agree, in the main, in their histories. Which of them wrote first, remains a question: but *Photius* is deemed the better authority. For the history of the sect, after AD. 870, we must go to the Byzantine writers, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, Lib. iv. c. 16. and *Cedrenus*, p. 541. ed. Paris. See *Schroeckh*, Kirchengesch. Vol. xx. p. 363 &c. and Vol. xxiii. p. 318 &c. *Tr.*]

(6) Perhaps there still are *Paulicians*, or *Paulians* as some call them, remaining in Thrace and Bulgaria. There certainly were some there, in the seventeenth century; and they resided at Nicopolis, according to *Urb. Cerri*, *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 72; who tells us, (true, or false, I know not,) that *Peter Deodatus*, archbishop of Sophia, convinced them of their errors, and converted them to the Romish church.—[The history of these *Paulicians* is of the more consequence, as they propagated their sect in various countries of Europe, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and composed a large part of the dissidents from the Romish church, during those times. The Catholics, (as *Bossuet*, *Variations &c.* Liv. xi.) charge the Protestants with being the progeny of the Paulicians; and some Protestant writers seem half inclined to regard them as witnesses for the truth, in their times. This subject will, of course, come up in the following centuries. *Tr.*]

(7) *Photius*, contra Manichaeos, Lib. i. p. 17, 56, 65. *Peter Siculus*, *Hist. Manich.* p. 43.

(8) *Photius*, l. c. p. 31, 32. *Peter Sicul.* p. 44. *Cedrenus*, l. c. p. 431.

made teachers among them, changed their names; and assumed, each the name of some holy man mentioned in the New Testament. They received the whole of the New Testament, except the two epistles of Peter, which they rejected for reasons not known; and they received it unaltered, or in its usual form, as received by other christians; in which, again, they differed from the Manichaeans.(9) They moreover would have these holy books to be read, assiduously, and by all; and were indignant at the Greeks, who required the scriptures to be examined only by the priests.(10) But many parts of the scripture, they construed allegorically; abandoning the literal sense, lest it should militate with their doctrines:(11) and this construction they undoubtedly put upon the passages relating to the Lord's supper, baptism, the Old Testament, and some other subjects. Besides the New Testament, the epistles of one *Sergius*, a great doctor of the sect, were in high esteem among them.

§ 6. The entire creed of this sect, though doubtless consisting of various articles, is no where described, by the Greeks; who select from it only six dogmas, for which they declare the Paulicians unworthy to live, or to partake of salvation.—I. They denied, that this lower and visible world was created by the supreme God; and distinguished the creator of the world and of human bodies, from the God whose residence is in heaven. It was on account of this dogma, especially, that the Greeks accounted them *Manichaeans*; and yet this was the common doctrine of all the sects, denominated *Gnostics*. What opinions they entertained respecting this creator of the world, and whether they supposed him to be a different being from the prince of evil or the Devil, no one has informed us. This only appears from *Photius*, that they held the author of evils to have been procreated from darkness and fire: and of course, he was not eternal, or without beginning.(12)—II. They contemned the virgin *Mary*, the moth-

(9) *Photius*, l. c. p. 11. *Peter Sicul.* p. 19.

(10) *Photius*, l. c. p. 101. *Peter Sicul.* p. 57.

(11) *Photius*, l. c. p. 12 &c.

(12) *Photius*, l. c. Lib. ii. p. 147. It is manifest, that the Paulicians, with the oriental Philosophers, those parents of the Gnostic and Manichaean sects, considered *eternal matter*, to be the seat and source of all evil. And this *matter*, like many of the Gnostics, they supposed to be endued from eternity with motion and an animating principle, and to have procreated the prince of all evil; who was the former of bodies, which are composed of matter; while God is the parent of souls. These opinions are indeed allied to the Manichaean doctrines; yet also differ from them. I can believe this sect to have been the offspring of one of the ancient Gnostic parties, which, though sadly oppressed by imperial laws and punishments, could never be entirely suppressed and exterminated. [As the Paulicians were great friends to allegories and mystical interpretations, and held certain hidden doctrines, which they made known only to the perfect; and as we are in possession of no creed, nor of any other writing, of their doctors; we must always remain in uncertainty, whether they understood these Gnostic-sounding doctrines, literally; and so were actually a branch from the old Gnostic stock. And for the same reason, we cannot place much confidence in the Greeks, who wrote their history; and we should always remember, that

er of *Jesus Christ* : that is, they would not adore and *worship* her, as the Greeks did. For they did not deny, that Christ was born of *Mary* ; because, as their adversaries expressly state, they taught that Christ brought his body with him from heaven ; and that *Mary*, after the birth of the Savior, had other children, by *Joseph*. They therefore believed, with the Valentinians, that Christ passed through the womb of his mother, as water through a canal ; and that *Mary* did not continue a virgin to the end of life :—a doctrine, which must have appeared abominable, in the view of the Greeks.—III. They did not celebrate the Lord's supper. For believing that there were metaphors in many parts of the New Testament, they deemed it proper, to understand by the bread and wine, which Christ is stated to have presented to his disciples at his last supper, those divine *discourses* of Christ, by which the soul is nourished and refreshed.(13)—IV. They loaded the cross with contumely ; that is,—as clearly appears, from what the Greeks state,—they would not have any religious *worship* paid to the wood of the cross, as was customary among the Greeks. For, believing that Christ possessed an ethereal and celestial body, they could not by any means admit, that he was actually nailed to a cross, and truly died upon it : and this led them, of course, to treat the cross with neglect.—V. They rejected, as did nearly all the Gnostics, the books composing the Old Testament ; and believed, that the writers of them were prompted, by the creator of the world, and not by the supreme God.—VI. They excluded the *presbyters* or elders from the administrations of the church. The foundation of this charge, beyond all controversy, was, that they would not allow their teachers to be styled *presbyters* ; because this title was Jewish, and appropriate to those who persecuted and wished to kill *Jesus Christ*.(14)

these writers were liable, from misapprehension, if not also from their party feelings, to misstate their doctrines. At the same time, we discover, as to most of their doctrines, that they had, in several respects, more correct ideas of religion, of religious worship, and of church government, than the prevailing church at that day had ; and that they drew on themselves persecution, by their dislike of images, and by their opposition to the hierarchy, more than by their other religious opinions.—So Dr. Semler judges of them, in his *Selecta Capita Historiæ Eccles. Tom. ii. p. 72, and 365. Sch.*]

(13) The Greeks do not charge the Paulicians with any error, in respect to the doctrine of baptism. Yet there is no doubt, that they construed into *allegory* what the New Testament states concerning this ordinance. And *Photius*, (contra Manich. Lib. i. p. 29.) expressly says, that they held only to a fictitious baptism, and understood by baptism, i. e. by the water of baptism, the *Gospel*.

(14) These six errors, I have extracted from *Peter Siculus*, *Historia Manich. p. 17* : with whom, *Photius* and *Cedrenus* agree ; though they are less distinct and definite. The reasonings and explanations are my own.

CENTURY TENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Propagation of christianity.—§ 2. Presbyter John.—§ 3. Rollo embraces christianity.—§ 4. Conversion of the Poles.—§ 5. Christianity established in Muscovy.—§ 6. Hungary becomes a christian country.—§ 7. Denmark.—§ 8. Norway.—§ 9. Zeal of *Otto* the Great for christianity.—§ 10. Project of a crusade.

§ 1. All are agreed, that in this century the state of christianity was, every where, most wretched ; on account of the amazing ignorance, and the consequent superstition and debased morals of the age, and also from other causes. But still there were not a few things, which may be placed among the prosperous events of the church. The Nestorians, living in Chaldea, introduced christianity into Tartary proper, beyond mount Imaus, where the people had hitherto lived entirely uncultivated and uncivilized. Near the end of the century, the same sect spread the knowledge of the Gospel among that powerful horde of Tartars or Turks, which was called *Carit* or *Karit*, and which bordered on *Chathay* or the northern part of China.(1) The activity of this sect, and

(1) *Jo. Sim. Asseman*, Bibliotheca Oriental. Vaticana, Tom iii. Pt. ii. p. 482 &c. *Herbelot*, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 256 &c. [*Mosheim*, Historia Tartaror. Ecclesiast. p. 23, 24. It is there stated, that this Tartarian prince commanded more than 200,000 subjects ; all of whom embraced christianity, in the year AD. 900. The authority for this account is, a letter of *Ebed Jesu*, archbishop of *Meru*, addressed to *John*, the Nestorian patriarch ; and preserved by *Abulpharajus*, Cronic. Syr. and thence published by *J. S. Asseman*, Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vat. Tom. ii. p. 444 &c. The letter states, that this Tartarian king, while hunting, one day, got lost in the wilderness, and was wholly unable to find his way out of it. A saint now appeared to him, and promised to show him the way, if he would become a christian. The king promised to do so. On returning to his camp, he called the christian merchants who were there, to his presence, received instruction from them, and applied to the above named *Ebed Jesu* for baptism. As his tribe fed only on flesh and milk, it became a question, how they were to keep the required fasts. This led *Ebed Jesu* to write to his patriarch, stating the case, and asking for instructions on the point. The patriarch directed the bishop to send two presbyters and two deacons among the tribe, to convert and baptize them, and to teach them to feed upon *milk* only, on fast days. *Dr. Mosheim* thinks the conversion of this tribe of Tartars is too well

their great zeal for the promotion of christianity, deserve praise ; and yet no one can suppose, that the religion they instilled into the minds of these nations, was the pure Gospel of our Savior.

§ 2. This Tartarian king, who was converted to christianity by the Nestorians, it is said, bore the name of *John*, (after his baptism,) and in token of his modesty, assumed the title of *presbyter* [or *elder*]. And hence, as learned men have conjectured, his successors all retained this title, down to the fourteenth century, or to the times of *Gengis Kan*, and were usually called, each, *John Presbyter*.(2) But all this is said, without adequate authority or proof : nor did that *presbyter John*, of whom there was so much said formerly, as also in modern times, begin to reign in this part of Asia, anterior to the close of the eleventh century. And yet it is placed beyond controversy, that the kings of the people called *Carith*, living on the borders of Cathaia, whom some denominate a tribe of Turks, and others of Tartars, constituting a considerable portion of the Moguls, did profess christianity, from this time onward ; and that no inconsiderable part of Tartary, or Asiatic Scythia, lived under bishops, sent among them by the pontiff of the Nestorians.(3)

§ 3. In the West, *Rollo*, the son of a Norwegian count and an arch-pirate, who was expelled his country,(4) and who with his military followers took possession of a part of Gaul in the preceding century, embraced christianity, with his whole army, in the year 912. The French king, *Charles* the Simple, who was too weak to expel this warlike and intrepid stranger from his realm, offered him no inconsiderable portion of his territory, on condition of his desisting from war, marrying *Gisela* the daughter of Charles, and embracing the christian religion. *Rollo* embraced these terms, without hesitation ; and his soldiers, following the example of their general, yielded assent to a religion which they did not understand, and readily submitted to baptism.(5) These Norman pirates, as many facts demonstrate, were persons of no religion : and hence, they were not restrained, by opinions embraced in early life, from embracing a religion which promised

attested, to be called in question ; but the manner of it, he would divest somewhat of the marvellous. He suggests, that the saint, who appeared to the king in the wilderness, might be a Nestorian anchorite or hermit, residing there ; who was able and willing to guide the king out of the wilderness, on the condition stated. Tr.]

(2) See *Asseman*, Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic. Tom. iii. Pt. ii. p. 282.

(3) The late *Theoph. Sigef. Bayer* purposed to write a history of the churches of China and northern Asia, in which he would treat particularly of these Nestorian churches in Tartary and China. See the Preface to his *Museum Siniacum*, p. 145. But a premature death prevented the execution of this and other contemplated works of this excellent man for the illustration of Asiatic christianity.

(4) *Holberg's* Naval History of the Danes ; inserted in the *Scripta Societatis scientiar. Hafniensis*, Pt. iii. p. 357 &c.

(5) *Boulay*, Histor. Acad. Paris. Tom. i. p. 296. *Gabr. Daniel*, Histoire de France, Tome ii. p. 587 &c.

them great worldly advantages. From this *Rollo*, who assumed the name of *Robert* at his baptism, the celebrated dukes of Normandy in France, are descended ; for a part of *Neustria*, with *Bretagne*, which *Charles* the Simple ceded to his son-in-law, was from this time called, after its new lords, *Normandy*.(6)

§ 4. *Micislaus*, duke of Poland, was gradually wrought upon by his wife *Dambrowka*, daughter of *Boleslaus* duke of Bohemia, till, in the year 965, he renounced the idolatry of his ancestors, and embraced christianity. When the news of this reached Rome, *John XIII*, the Roman pontiff sent *Aegidius*, bishop of Tusculum, accompanied by many Italian, French, and German priests, into Poland ; that they might aid the duke and his wife, in their design of instructing the Poles in the precepts of christianity. But the efforts of these missionaries, who did not understand the language of the country, would have been altogether fruitless, had not the commands, the laws, the menaces, the rewards, and the punishments of the duke, overcome the reluctant minds of the Poles. The foundations being thus laid, two archbishops and seven bishops were created ; and by their labors and efforts, the whole nation was gradually brought to recede a little from their ancient customs, and to make an outward profession of christianity.(7) As to that internal and real change of mind, which *Christ* requires of his followers, this barbarous age had no idea of it.

§ 5. In Russia, a change took place during this century, similar to that in the adjacent country of Poland. For the Russians, who had embraced the religion of the Greeks, during the preceding century, in the time of *Basil* the Macedonian, soon afterwards relapsed into the superstition of their ancestors. In the year 961, *Wlodimir*, duke of Russia and Muscovy, married *Anna*, the sister of the Greek emperor, *Basil* Junior : and she did not cease to importune and exhort her husband, till he, in the year 987, submitted to baptism, assuming the the name of *Basil*. The Russians followed spontaneously the example of their duke : at least, we do not read, that any coercion was used.(8) From this

(6) [It was *Neustria* properly, and not *Bretagne*, that received the name of *Normandy*, from the Normans, who chose *Rollo* for their chief. *Macl.*]

(7) *Dlugoss*, *Historia Polonica*, Lib. ii. p. 91 &c. Lib. iii. p. 95, 239. *Regen-volsius*, *Historia eccles. Slavon.* Lib. i. c. i. p. 8. *Hen. Canisius*, *Lectiones antiquae*, Tom. iii. Pt. i. p. 41. *Solignac*, *Histoire de Pologne*, Tome i. p. 71 &c. [*Micislaus* II, on the death of his mother *Dambrowka*, AD. 877, married a nun, *Oda*, the daughter of the German marquis *Theodoric*. This uncanonical marriage was disliked by the bishops, yet was winked at, from motives of policy ; and the pious *Oda* became so serviceable to the church, that she almost atoned for the violation of her vows. See *Fleury*, *Histoire Eccles.* Livre, lvi. § 13. Tr.]

(8) See *Anton. Pagi*, *Critica* in Baron. Tom. iv. ad ann. 987. p. 55. and ad ann. 1015. p. 110. *Car. du Fresno*, *Familiae Byzantinae*, p. 143. ed. Paris. [The occasion of *Wlodimir's* baptism is variously stated. Some say, he had captured the Greek fortress *Corszyn* ; and promised to restore it, if the princess *Anna* were given him to wife ; but that her brothers, *Basil* and *Constantine*, would not

time, the christian religion obtained permanent establishment among the Russians. *Wlodimir*, and his wife, were ranked among saints of the highest order, in the estimation of the Russians ; and to the present day, are worshipped with the greatest veneration, at Kiow, where they were interred. The Latins, however, hold *Wlodimir* to be absolutely unworthy of this honor.(9)

§ 6. Some knowledge of christianity reached the Hungarians and Avars, through the instrumentality of *Charlemagne*; but it became wholly extinct, after his death. In this century, christianity obtained a more permanent existence among those warlike nations.(10) First, near the middle of the century, two dukes of the Turks on the Danube, (for so the Hungarians and Transylvanians were called by the Greeks in that age,) *Bulorudes* and *Gyula* or *Gylas*, received baptism at Constantinople. The former of these soon after returned to his old superstition: the latter persevering in christianity, by means of *Hierotheus* a bishop, and several priests, whom he took along with him, caused his subjects to be instructed in the christian precepts and institutions. His daughter, *Sarolta*, was afterwards married to *Geysa*, the chieftain of the Hungarian nation ; and she persuaded her husband to embrace the religion taught her by her father. But *Geysa* again began to waver, and to incline to his former pollutions, when *Adalbert*, archbishop of Prague, near the close of the century, went from Bohemia into Hungary, and reclaimed the lapsed chieftain ; and likewise baptized his son *Stephen*. To this *Stephen*, the son of *Geysa*, belongs the chief honor of converting the Hungarians. For he perfected the work, which was only begun by his father and grandfather ; he established bishops about the country, and provided them with ample revenues ; erected magnificent churches ; and by his menaces, punishments, and rewards, compelled nearly the whole nation, to renounce the idola-

-consent, unless he would engage to renounce paganism ; and he accordingly was baptized, at Corszyn, in presence of the court. But the Greek writers know nothing of these circumstances. Others state, that Muhammedans, Jews, and christians, severally, endeavored to persuade him, to embrace their religions ; and that he gradually becoming informed respecting them all, gave preference to that of the Greeks. So much is certain, his marriage was the proximate cause of his conversion. After his conversion, he strictly enjoined upon his subjects to renounce paganism. And it is said, the bishop of Corszyn, and other Greek clergymen, often administered baptism, and destroyed idols, at Kiow. A metropolitan of Kiow, named *Michael*, who was sent from Constantinople, is reported to have gradually brought all Russia to submit to baptism. Churches were also built. *Ditmar* does not commend the piety of this prince ; who is represented as endeavoring to compensate for his transgressions, by the extent of his alms. *Mosheim* says, that we no where find coercion employed, in the conversion of the Russians. But *Dlugoss* states, that *Wlodimir* compelled his subjects, by penalties, to submit to baptism. And this was certainly the common mode of the spurious conversions. See *Semler's* continuation of *Baumgarten's* Auszug der Kirchengesch. vol. iv. p. 423 &c. von Ein.]

(9) *Ditmar* of Merseburg, Lib. vii. Chronic. in *Leibnitz's* collection of the Brunswick Historians, Tom. i. p. 417.

(10) *Pauli Debreceni Historia Eccles. Reformat. in Ungaria*, Pt. i. cap. iii. p. 19 &c.

try of their ancestors. His persevering zeal in establishing christian worship among the Hungarians, procured him the title and the honors of a *saint* in succeeding times.(11)

§ 7. In Denmark, the christian cause had to struggle with great difficulties and adversities, under the king *Gormon*; although the queen was a professed christian. But *Harald*, surnamed *Blaaland*, the son of *Gormon*, about the middle of the century, having been vanquished by *Otto* the Great, made a profession of christianity in the year 949; and was baptized, together with his wife, and his son *Sueno*, by *Adaldag*, archbishop of Hamburg, or, as some think, by *Poppo*, a pious priest, who attended the emperor. Perhaps *Harald*, who had his birth and education from a christian mother, *Tyra*, was not greatly averse from the christian religion: and yet it is clear, that in the present transaction, he yielded rather to the demands of his conqueror, than to his own inclinations. For *Otto* being satisfied, that the Danes would never cease to harrass their neighbors with wars and rapine, if they retained the martial religion of their fathers, made it a condition of the peace with *Harald*, that he and his people should become christians.(12) After the conversion of the king, *Adaldag* especially, and *Poppo*, with good success, urged the Cimbrians and Danes to follow his example. The stupendous miracles performed by *Poppo*, are said to have contributed very much to this result: and yet those miracles appear to have been artificial, and not divine; for they did not surpass the powers of nature.(13) *Harald*, as long as he lived, endeavored to confirm his subjects in the religion they had embraced, by the establishment

(11) The Greeks, the Germans, the Bohemians, and the Poles, severally, claim the honor of imparting christianity to the Hungarians; and the subject is really involved in much obscurity. The Germans say, that *Gisela*, the sister of the emperor *Henry II*, was married to *Stephen* king of Hungary; and that she convinced her husband of the truth of christianity. The Bohemians tell us, that *Adalbert* of Prague, induced this king to embrace the christian religion. The Poles maintain, that *Geysa* married *Adelheid*, a christian lady, the sister of *Micislaus I*. duke of Poland; and by her, was induced to become a christian. We have no hesitation in following the authority and testimony of the Greek writers, at the same time calling in the aid of the Hungarian historians. In this we were, in part, preceded by *Gabriel de Juxta Hornad*, *Initia religionis christ. inter Hungaros ecclesiae Orientali adserta*, Francf. 1740. 4to. who vindicates the credibility of the Greek writers. The accounts of the others are imperfect, and involved in much uncertainty. [The book of *Gottfr. Schwartz*, under the fictitious name of *Gabriel de Juxta Hornad*, gave occasion to a learned controversy, which continued several years after the death of *Dr. Mosheim*. The result seems to have been, that *Schwartz*' account is substantially true; and of course, the representation given by *Dr. Mosheim*. See *Schroeckh*, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 527 &c. Tr.]

(12) *Adamus Bremens.* *Histor. Lib. ii. cap. ii, iii. p. 16. cap. xv. p. 20. in Lindenbrog's Scriptores rerum septentrional.* *Alb. Kranz*, *Wandalia*, *Lib. iv. cap. xx.* *Ludwig*, *Reliquiae Manuscriptor.* *Tom. ix. p. 10.* *Pontoppidan*, *Annales ecclesiae Danicae diplomatici*, *Tom. i. p. 59 &c.*

(13) See *Jo. Adolph. Cypraeus*, *Annales Episcoporum Slesvic. c. xiii. p. 78.* *Adamus Brem.* *Lib. ii. cap. xxvi. p. 22. cap. xlv. p. 28.* *Steph. Jo. Stephanus*, *ad Saxonem Grammat.* p. 207. *Jo. Mölleri* *Introd. ad Histor. Chersones. Cimbr.* *Pt. ii. cap. iii. § 14. and others.*

of bishoprics, the enactment of laws, reforming bad morals, and the like. But his son *Sueno* [or *Swein*] apostatized from christianity; and for a while, persecuted the christians with violence. But being driven from his kingdom, and an exile among the Scots, he returned to christianity; and as he was afterwards very successful, [and recovered his throne,] he labored, by all the means in his power, to promote that religion which he had before betrayed. (14)

§ 8. The conversion of the Norwegians commenced in this century; as appears from the most unexceptionable testimony. King *Hagen Adelsteen*, who had been educated among the English, is said to have first commenced this great work, AD. 933, by the aid of priests from England: but with little success; because the Norwegians were violently opposed to the king's designs. His successor, *Harald Graufeldt*, pursued the begun work; but with no better success. (15) After these, *Haco*, by the persuasions of the Danish king *Harald*, to whom he owed his possession of the throne, not only embraced christianity himself, but recommended it to his people in a public diet, AD. 945. (16) But little success, however, attended this effort among that barbarous and savage people. Somewhat more successful, were the attempts of *Olaus*, who is called a *saint*. (17) At length *Sueno*, king of Denmark, having vanquished *Olaus Tryggvesen*, conquered Norway; and published an edict, requiring the inhabitants to abandon the gods of their ancestors, and to embrace christianity. The English priest *Guthebold*, was the principal teacher at that time among them. (18) From Norway, the christian religion was transmitted to the *Orkney* islands, then subject to the kings of Norway; to *Iceland* also, and to old *Greenland*; the inhabitants of which countries, to a great extent, made profession of christianity in this century, as we learn from various sources. (19)

(14) *Saxo Grammat. Histor. Dan. Lib. x. p. 186. Pontoppidan, de gestis et vestigiis Danorum extra Daniam, Tom. ii. cap. i. Sec. 1, 2.*

(15) See *Eric Pontoppidan, Annales ecclesiae Danicae diplomat. Tom. i. p. 66.*

(16) *Torm. Torfaeus, Historia Norvegica, Tom. ii. p. 183, 214 &c.*

(17) *Torfaeus, Hist. Norvegica, Tom. ii. p. 457 &c.*

(18) *Chron. Danicum*, published by *Ludewig*, in his *Reliquiae Manuscriptor. Tom. ix. p. 11, 16, 17.*—[According to *Schroeckh*, *Kirchengesch. vol. xxi. p. 376 &c.* this *Olaus Tryggvesen*, the son of a petty Norwegian chieftain, spent many years in Russia, and on the Wendish coast of Germany, while his country revolted from *Harald Blauzahn* king of Denmark, under *Hakon* their viceroy. *Olaus* became a successful pirate, advanced in power and wealth; became also a zealous christian, and in his plundering expeditions in those northern seas, treated the pagans, much as the Muhammedans did the same sort of persons; that is, gave them the alternative of baptism, or slavery and death. The Norwegians now chose him their king, and revolted from *Hakon*. *Olaus* got possession of the whole country, and by compulsory measures obliged all opposers to embrace christianity. This was just at the close of the century. *Tr.*]

(19) Concerning the inhabitants of the *Orkneys*, see *Torm. Torfaeus, Historia rerum Orcadensium, Lib. i. p. 22.*—For the *Icelanders*, in addition to *Arngrim Jonas*, *Crymogaeae, Lib. i.* and *Arius Multiscius, Schedae de Islandia, p. 45 &c.* see the same *Torfaeus, Histor. Norveg. Tom. ii. p. 378, 397, 417 &c.* Also

§ 9. In Germany, the emperor *Otto* the Great, illustrious for his valor and his piety, was zealous for suppressing the remains of the old superstition, which existed in various provinces of the empire, and for supporting christianity, which was but imperfectly established in many places. By his beneficence and liberality, it was, that bishoprics were erected in various places, as Brandenburg, Havelberg, Meisen, Magdeburg, and Naumburg; so that there might be no want of spiritual watchmen, who should instruct the yet rude and half barbarous people in all the duties of religion. (20) In accordance with the religious views of the age, he also built many convents, for such as would prefer a monastic life; and he also erected schools. If the illustrious emperor had exhibited as much wisdom and moderation, as piety and sincerity, in all this, he could scarcely be commended too much. But the superstition of his wife *Adelaide*, (21) and the lamentable ignorance of the times, led this excellent prince to believe, that a man secured the friendship of God, by securing that of his *ministers* and servants, with great largesses and presents. He therefore enriched the bishops, the monks, and religious associations of every kind, beyond all bounds: and subsequent generations reaped this fruit of his liberality, that these people abused their unearned wealth for pampering their vices, waging and carrying on wars, and indulging themselves in luxury and dissipation.

§ 10. To the account of these enlargements of the church, it may be subjoined, that the European kings and princes began, in this century, to consider the project of a holy war, to be waged against the Muhammedans who possessed Palestine. For it was thought intolerable, and a disgrace to the professors of the christian religion, that the country in which Christ lived and taught and

Gabr. Liron, Singularitatès historiq. litter. Tom. i. p. 138. Concerning *Groenland*, *Torfæus* also treats, l. c. Tom. ii. p. 374; and in *Groenlandia Antiqua*, cap. xvii. p. 127. Hafn. 1706. 8vo.

(20) [It is more probable, that *Otto* the Great had long purposed, by the erection of a new archbishopric, to curtail the odious power of the archbishop of Mayence. Therefore, in the year 946, he established the bishopric of Havelberg; and in 949, that of Brandenburg. For establishing the archbishopric of Magdeburg, (as we are told by *Dietmar*, p. 335,) the emperor's motives were, *defensio communis patriæ*, and, *spes remunerationis æternæ*. The first was, doubtless, the chief motive. The bishop of Halberstadt, and the archbishop of Mayence, looked upon this innovation with dislike. But the emperor seized the opportunity of their presence in Italy, whither they came to receive their investiture at his hands, to obtain from them the transfer of the suffragan bishoprics of Brandenburg and Havelburg from the jurisdiction of Mayence to that of Magdeburg, and also the transfer of large estates, hitherto possessed by the bishop of Halberstadt. *Adelbert*, formerly a missionary, and at this time abbot of *Weissenburg*, was ordained first archbishop of Magdeburg, AD. 968, by the pope, and received the pallium; and, attended by two papal envoys and the new bishops, repaired to Magdeburg, and was regularly installed. At the same time, he consecrated the new bishops, *Boso* of Merseburg, *Hugo* of Zeitz, and *Burkard* of Meissen; who, together with the bishops of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Posen, were to constitute his suffragans. See the *Annalist Saxo*, ad ann. 969. *Schl.*]

(21) See her life, in *Henr. Canisius*, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, Tom. iii. Pt. i. p. 69.

made expiation for the sins of the human race, should be left under the dominion of his enemies; and it was deemed most righteous, and agreeable to the dignity of the christian religion, to avenge the numerous calamities and injuries, insults and sufferings, which the possessors of Palestine were accustomed to heap upon the christians residing in that country, or visiting it for religious purposes. Just at the close of the century, and in the first year of his pontificate, pope *Sylvester II*, or *Gerbert*, sounded the trumpet of war, by writing a letter in the name of the church at Jerusalem, addressed to the church universal;(22) in which he solemnly adjured the Europeans to afford succor to the christians of Jerusalem. But none of them were disposed, at that time, to obey the summons of the pontiff; except the inhabitants of Pisa in Italy, who are said to have forthwith girded themselves for the holy war.(23)

(22) This is the twenty-eighth Epistle of the first Part, in the Collection of the Epistles of *Sylvester II*; published by *du Chesne*, in vol. iii. of the *Scriptores Histor. Franc.*

(23) See *Muratori*, *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* Tom. iii p. 400.

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Progress of the Turks and Saracens.—§ 2. In the West, the barbarians distress the christians.—§ 3. Effects of these evils.

§ 1. No unchristian king of this century, except *Gormon* and *Sueno*, kings of Denmark, directly, and with set purpose, persecuted the christians living under his jurisdiction. And yet they could not live in security and safety, either in the East, or in the West. The Saracens in Asia and Africa, though troubled with internal dissensions and various other calamities, were yet very assiduous in propagating their religion, that of Muhammed; nor were they unsuccessful. How much this diminished the number of christians, it is not easy to ascertain. But they brought over the Turks, an uncivilized people, inhabiting the northern shores of the Caspian sea, to their religion. This agreement in religious faith, however, did not prevent the Turks, when afterwards called in to aid the Persians, from depriving the Saracens, in the first place, of the vast kingdom of Persia; and afterwards, with astonishing celerity and success, invading and conquering other provinces subject to their dominion. Thus the empire of the Saracens, which the Greeks and Romans had for so many years, in vain attempted to hold in check, was dismembered, and at length subverted, by their friends and allies; and the very powerful empire of the Turks, which has not yet ceased to be terrible to christians, gradually took its place. (1)

§ 2. In the countries of the West, the nations that were still pagans, were in general very grievous foes to the christians. The Normans, during nearly half the century, inflicted the severest blows upon the Franks and others. The Prussians, the Slavonians, (2) the Bohemians, and others to whom christianity was unintelligible and hateful, not only labored with great violence to drive it from their countries, but likewise frequently laid waste,

(1) These events, *Jo. Leunclavius* has endeavored to elucidate, in his *Annales Turcici*, often reprinted. See also *Geo. Elmacin*, *Historia Saracenica*, Lib. ii, iii. p. 190, 203, 210 &c.

(2) [These distinguished themselves, especially, by the outrages they committed upon the christian churches, in their insurrections against their christian margraves. Humanity shudders at the narrations of the historians; that when these Slavonians took Brandenburg, they not only enslaved or slew all the clergy, but drew the corpse of *Dodilo*, the deceased bishop, from its grave, in order to strip it of its clothing; that after capturing the city of Altenburg, they dragged sixty priests, whom they had not butchered, from one city to another, till they all died; and among these, *Oddar*, a provost, they tortured by ripping up his scalp, in the form of a cross, and laying bare his brain; so that he died in the midst of the extreme anguish. See the *Annalist Saxo*, ad ann. 988. and *Ditmar*, p. 345. *Schl.*]

in the most distressing manner, with fire and sword, the neighboring countries, in which it was received. The Danes did not cease to molest the christians, till after *Otto* the Great had conquered them. The Hungarians assailed Germany, and harassed various parts of the country, with indescribable cruelties. The tyranny of the Arabs in Spain, and their frequent incursions upon Italy and the neighboring islands, I pass without farther notice.

§ 3. Whoever considers attentively the numberless calamities the christian nations suffered from those who were not christian, will readily perceive a sufficient cause for that unwearied zeal of christian princes, for the conversion of these furious and savage nations. They had the motives, not merely of religion and virtue, but likewise of security and peace. For they expected, and with good reason, that those savage minds would be softened and rendered humane, by the influences of christianity. Therefore they proffered matrimonial connexion with their kings and chieftains, assistance against their enemies, the possession of valuable lands, and other temporal advantages, if they would only renounce the religions of their ancestors, which were altogether military, and calculated to foster ferocious feelings : and those kings and chieftains, influenced by these offers and advantages, listened themselves to christian instruction, and endeavored to bring their subjects to do the same.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

§ 1. State of learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. Few good writers among them.—§ 3. State of learning among the Saracens.—§ 4, 5. The Western nations.—§ 6. the state of philosophy.—§ 7. Sylvester, a restorer of learning.—§ 8. Arabian learning.

§ 1. It is universally admitted, that the ignorance of this century was extreme, and that learning was entirely neglected. Nor is this greatly to be wondered at, considering what wars and distressing calamities agitated both the East and the West, and to what a base set of beings the guardianship of truth and virtue was intrusted. *Leo* the Wise, who ruled the Greek empire at the beginning of the century, both cultivated learning himself, and excited others to do so.⁽¹⁾ His son, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, was still more solicitous to revive literature and the arts.⁽²⁾

(1) See *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, Biblioth. Graec. Lib. v. Pt. ii. cap. v. p. 363. [*Leo VI*, reigned from AD. 886, to 911. The learned *Photius* had been his instructor. His learning procured him the titles of the *Wise*, and the *Philosopher*. He completed the begun revision of the imperial laws by his father, and published the result in sixty Books, entitled *Βασιλικά*, or *Βασιλικά διατάξεις*. It is a Greek translation of *Justinian's* Corpus Juris Civilis, with extracts from the commentaries of the Greek Jurists, the laws of subsequent emperors, and the decisions of ecclesiastical councils, &c. But much of the originals is omitted, or changed, or enlarged. *C. D. Fabrotti* published a Lat. translation of forty-one Books, and an abstract of the remaining Books, Paris 1647. vii. vol. Fol. This emperor's Book on the art of war, compiled from earlier writers, was published by *Meursius*, Gr. and Lat. Leyden 1612. 4to. His letter to the Saracen *Omar*, in favor of christianity, exists in Chaldaic; from which there is a Latin translation in the Biblioth. Patr. Lugdun. Tom. xvii.—*Baronius*, (Annal. AD. 911, § 3.) gives account of thirty-three religious Discourses of this emperor; and *Gretser* has published nine more, Ingolst. 1600. 4to. They were chiefly designed for the feast days; and are of little value. See *M. Schroackh*, Kirchengesch. vol. xxi. p. 127 &c. Tr.]

(2) *Fabricius*, l. c. cap. v. p. 486. [*Constantine Porphyrogenitus* reigned from AD. 911, to 959. The historical, political, and moral compendiums, which he caused to be made out from the earlier writers, were arranged under fifty-three heads or titles; and were intended to embrace all that was most valuable, on those subjects. Only two of the fifty-three are now to be found; namely the twenty-seventh, relating to the diplomatic intercourse of the Romans with foreign nations; (published, partly Antwerp 1582, 4to. and partly Augsburg 1603. 4to.) and the fiftieth, respecting virtue and vice; of which a part was published by *Valsius*, Paris 1634. 4to. The titles of some of the others are known; e. g. on the proclamations of kings; on heroic deeds; on festivals; on public addresses; on manners; on ecclesiastical persons and things; on epistles; on the chase; on war; on the establishment of colonies; on strange occurrences; &c. Among the emperor's own compositions were, a biography of his grandfather, *Basil*; two Books on the military stations and garisons of the empire; instruc-

For it appears, that he supported learned men, of various descriptions, at great expense ; he carefully collected the writings of the earlier ages ; he was himself an author, and he prompted others to write ; he wished to have all that was most valuable in the works of the ancients to be selected, and arranged under appropriate heads ; and he re-animated, as it were, the study of philosophy which was extinct.(3) Few of the Greeks, however, copied after these noble examples ; nor was there any, among the subsequent emperors, who was equally friendly to literature, and to the cultivation of the mind. Indeed it is supposed, that *Constantine* Porphyrogenitus himself, though the Greeks pronounce him the restorer of all branches of learning, undesignedly injured the cause of learning, by his excessive zeal to advance it. For, having caused extracts and abridgments to be compiled by learned men, from the writers of preceding ages, in order to elucidate the various branches of knowledge and render them serviceable to the world, the slothful Greeks now contenting themselves with these *abridgments* of the emperor, neglected the writers from whom they were compiled. And therefore many excellent authors of the earlier period, became lost, through the neglect of the Greeks from this time onward.

§ 2. Few writers, therefore, can be named among the Greeks, on whom a wise and judicious man will place a high value ; and in a short time, the literary seed sown, which seemed to promise a rich harvest, was found to be dead. The philosophers, if such characters flourished among them, produced no immortal works, and nothing of permanent value. The body of learned Greeks, was almost wholly composed of a few rhetoricians, some grammarians, here and there a poet who was above contempt, and a number of historians who, though not of the first order, were not destitute of all merit : for the Greeks seemed to find pleasure almost exclusively in those species of literature, in which the imagination, the memory, and industry, have most concern.

§ 3. Egypt, though groaning under an oppressive yoke, produced some learned men, who might contend with the Greeks for the palm of superiority. The example of *Eutychius*, to mention no others, will evince this ; for that bishop of Alexandria, did honor to the sciences of medicine and theology by his various productions. Among the other Arabians, that noble ardor for useful knowledge, which was awakened in the preceding age, con-

tions to his son, respecting the state and the foreign relations of the empire, and the course it would be wise for him to pursue ; narrative respecting the image of Christ found at Edessa ; on naval and military tactics ; on the mode of warfare by different nations ; and some compilations on farricry, agriculture, breeding cattle, physic, &c. together with a large work, entitled the *Ceremonial of the court of Constantinople*, describing minutely all the etiquette there practised. It was published by *Reiske*, Lips. 1751—54, ii vol. Fol.—See *Schroeckh*, *Kirchen-gesch.* vol. xxi. p. 129 &c. Tr.]

(3) This is expressly asserted by *Jo. Zonaras*, *Annal.* Tom. iii. p. 155. ed. Paris.

tinued unabated, through this whole century; so that there was among them, a large number of eminent physicians, philosophers, and mathematicians: whose names and literary labors are celebrated by *Jo. Leo Africanus*, and by others.

§ 4. All the Latins were sunk in great barbarism. Most writers are agreed, that this century deserves the name of the *iron age*, so far as respects literature and science; and that the Latin nations never saw an age, more dark and cheerless.(4) And though some excellent men have questioned this fact, it is too firmly established, to be wholly disproved.(5) Schools existed indeed, in most countries of Europe, either in the monasteries, or in the cities which were the residence of bishops; and there likewise shone forth, in one place and another, especially at the close of the century, some distinguished geniuses, who attempted to soar above the vulgar. But these can easily be all counted up; and the smallness of their number evinces the infelicity of the times. In the schools, nothing was taught but the seven liberal arts, as they were called; and the teachers were monks, who estimated the value of learning and science, solely by their use in matters of religion.

§ 5. The best among the monks who were disposed to employ a portion of their leisure to some advantage, applied themselves to writing annals and history of a coarse texture. For instance,

(4) Proofs of the ignorance of the age, have been collected by *Caes. Egasse de Boulay*, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. Tom. i. p. 288 &c. *Ludov. Ant. Muratori*, *Antiqq. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. iii. p. 831 &c. and Tom. ii. p. 141. and by others.

(5) *Godfr. Wm. Leibnitz*, *Praef. ad codicem Juris naturæ et gentium diplomat.* maintains, that this tenth century was not so dark as the following centuries, and particularly, not so dark as the twelfth and thirteenth. But he certainly is extravagant; and labors in vain. More deserving of a hearing are, *Jo. Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Saecul. v. Praef. p. ii. &c.*—the authors of the *Literary History of France*, vol. vi. p. 18 &c. *Jac. le Beuf*, *Diss. de statu litterar. in Francia, a Carolo M. ad Regem Robert*; and some others; who, while they admit, that the ignorance of this age was great, contend, that its barbarism was not altogether so great, as it is commonly supposed. In the proofs which they allege, there is considerable deficiency; but still, we may admit, that all science was not entirely extinct in Europe; and that there was a number of persons, who were wise above the mass of people; but that the number was a very moderate one, nay, really small, may be gathered from the monuments of the age.—[The opinion of *Leibnitz*, was embraced by *Dr. Semler*. (Continuation of *Baumgarten's Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 453 &c. and *Hist. eccles. Selecta Capita*, Tom. ii. p. 526 &c.) His arguments seem not easily answered. The tenth century afforded more writers, in whom sound reasoning was combined with some learning, than the twelfth, and thirteenth. It had greater and better princes; and in the years and the countries, in which the Normans and Huns spread no general desolation, there were more numerous episcopal and monastic schools, in which the young received some instruction, though rude and meagre. The most noted episcopal schools were, those of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, Magdeburg, Würzburg, Paris, Tours, Rheims, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and among the monastic schools were, those of Fleury, Clugni, Laubes, Gortz, Corbey, Fulda, St. Emmeran, Epternach, St. Gall, &c.—Every teacher, and nearly every cloister, procured a stock of the classical writers.—The Greek language was not wholly unknown: although the individuals were becoming more and more rare who could understand the ancients in the originals. *Schl.*]

Abbo, (6) *Luitprand*, (7) *Wittekind*, (8) *Fulcuin*, (9) *John* of *Capua*, (10) *Ratherius*, (11) *Flodoard*, (12) *Notkerus*, (13) *Ethelbert*, (14) and others; of whom, some are indeed better than others, but they all wander immensely wide of the true method of composing history. Of their poets, one and another shews him-

(6) [*Abbo*, born at Orleans, educated at Fleury, Paris, Rheims, and Orleans; was called to England by the archbishop of York, to preside over a monastic school, before AD. 960. After two years, he returned to Fleury, became abbot, and resided there till his death, in 1004. He wrote an Epitome of the lives of the popes, compiled from Anastasius; a life of *St. Edmund*, king of the East Angles; Collection or Epitome of canons; several Epistles and short tracts. See *Cave*, *Histor. Litterar.* Tom. ii. Tr.]

(7) [*Luitprand* was born at Pavia, or in Spain; was envoy of *Berengarius* king of Italy, to Constantinople, AD. 946; created bishop of Cremona, he became odious to *Berengarius*, and was deposed, AD. 963, or earlier, and retired to Francfort in Germany. The emperor *Otto* sent him again to Constantinople, AD. 968. He was alive, AD. 970. He was a man of genius, and of considerable learning. He understood and wrote in Greek, as well as Latin. His works are, a History of Europe during his own times, in six Books; and an Account of his embassy to Constantinople, in 968. To him also are falsely attributed, a tract on the lives of the popes, from *St. Peter* to *Formosus*, and a Chronicon. All these, together with his *Adversaria*, or Note-Book, were printed, Antwerp 1640. Fol.—See *Cave*, l. c. Tr.]

(8) [*Wittekind*, or *Winduchind*, was a Saxon, and a monk of Corbey in Germany, who flourished, AD. 940, and onwards. He wrote a History of the Saxons, or the reigns of *Henry* the Fowler, and *Otto* I. in three Books; published, Basil 1532, Francf. 1577, and among the *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*; likewise some poetic effusions. See *Cave*, l. c. Tr.]

(9) [*Fulcuin*, or *Folguin*, abbot of Laubes, (Laubiensis,) from AD. 965, to 990. He wrote a Chronicon de rebus gestis Abbatum Laubiensis Coenobii; de Miraculis Sti. Ursuari; and Vita Folcuini Ep. Tarvanensis. Tr.]

(10) [*John* Capuanus, abbot of Monto Cassino, flourished from AD. 915, to 934. He wrote de Persecutionibus Coenobii Cassinensis, [a Saracenorum irruptione,] et de Miraculis inibi factis, Chronicon succinctum: also Chronicon postremorum Comitum Capuae. See *Cave*, l. c. Tr.]

(11) [*Ratherius*, a monk of stern manners, and prone to give offence, was bishop of Verona AD. 928; displaced in 954, and made bishop of Liege; resigned, and was again bishop of Verona; was again removed, and retired to his monastery of Laubes, where he died, AD. 973. His works, as published by *L. Dachier*, Spicileg. Tom. ii. comprise various epistles, apologies, polemic tracts, a few sermons, and a life of *St. Ursmar* of Laubes. His Chronographia is said to exist in MS. in the monastery of Gemblours. See *Cave*, l. c. Tr.]

(12) [*Flodoard*, or *Frodoard*, a canon of Rheims, who died AD. 966, aged 73 years. His Chronicon rerum inter Francos gestarum, ab anno 919, ad ann. usque 966. was published, Paris 1588, 8vo. and Francf. 1594, 8vo. His Historiae ecclesiae Remensis Libri iv. was edited by *Sirmond*, Paris 1611. 8vo; Duaci 1617. 8vo. and in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xvii. p. 500. His poetic lives of various ancient Saints, in about twenty Books, were never published. See *Cave*, l. c. Tr.]

(13) [*Notker*, or *Notger*, bishop of Liege, AD. 971—1007. He wrote Historia Episcoporum Traiectensium, (seu Leodicensium,) but whether it is the same that was published by *Jo. Cheapeville*, Liege 1612, is doubted. He also wrote the life of *St. Landoald*, a Romish presbyter; a life of *St. Remaclus*, bishop of Utrecht; and on the miracles of *St. Remaclus*, two Books.—It was another *Notger*, of the preceding century, who died AD. 912, and who was a monk of *St. Gall*, whose Martyrology was published by *Canisius*; Tom. iv. p. 761. See *Cave*, l. c. Tr.]

(14) [*Ethelbert*, or rather *Ethelwerd*, or *Elsward*, was of royal English blood, and flourished AD. 980. He wrote Historiam brevem Libris iv; which is a concise Chronology, from the creation, to the Saxon invasion of England, and then a more full, and a bombastic history of England, down to AD. 974. It was published by *Saville*, with the Scriptores Anglici, London 1596. Fol. p. 472. Tr.]

self to be not void of genius ; but all are rude, on account of the infelicity of the times, which could relish nothing elegant or exquisite. The grammarians and rhetoricians of those times, are scarcely worthy to be mentioned ; for they either give out absolute nonsense, or inculcate precepts which are jejune and injudicious. Of their geometry, arithmetic, calculation of the feast days, (*Computo*,) astronomy, and music, which had a place in their schools, it is unnecessary to give any description.

§ 6. The philosophy of the Latins was confined wholly to logic ; which was supposed to contain the marrow of all wisdom. Moreover, this logic, which was so highly extolled, was usually taught without method and without clearness, according to the book on the *Categories*, falsely ascribed to *Augustine*, and the writings of *Porphyry*. It is true, that *Plato's* *Timæus*, *Aristotle's* tract de interpretatione, and his as well as *Cicero's* *Topics*, and perhaps some other treatises of the Greeks and Latins, were in the hands of some persons ; but they who inform us of the fact, add that there were none who could understand these books.(15) And yet, strange as it may appear, it was in the midst of this darkness, that the subtle question was raised, respecting the nature of *universals*, [*general ideas*,] as they are called ; namely, *whether they belong to the class of real existences, or are mere names*. And this controversy was violently agitated among the Latins, from this time onward ; or at least, the incipient footsteps of this protracted and knotty dispute, are discoverable in the writings of the learned, as early as this century.(16)

§ 7. At the close of this century, the cause of learning in Europe obtained a great and energetic patron, in *Gerbert* a Frenchman ; known among the Roman pontiffs, as bearing the name of *Sylvester II*. This great and exalted genius pursued successfully all branches of learning, but especially mathematics, mechanics, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and the kindred sciences ; and both wrote upon them himself, and roused others to cultivate and advance them, to the utmost of his power. The effects of his efforts, among the Germans, French and Italians, were manifest in this century, and the next ; for many individuals of those nations were stimulated, by the writings, the example, and the exhortations of *Gerbert*, to the zealous pursuit of philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and other branches of human science. *Gerbert* cannot indeed be compared with our geometricians and mathe-

(15) *Gunzo*, Epist. ad Monachos Augienses, in *Martens's* *Collectio ampliss. monumentorum veter.* Tom. iii. p. 304.

(16) *Gunzo*, a learned monk, l. c. p. 304, says : *Aristoteles genus, speciem, differentiam, proprium et accidens subsistere denegavit, quæ Platoni subsistentia persuasit. Aristoteli an Platoni magis credendum putatis ? Magna est utriusque autoritas, quatenus vix audeat quis alterum alteri dignitate præferre.* This is a clear exhibition of the apple of discord among the Latins. *Gunzo* did not venture to offer a solution of the difficult question : but others attempted it afterwards.

maticians ; as is manifest from his *Geometry*, which is a plain and perspicuous treatise, but at the same time imperfect and superficial.(17) And yet his knowledge was too profound, for the comprehension of that barbarous age. For the ignorant monks supposed his geometrical diagrams, to be magical figures ; and therefore, set down this learned man among the magicians, and disciples of the evil one.(18)

§ 8. For a part of his knowledge, especially of philosophy, medicine, and mathematics, *Gerbert* was indebted to the books and the schools of the Arabians of Spain. He went into Spain, to pursue science, and was an auditor of the Arab doctors at Cordova and Seville.(19) Perhaps his example, in this respect, had an influence upon the Europeans. This at least is most certain, that from this time onward, such of the Europeans as were eager for knowledge, especially of medicine, arithmetic, geometry, and philosophy, had a strong desire to read and hear the Arab doctors, resident in Spain, and in a part of Italy ; many of whose books were translated into Latin, and much of their contents was brought forward in the European schools ; many students also actually went into Spain, to get instruction immediately from the lectures of the Arabic doctors. And truth requires us to say, that the Saracens or Arabs, particularly of Spain, were the principal source and fountain of whatever knowledge of medicine, philosophy, astronomy, and mathematics, flourished in Europe, from the tenth century onward.

(17) It was published by *Bernh. Pez*, Thesaur. anecdot. Tom. iii. Pt. ii. p. 7 &c.

(18) See the *Histoire litter. de la France*, Tome vi. p. 558. *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. i. p. 314, 319 &c. *Gab. Naud*, *Apologie pour les grands hommes faussement accusez de la Magie*, cap. xix. § 4. [*Gerbert* was a monk of Auvergne, and early devoted himself to study. After much proficiency in France, he attended the schools of the Saracens in Spain ; and returned, the most scientific man in the Latin church. In the year 968, the emperor *Otto I*, met with him in Italy, and made him abbot of Bobio ; but he soon left that station, to become secretary to *Adalbero*, archbishop of Rheims. He now taught the archiepiscopal school, which flourished greatly under him. In 991, he was made archbishop of Rheims ; but was deposed by pope *John XV*, in 995 ; and soon after made archbishop of Ravenna. On the death of *Gregory V*, AD. 999, he was, by *Otto's* influence, created pope ; and assumed the title of *Sylvester II*. He died, AD. 1003.—While at Rheims, he wrote 160 Letters ; which were published by *Masson*, Paris 1611. 4to. and then in *Duchene's* *Scriptores Francic*. Tom. ii. and in *Biblioth. Patr*. Tom. xvii. While pope, he wrote three Epistles, one of which, in the name of Jerusalem, calls upon christians to rescue that city from the hands of infidels. He also wrote de *Geometria Liber* ; de *Sphaera Liber* ; de *informatione Episcoporum Sermo* ; and an Epigramm ; besides several pieces never published. The life of St. *Adalbert*, archbishop of Prague, formerly ascribed to him, is supposed not to be his. But the tract de corpore et sanguine Domini, formerly ascribed to *Heniger*, abbot of Laubes, is supposed to have been the production of *Gerbert*. Tr.]

(19) See *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*, Tom. i. p. 314.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. The clergy corrupt.—§ 2. History of the Roman pontiffs.—§ 3. John X. pope.—§ 4. John XI. and John XII.—§ 5. Fate of the latter.—§ 6. John XIII. and Benedict VII.—§ 7. John XIV. and John XV.—§ 8. Aggrandizement of the popes.—§ 9. The bishops and abbots increase in power.—§ 10. Principal vices of the clergy.—§ 11. Low state of discipline in the monasteries.—§ 12. Principal writers in the Greek church.—§ 13. Writers in the Latin church.

§ 1. Nothing is more incontrovertible, than that the clergy, both in the East and in the West, was composed principally of men who were illiterate, stupid, ignorant of every thing pertaining to religion, libidinous, superstitious, and flagitious.⁽¹⁾ Nor can any one doubt, that those who wished to be regarded as the fathers and guardians of the universal church, were the principal cause of these evils. Nothing certainly, can be conceived of, so filthy, or so criminal and wicked, that these supreme bishops of the church would deem incompatible with their characters; nor was any government, ever, so loaded with vices of every kind, as was that which bore the appellation of the most holy.⁽²⁾ What the Greek pontiffs were, the single example of *Theophylact* shews; who, as credible historians testify, made traffic of every thing sacred, and cared for nothing but his hounds and his horses.⁽³⁾ But

(1) [Whoever would be convinced of this, need only look through the pages of *Ratherius*. In his *Volumen Perpendicularorum, sive de contemptu canonum*, for instance, he speaks of a clergyman, qui, cum omnes mulieres dioecesis suae sint ipsius filiae spirituales, cujushibet forte illarum corruptione pollutus est. He tells us, that the nobility were more anxious to become bishops, than to serve the Lord; and that the example of the light-minded bishops, who would recite passages of the bible, such as John x. 1. with laughter, led others to indulge in similar levity. See *Semler's* Continuation of Baumgarten's *Kirchenhistorie*, vol. iv. p. 507. *Schl.*]

(2) [The reader is referred to the testimony of an upright Italian, *Louis Ant. Muratori*, in his *Antiqq. Ital. medii aevi*, Lib. v. p. 82. "In the tenth century, especially, alas! what unheard of monsters filled not only many of the chairs of bishops and abbots, but likewise that of St. Peter! Every where, might be seen the profligate morals of the clergy and monks; and not a few of the rulers of churches, were more worthy of the appellation of wolves, than of pastors."—"Good theologians were then not to be found." *Schl.*]

(3) [This prelate, who was of royal blood, was possessor of the sea of Constantinople, at the age of 16. While under his tutors, he appeared grave and decent; but when arrived at maturity, he became luxurious and extravagant. He sold ecclesiastical offices; and he was so attached to horses and to hunting, that he kept more than 2000 horses, which he fed on nuts and fruits steeped in odorous wine. Once, while celebrating mass, his groom brought him intelligence, that his favorite mare had foaled. His joy was so great, that, suspending the service, he ran to the stable, and after viewing the foal, returned to the great temple, and completed the sacred services. His death, which happened AD. 956, after he had been bishop 23 years, was occasioned by his being thrown from his horse against a wall. This brought on an haemoptosis; he languished two years, but without becoming more devout, and then died of a dropsy. Thus *Fleury*, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Livr. lv. sec. 51. *Tr.*]

though the Greek patriarchs were very unworthy men, yet they possessed more dignity and more virtues than the Roman pontiffs.

§ 2. That the history of the Roman pontiffs of this century, is a history of monsters, a history of the most atrocious villanies and crimes, is acknowledged by all writers of distinction, and even by the advocates of popery.(4) The principal cause of these enormities, is to be sought for in the calamities of the times, which ensued upon the extinction of the family of *Charlemagne*, in the greater part of Europe, but especially in Italy. Upon the death of *Benedict IV*, AD. 903, *Leo V*, was elected his successor. But he reigned only forty days ; when *Christophanes*, [or *Christopher*,] cardinal of St. Lawrence, dethroned him, and cast him into prison. In the following year, *Sergius III*, a Roman presbyter, stripped *Christophanes* of the pontifical dignity, by the aid of *Adalbert*, the very powerful marquis of Tuscany, who controlled every thing at Rome according to his pleasure. *Sergius* died in 911, and his successors, *Anastasius III*, and *Lando*, filled the holy office only for a short time, and performed nothing worthy of notice.

§ 3. After the death of *Lando*, AD. 914, the very rich and powerful marquis or count of Tusculum, *Alberic*, by the instigation of his mother-in-law, *Theodora*, a very lewd woman who controlled all things at Rome, made *John X*, who was archbishop of Ravenna, succeed to the papal chair. For at this time, nothing was conducted regularly at Rome, but every thing was carried by bribery, or violence.(5) This *John*, though otherwise a very bad

(4) [*Baronius*, *Annales*, ad ann. 900, says of this century : "It is usual to denominate it the *iron age*, on account of its barbarism and barrenness of all good ; also the *leaden age*, on account of the abounding wickedness by which it was deformed ; and the *dark age*, on account of the scarcity of writers."—"One can scarcely believe, nay absolutely cannot credit, without ocular demonstration, what unworthy conduct, what base and enormous deeds, what execrable and abominable transactions, disgraced the holy catholic see, which is the pivot on which the whole catholic church revolves ; when temporal princes, who, though called christian, were most cruel tyrants, arrogated to themselves the election of the Roman pontiffs. Alas, the shame ! Alas, the mischief ! What monsters, horrible to behold, were then raised to the holy see, which angels revere ? What evils did they perpetrate ; what horrible tragedies ensued ? With what pollutions was this see, though itself without spot or wrinkle, then stained ; what corruptions infected it ; what filthiness defiled it, and hence what marks of perpetual infamy are visible upon it." *Tr.*]

(5) [At that time, the noted *Theodora*, with her two daughters, *Marozia* and *Theodora*, resided at Rome. They were wholly devoted to what was called the Tuscan party, of which the marquis *Adelbert*—(not *Alberic*, as in the text of *Mosheim*.)—was the head. These women not only lived in habits of the most abominable unchastity, with the chief men of Rome, but they had boundless influence in the government there. *Luitprand* is in this matter the principal historian. *Eccard* and *Muratori* have indeed questioned his authority, and endeavored to make his testimony suspicious. But *Siegebert* of Gemblours, and *Alberic* the author of the chronicle of *Ferfe*, (who could not have transcribed from *Luitprand*,) confirm his account of the profligate lives of these base females. *Schl.*—*Luitprand's* narrative of the elevation of *John X*, as translated by *Bower*, (*Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 90.) is as follows. "In those days, *Peter* archbishop of Ravenna, (esteemed the first archiepiscopal see after that of Rome,) used frequently to send to Rome a deacon named *John*, to pay his obeisance to his holi-

man, is commended for one deed : he successfully attacked and vanquished the Saracens, who occupied a fortified mountain [on the banks of the] *Gariliano*. But *Marozia*, the daughter of *Theodora* and wife of *Alberic*, was inimical to him. Therefore when she, on the death of her husband *Alberic*, had married *Wido*, [or *Guido*,] marquis of Tuscany, she persuaded her new husband to seize her mother's lover, AD. 928, and to imprison and kill him. *Leo VI* now succeeded ; and he dying six months after, was followed by *Stephen VII*. After two years, or AD. 931, *Stephen* died, and *Marozia* procured for her son, *John XI*, whom she had by the Roman pontiff *Sergius III*, elevation to the chair of saint Peter, and the government of the church.(6)

§ 4. *John XI*, who was raised to supreme power in the church, by the aid of his mother, lost it again, in the year 933, through the enmity of *Alberic*, his uterine brother. For *Alberic*, being offended with his step-father, *Hugo* king of Italy, to whom *Marozia* was married after the death of *Wido*, expelled *Hugo* from Rome, and confined both his mother, and his brother the pontiff, in a prison, where *John* died AD. 936. The four pontiffs, who succeeded him in the government of the church, till the year 956, namely *Leo VII*, *Stephen VIII*, *Marinus II*, and *Agapetus*, are represented as better men than *John* : and it is certain, that they reigned more tranquilly. But on the death of *Agapetus*, AD. 956, *Alberic II*, the consul of Rome, who controlled every thing there by his influence and wealth, raised his own son *Octavius*, yet a youth to the pontificate. This youth, utterly unworthy of the office, assumed the name of *John XII* ; and thus introduced the custom, which continues to the present day among the Roman pontiffs, of changing their name, on their elevation to that office.(7)

ness. As the deacon was a very comely and personable man, *Theodora* falling passionately in love with him, engaged him in a criminal intrigue with her. While they lived thus together, the bishop of Bologna died, and *John* had interest enough to get himself elected in his room. But the archbishop of Ravenna dying before he was consecrated, *Theodora* persuaded him to exchange the see of Bologna for that of Ravenna; and he was accordingly, at her request, ordained by pope *Lando*, archbishop of that city. *Lando* died soon after, and upon his death, *Theodora* exerting all her interest, as she could not live at the distance of two hundred miles from her lover, got him preferred to the pontifical chair."—*Lutprand*, Lib. ii. cap. 13. See also *Fleury Histoire de l'Eglise*, Livr. liv. § 49. Tr.]

(6) *Marozia* is a woman infamous, in the view of all historians ancient and modern ; who tell us, that the pontiff *John XI* was her son, and the fruit of an illicit intercourse with *Sergius III*. Yet one writer, *Jo. Geo. Eccard*, in his *Origines Guelphicæ*, Tom. i. Lib. ii. p. 131, dares to vindicate her character, and to represent *Sergius* as being her first husband. I say *dares*, for it is audacious, to acquit without proof or reason, a woman, whose actions condemn her and show her to be destitute of all integrity and virtue.

(7) [*Dr. Mosheim* is incorrect in asserting, that *Alberic* himself raised his son to the pontificate. This patrician and prince of Rome, was in fact a tyrant, who had irregularly usurped the supremacy at Rome ; but he died in the year 954, and while *Agapetus* was still living ; so that he transmitted to his son, only what he himself possessed, the civil dominion of the city. On the death of *Agapetus*, in the year 956, *Octavius* was advised by his friends, to place himself in St. Peter's chair ; and this he found not difficult to accomplish, although his age rendered him unfit for the place : for he was perhaps, not then nineteen years old.

§ 5. The exit of *John XII*, was as unfortunate, as his promotion had been scandalous. Being very uneasy under the haughty government of *Berengarius II*, king of Italy, he sent ambassadors to *Otto* the Great, king of Germany, AD. 960, inviting him to march an army into Italy, and rescue the church and the commonwealth from cruel tyranny; and promised, if he would do this, to invest him with the insignia, and confer on him the title, of emperor of the Romans. *Otto* came accordingly, with his forces, and was declared emperor of Rome, by *John*, in the year 962. But the pontiff soon after repented of what he had done; and, although he had bound himself by solemn oath to the emperor, he formed a coalition with *Adalbert*, the son of *Berengarius*, against *Otto*. The emperor therefore returned to Rome, the next year, and assembled a council, in which *John* was accused of numerous crimes, and perhaps also proved guilty, and formally deposed; *Leo VIII*, being appointed to his place.(8) When *Otto* had left the city, *John* came to Rome, AD. 964, assembled another council, and condemned the emperor's pontiff; but he soon after died a miserable death.(9) After his exit, the Romans elected *Benedict V*: but the emperor carried him away to Hamburg, where he died.(10)

§ 6. The Roman pontiffs after *Leo VIII*, who died AD. 965, down to *Gerbert* or *Sylvester II*, at the end of the century, were in different degrees meritorious and successful; but no one of them deserved high commendation. *John XIII* was placed in the chair of St. Peter, by the influence of *Otto* the Great, AD. 965.

He was the first pope, so far as is known, that changed his name. Yet it was only in spiritual affairs that he assumed the name of *John*; in all worldly matters, he still retained his former name. See *Muratori*, ad ann. 954, and 956. *Schl.*]

(8) [The charges against *John XII*, were, that he had said mass without communicating; that he had ordained a deacon, in a stable; that he had taken money for ordinations; and had ordained a bishop a child only ten years old; that he carried on amours with various females, one of whom had been his father's concubine; that he turned the holy palace into a brothel; that he was given to hunting; that he had put out the eyes of his god-father; and had castrated one of the cardinals; that he had set several houses on fire; and had frequently been seen clad in armour, with a sword by his side; that he had drunken to the health of the devil; that in playing at dice, he had invoked *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and other pagan deities; that he never said mattins, or any other canonical hours, and never signed himself with the sign of the cross. See *Bower's Lives of the Popes*. vol. v. p. 108, 109. Tr.]

(9) [On a certain evening, he retired out of the city, to spend the night in criminal converse with a married woman. There he received a wound, perhaps from the injured husband, of which he died eight days after. *Flcury*, *Histoire Eccles.* Livr. lvi. § 10. on the authority of *Luitprand*. Tr.]

(10) In this history of the pontiffs of this century, I have consulted the original authorities, most of which are given by *Muratori*, in his *Scriptores rerum Italianar.* and I have also examined the writings of others, who have consulted the sources of information, namely *Baronius*, *Peter de Marca*, *Sigontius de regno Italiae*, with the learned notes of *Jos. Anton. Sazius*, *Muratori's Annales Italiae*, *Pagi*, and others. The general correctness of these statements, no one can doubt; yet many parts of this history, undoubtedly, need more light: and that it may have been corrupted by the partialities of the writers, on whom we have to depend, can not be denied.

He but just entered on his functions, when he was driven from Rome; but the next year, the emperor arriving in Italy, he was restored to his chair, and held it peaceably, till his death, in 972. His successor, *Benedict VI*, was miserably strangled in a prison, into which he was thrown in the year 974, by *Crescentius* the son of the very noted *Theodora*. For upon the death of *Otto* the Great, AD. 973, the Romans, who had been awed by his power and severity, relapsed into their former licentiousness and disorderly violence. After *Benedict*, *Franco* a Roman, who assumed the name of *Boniface VII*, held the pontifical chair, for a short time only; for at the end of a month, he was driven from Rome, and *Donus II*, of whom nothing is known but his name, succeeded to the chair. *Donus* died in 975, and *Benedict VII* governed the Romish church very quietly during nine years, or till AD. 984. His prosperous reign was, probably, to be ascribed wholly to the wealth and influence of the family from which he originated. For he was the grandson of that *Alberic*, who had been so powerful a prince, or tyrant rather, at Rome.

§ 7. His successor, *John XIV*, previously bishop of Pavia, was destitute of the support derived from family, and was abandoned by *Otto III*, by whose influence he had been elected. Hence, his end was tragical; for *Boniface VII*, who had thrust himself into the see of Rome in the year 974, and being soon after expelled, had retired to Constantinople, now returned to Rome, cast *John* into prison, and there dispatched him. Yet *Boniface's* prosperity was of short duration; for he died but six months after. He was succeeded by *John XV*; who by many is denominated *John XVI*, on account of another *John*, whom they represent as reigning at Rome four months. This *John XV* or *XVI* governed the church, during almost eleven years, from AD. 985, to 996, with as much prosperity, as the troubled state of the Roman affairs would permit; which was owing, not so much to his personal virtues and prudence, as to his Roman birth, and to the nobility of his house. Of course, his German successor, *Gregory V*, whom the emperor *Otto III*, commanded the Romans to elect, AD. 996, was not equally prosperous. For the Roman consul *Crescens*, expelled him the city; and placed *John XVI*, who before was called *Philagathus*, at the head of the church. But *Otto III*, returning to Italy, AD. 998, with an army, deprived *John* of his eyes, his nose, and his ears; and committing him to prison, restored *Gregory* to the chair. And *Gregory* dying soon after, the emperor raised his preceptor and friend, the celebrated *Gerbert*, or *Sylvester II*, to the chair of St. Peter, with the approbation of the Romans. (11)

(11) The history of the Roman pontiffs of this period, is very barren and uninteresting; and besides, is involved in considerable uncertainty. I have followed, for the most part, *Ludov. Ant. Muratori's Annales Italiae*, and *Daniel Papebroch's Conatus Chronologico-Historicus de Romanis Pontificibus*, which is prefixed to his *Acta Sanctor. Maii*.

§ 8. Amidst these perpetual commotions, and the reiterated crimes and contests of those who called themselves Christ's viceroy on earth, so great was the power of the ignorance and superstition of the times, that the power and influence of the Roman pontiffs were gradually and imperceptibly advanced. (12) *Otto the Great*, indeed, introduced a law, that no Roman pontiff should be created, without the knowledge and consent of the emperor: and this regulation continued, as all admit, from his time till the end of the century. And this emperor, as well as his son and grandson of the same name, held uniformly their right of supremacy over the city Rome and its territory, as well as over the Roman pontiff; as is demonstrable by many examples. And the more intelligent bishops likewise, of France, Germany, and Italy, throughout the century, were on their guard, to prevent the Roman bishop from arrogating to himself alone legislative power in the church. But still the pontiffs, sometimes openly and directly, and sometimes by stratagems, invaded the rights both of emperors and kings, and also of the bishops; (13) and there were some among the bishops, who were their adulators, and favored their designs. It has been observed by learned men, that there were bishops, in this century, though never before, who called the pontiffs *bishops of the world*, instead of bishops of Rome; and that some even among the French clergy conceded, what had never been heard of, that *bishops receive indeed all their power from God, but through St. Peter*. (14)

(12) [Yet no traces of any dominion of the popes over the monasteries, are as yet discoverable. In the year 968, the monastery of St. Gall, was visited by imperial commissioners. The abbot of Richenau had complained of the monks there, to *Hedwig*, the widowed duchess of Suabia; and through her the complaint reached the imperial court. The emperor appointed for this visitation eight bishops, of whom *Henry* of Treves was the first commissioner, together with eight abbots; and he commanded the commissioners to proceed mildly with the abbot of St. Gall, who was his kinsman. Here is no shadow of papal jurisdiction. (See *Ekkehart*, de casibus S. Galli, cap. xi.) Yet the popes laid hold of various occasions, to extend their power over monasteries. Thus we read of *Sylvester II*, that he arbitrarily declared the monastery of *Lorschheim* free from other jurisdiction; and ordered, that whenever the monks deviated from their rule, they should be corrected by the Roman pontiff, and if this was not effectual, the emperor should be called upon. (Regiæ potestati deputarentur.) See *Mabillon*, *Annales Ord. S. Bened.* Sæcul. v. p. 43.—So also, in the year 973, the pope called the monastery of *Corvey*, whose privileges had been established by the emperor *Otto*, a daughter of the apostolic see, and subject only to it. The great lords, in the mean time, exercised sovereign power in ecclesiastical things, unrestrained, in Spain, in Germany, in England, in Italy, in Hungary, &c. The German churches possessed also the right of electing their own bishops; and the popes acknowledged the right of the German kings, to give investiture to their bishops. See *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. vi. Pt. i. p. 153 &c. where pope *John X*, says explicitly: Cum prisca consuetudo vigeat, ut nullus alicui clerico episcopatum conferre debeat, nisi rex, cui divinitus sceptrum collata sunt—hoc nullo modo esse potest, ut absque regali præceptione in qualibet parochia Episcopus sit consecratus. *Schl.*]

(13) Examples are adduced, in the *Histoire du droit ecclésiastique François*, Tom. i. p. 217. ed. in 8vo.

(14) The Benedictine monks, in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tom. vi. p. 76, 79, 98, 186 &c.

§ 9. The inferior bishops eagerly copied after the example of the principal bishop, by laboring to extend their authority. From the times of Charlemagne and his sons, many bishops and abbots had obtained for their tenants and estates, exemption from the jurisdiction of the counts and other magistrates, and also from all imposts and taxes. But in this century, they labored to obtain also civil jurisdiction over the cities and districts of country subject to them, and coveted the functions of dukes, marquisses, and counts.(15) For whereas violent contests, respecting jurisdiction and other things, frequently sprung up between the dukes, the governors of cities, or the counts and marquisses on the one hand, and the bishops on the other, these latter, taking advantage of favorable occasions, left no means unattempted, to secure to themselves those high offices : and the kings and emperors not unfrequently granted their petitions ; sometimes, in order to put an end to the contentions and broils among the civil and military magistrates, sometimes from their reverence for religion, and sometimes with a view to augment their own power by means of the bishops. And hence it was, that from this time onward, so many bishops and abbots were to be seen, sustaining also characters entirely foreign from their sacred functions, and enjoying the rank of dukes, marquisses, counts, and vis-counts.(16)

§ 10. Besides their ignorance, which was extreme,(17) the body of the Latin clergy were chargeable with two great vices, which are deplored by most of the writers of those times ; namely, *concubinage*, and *simony*. In the first place, very generally,

(15) [Among these, may be reckoned the regulation of tolls and coinage, which some of them obtained. Thus, for example, the archbishopric of Treves obtained these rights from king *Lewis*, AD. 902. See *Brower's Annal. Trevir. Lib. ix.* and *Köhler's Reichshistorie*, p. 54.—And in the year 946, the emperor *Otto*, bestowed on the monastery of Gemblours, the control of the market and of coinage, the free election of their own abbots and advocates, and the right of erecting fortifications. See *Mabillon, Annal. Ord. S. Bened.* p. 483, 484. In like manner, *Otto II* conferred on *Milo*, bishop of Minden, the right of coining money. *Chron. episco. Mindens.* p. 166, 167. in *Leibnitz's Scriptores Brunsw. Tom. ii.* And likewise *Adalgag*, archbishop of Hamburg, received from the munificence of *Otto*, great power, and direct civil dominion, namely the judicial power, the right to levy tolls and to coin money, and in short whatever related to the royal finance, to the exclusion of all royal functionaries from these affairs. See *Lambecius, Orig. Hamburg.* p. 10, 11. *Pagi, Crit. ad Baron. Annal. ann. 968.* § 1, 2. *Schl.—Pagi* also tells us, (from *Witichind*, Lib. i. and the *Chron. Belgic. Magn.*) that similar powers were granted by *Otto I*, to the archbishopric of Cologne and Mayence, and to the bishopric of Spire and Minden. He adds, however, that it was not lawful for bishops to preside *personally* in the temporal courts ; but only by their deputies. *Tr.*]

(16) *Ludov. Thomassin*, in his *Disciplina ecclesiae vetus et nova*, Tom. iii. Lib. i. cap. 23, p. 89, has collected much matter, in order to evince, that the functions of dukes and counts were sustained by bishops, as early as the *ninth* century. And some of the bishops pretend, to trace the origin of their secular power back to the *eighth* century. But I greatly mistake, if any indubitable instance can be produced, of earlier date than the *tenth* century.

(17) *Ratherius*, in his *Itinerarium*, (published by *Dachier*, *Spicileg. Tom. i.* p. 381.) says of the priests of Verona : *sciscitatus de fide illorum, inveni plurimos neque ipsum sapere symbolam, qui fuisse creditur Apostolorum.*

not only the priests but the monks also, connected themselves with women, some indeed in a lawful way, but others in an unlawful manner; and with these wives and concubines, and the children born of them, they squandered the property of the church. (18) In the next place, there was scarcely any such thing as the regular and canonical *election* of bishops and abbots; but the kings, princes, and nobles, either conferred the sacred offices on their friends and ministers, for whom they had partiality, or *sold* them to the highest bidders. (19) And hence, frequently, men the most unfit and flagitious, sometimes soldiers, civil magistrates, and counts, were invested with spiritual offices, of the highest dignity and influence. In the following century, *Gregory VII*, endeavored to cure both of these evils.

§ 11. Among the Greek and oriental monks, there was more appearance of religion and decorum; but among the Latin monks, at the beginning of this century, discipline was so low, that most of them did not even know, that the rule they had bound themselves to follow, was called the rule of *St. Benedict*. To this evil, a remedy not altogether unsuccessful, was applied by *Odo*, a French nobleman, who was a learned and devout man according to the standard of that age. Being made abbot of *Clugni* in Burgundia, a province of France, after the death of *Berno*, AD. 927, he not only obliged his monks to live according to their rule, but likewise bound them to observe additional rites and regulations; which had an air of sanctity, but were in reality trivial, though onerous and inconvenient. (20) This new form of monastic life procured for its author great fame and honor; and in a short time, it was propagated over all Europe. For very many of the ancient monasteries, in France, Germany, Italy, Britain, and Spain, adopted the discipline of *Clugni*; and the new monasteries that were erected, were by their founders subjected to the same discipline. Thus was formed, in the next century, the venerable *order of Clugni*, or that body of associated Cluniacensians, which was very widely extended and renowned for its wealth and power. (21)

(18) That this custom commenced in the beginning of this century, appears from *Orderic Vitalis*, and others, and particularly from an epistle of *Mantio*, bishop of Chalons; published by *Jo. Mabillon*, *Analecta veter.* p. 429. ed. nova. Of the Italian monks, who supported wives and concubines, and thus misused the church property, see *Hugo*, de monasterii Farfensis destructione; in *Mura-tori's* *Antiqq. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. vi. p. 278 &c.

(19) Very noticeable examples and testimonies may be seen in the *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. i. p. 23, 37. Tom. ii. p. 173, 179. See also *Abbo's* *Apologeticum*; subjoined to the *Codex Canon.* *Pithoei*, p. 398. and *Mabillon*, *Annales Bened.* Tom. v. and others.

(20) See *Jo. Mabillon*, *Annales Bened.* Tom. iii. p. 386 &c. and *Praefatio* ad *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Saecul. v. p. xxvi. &c. *Mabillon* treats largely of *Berno*, the first abbot of *Clugni*, and the founder of the order of *Clugni*, in his *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Saec. v. p. 66. and of *Odo*, *ibid.* p. 122 &c. The general history of the order of *Clugni*, is neatly written by *Hipp. Helyot*, *Histoire des Ordres religieux*, Tom. v. p. 184 &c. The present state of *Clugni*, is described by *Martene*, *Voyage litter. de deux Benedictins*, Pt. i. p. 227 &c.

(21) I am mistaken, if most of the writers on ecclesiastical history have not

§ 12. The more distinguished writers of this century, are easily enumerated. Among the Greeks was *Simeon Magister*, chancellor of Constantinople. He transcribed the earlier written *lives of the Saints*, for the sake of giving them a better form, and clothing them in a better style; for which he obtained the surname of *Metaphrastes*.⁽²²⁾ But in digesting, polishing, and embellishing these lives of Saints, he is said to have enlarged the original narratives, by the addition of many of his own fictions and silly tales. *Nicon*, an Armenian monk, has left us a tract on the religion of the Armenians, which is not contemptible.⁽²³⁾ The two authors of *Catenae*, *Olympiodorus* and *Oecumenius*,⁽²⁴⁾ are placed by some in this century; but it is wholly on conjectural grounds. With better reasons, *Suidas*, the famous lexicographer, is placed

misapprehended the import of the word *order*, as applied to the Cluniacensians, Cisterians, and others. For they take it to mean a new monastic institute, or a new sect of monks; in which, they mistake, by confounding the modern use of the term with its ancient meaning. The term *order*, as used by the writers of that age, at first signified merely some particular form of monastic discipline. But from this use of the word, another gradually arose: for the word *order* denoted a society or association of many monasteries, acknowledging one head, and following the same rules of life. The *order of Clugni* was not a new monastic sect, like the orders of *Carthusians*, *Dominicans*, and *Franciscans*; but it denoted, first, that mode of living which *Odo* prescribed to the Benedictine monks of Clugni; and then, the whole number of monasteries in different parts of Europe, which embraced the regulations of Clugni, and united in a kind of association, of which the abbot of Clugni in France was the head.

(22) See *Leo Allatius*, de Symconum scriptis, p. 24 &c. *Jo. Bolland*, Praefatio ad Acta Sanctorum, Antw. § iii. p. vi. &c. [*Simeon Metaphrastes* was of noble birth, and a man of both genius and learning. The emperor *Leo* made him his principal secretary, patrician, logothetes or high chancellor, and master of the palace. He flourished about AD. 901; and devoted his time, when the business of his offices did not prevent, to the rewriting of the lives of the saints. How many narratives he revised, or composed anew, it is difficult to state; because the religious biographies of subsequent writers, have been ascribed to him. Of the 661 narratives, long and short, which have been attributed to him, *Leo Allatius* supposes, 122 are actually of his revision; 444 he attributes to other authors whom he names; and 95, he thinks, are not *Simeon's*, but he cannot ascertain, to whom they should be attributed.—Many of the genuine narratives of *Simeon*, have found their way into the large collections of *Surius* and *Bolland*; but the greater part of the whole were never printed.—Besides these revised biographies, a number of orations, epistles, and short poems, hymns &c. are extant as the productions of *Simeon*. See *Cave's Historia Litterar.* Tom. ii. and *Fleury, Histoire de l'Eglise*, Livr. iv. § 31. Tr.]

(23) [*Nicon* was born in Pontus, and educated in a monastery on the confines of Pontus and Paphlagonia. About the year 961, his abbot sent him out as a christian missionary; and he travelled in Armenia, and various countries of the East, and in Greece. He was accounted a saint; and miracles are related of him. His book *de pessima religione Armenorum*, in a Latin translation, is extant in the Bibliotheca Patrum. Tr.]

(24) For an account of *Oecumenius* of Tricca, see especially *Bernh. de Montfaucon*, Biblioth. Coislin. p. 274. [*Oecumenius*, bishop of Tricca in Thrace, is placed in this century, because he quotes *Photius* who lived in the ninth century, but mentions no later writer. His brief scholia on the Acts of the apostles and on the canonical Epistles, are all borrowed from the fathers, and especially from *Chrysostom*. His works were printed at Paris, Gr. and Lat. 1631. ii Tomi Fol.—*Olympiodorus*, a Greek monk and a deacon of Alexandria, of uncertain age, is author of an exposition of the book of *Ecclesiastes*; printed, Gr. and Lat. in the Auctuarium Patr. Duceanum, Tom. ii. p. 602. The *Catena* on Job, ascribed to him, is more probably the work of *Nicetas*, in the middle of the next century. It was published, Gr. and Lat. by *Fr. Junius*, Lond. 1637. Fol. Tr.]

among the writers of this century.(25) The most distinguished author among the Arabian christians, was *Eutychius*, bishop of Alexandria; whose *Annales*, with other writings, are still extant.(26)

§ 13. The best among the Latin writers was *Gerbert*, or *Sylvester II*, the Roman pontiff; of whom we have spoken before.(27) The rest deserve no higher character than that of indifferent writers. *Odo*, who laid the foundation of the Cluniacensian association or order, has left some writings, which have few marks of genius and discernment, but many of superstition.(28) Some tracts of *Ratherius* of Verona, are extant; which indicate a mind

(25) [That *Suidas* lived in the latter part of this century, is inferred from his computations, in the article 'Αδδμ, which all terminate with the reign of the emperor *John Zimiscas*, who died of poison, AD. 975. His Dictionary, which is a kind of historical and literary *encyclopaedia*, was best published by *Kuster*, Cambridge 1705. 3 vol. Fol. Tr.]

(26) See *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Bibliographia antiquaria*, p. 179. and *Euseb. Renaudot*, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 347. [*Eutychius* was a native of Egypt, and the melchite or orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, from AD. 933, to 950. His Arabic name was *Said Ibn Batrik*, that is *Said the son of Batrik*. *Said* signifies *Blessed*; which in Greek is 'Ευτυχίς, or *Eutychius*. He lived unhappily with his flock, and died at the age of 75. His principal work is his *Annales*, from the creation, to AD. 937: edited by *E. Pocock*, Arab. and Lat. Oxford, 1658. 4to. He also wrote a history of Sicily, after its conquest by the Saracens; a disputation between the heterodox and christians, in opposition to the Jacobites, and some medical tracts; all of which still exist in manuscript.

The *Greek writers* of this century, omitted by *Dr. Mosheim*, are the following. *John*, *Cameniatas*, a reader in the church of Thessalonica. When that city was taken and plundered by the Saracens, AD. 904, *John* was made prisoner, and carried to Tarsus, where he composed a full and interesting *History of the destruction of Thessalonica*, and of his own sufferings. It was published Gr. and Lat. by *Leo Allatius*, *Symmict.* Pt. ii. p. 180.

Hyppolytus of Thebes, who has been confounded with *Hyppolytus* Portensis, of the third century. He flourished about AD. 933. A *Chronicon*, or a part of one, composed by him, was published, Greek and Latin by *H. Canisius*, *Lection. Antiq.* Tome iii. p. 35. He also it is probable, composed the brief notices of the twelve apostles, which have gone under the name of the earlier *Hyppolytus*.

Moses Bar-Cepha, bishop of Beth-Raman, and supervisor of the churches in the regions of Babylonia. He lived in this century, but in what part of it, is uncertain. He composed, in Syriac, three *Books de Paradiso*; which *Andr. Masius*, translated into Latin, and then published his translation, Antw. 1568. 8vo. It is also in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xvii. p. 456.

Sisinnius, patriarch of Constantinople, AD. 994—997, composed a tract *de Nuptiis Consobrinorum*; which is in *Leunclavius*, *Jus Gr. et Rom. Lib. iii. p. 197.* Tr.]

(27) [See the preceding chapter, § 7, 8. and Note (18). p. 133.

(28) *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tom. vi. p. 229. [His life, written by *John*, one of his intimate friends, in three Books, and the same revised by *Nal-god*, two centuries after, are in *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. vii. or *Saecul. vi.* p. 150—159; to which *Mabillon* prefixed a full account, composed by himself; *ibid.* p. 124 &c. He was a Frenchman, brought up in the court of *William* duke of Aquitain, and educated at Tours and Paris. He early became a monk, and a great admirer of St. Martin of Tours. From the year 912, till his death in 942, he was engaged in teaching school, presiding in monasteries, making journeys to Rome and Paris, &c. on public business. His works are several legends, concerning St. Martin, St. Mary Magdalen, &c. a life of St. Gerard count of Orleans, an abridgment of Gregory's *Morals* on Job, in twenty-five Books, and devotional pieces. They are all published in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xvii. Tr.]

of good powers, and imbued with the love of justice and integrity. (29) *Atto* of Vercelli, composed a tract *on ecclesiastical grievances*; which throws light on the state of those times. (30) *Dunstan*, an Englishman, compiled for the benefit of monks, a *Harmony of monastic rules*. (31) *Aelfric* of Canterbury, deserved well of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, by a variety of tracts. (32) *Burchard*, bishop of Worms, aided the study of canon law, by a volume of *Decreta*, in twenty Books. But he was not the sole compiler; for he was aided by *Olbert*. (33) *Odilo* of Lyons, has left us some frigid sermons, and other things not

(29) *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tom. vi. p. 339. [See note (11) on the preceding chapter, pa. 136. Tr.]

(30) *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tom. vi. p. 281. [*Atto Secundus*, was a native of Lombardy, a man of learning and virtue, according to the standard of the age. *Augustine* was his favorite author. He presided over the church of Vercelli, from AD. 945, till his death in 960. His works were republished, more complete, in 2 vol. Fol. Vercelli. 1769. They comprise a collection of Canons and ecclesiastical Statutes, for the use of his church; de premissis ecclesiasticis, in three Parts; (on the bishops' courts, their ordinations; and de facultatibus ecclesiarum); several Homilies; and a verbal Commentary on the Epistles of Paul. Tr.]

(31) [*St. Dunstan* was born in Somerset, educated at Glastonbury, where he became a monk, and afterwards abbot. He served several years at court, was bishop of Worcester AD. 956, bishop of London in 958, and archbishop of Canterbury from 961, to 988. He was a most zealous promoter of monkery, and celibacy, and is reported to have wrought many miracles. His *Harmony* of monastic rules, in twelve chapters, was published by *Reiner*, as an Appendix to his work on the antiquity of the Benedictine order in England, Duaci 1626. Fol. See *Hume's Hist. of Eng.* vol. i. ch. ii. p. 94 &c. His life and miracles composed by *Osbern*, a monk of Canterbury in the eleventh century, with extracts from others, may be seen in *Mabillon*, Acta SS. ord. Bened. Tom. vii, or Sæcul. v. p. 654.—715. Tr.]

(32) [*Aelfric*, or *Elfric*, or *Alfric*, archbishop of Canterbury, from AD. 996, to 1006, was a monk of Abingdon, and (as *Usher* supposes,) filled several other offices in the church, during forty years, before he was made archbishop of Canterbury. Most of the writings generally ascribed to him, are by some ascribed to another monk of the same name, who was made archbishop of York, and died AD. 1051. See *Henry Wharton's Dissert. de duobus Alfricis*, in his *Anglia Sacra*; and *Mabillon*, Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. viii. p. 61 &c. The works ascribed to *Aelfric* of Canterbury, are a Biblical history; a Homily on the body and blood of Christ; (in which he disproves transubstantiation); an Epistle to *Wulfstan* bishop of Sherburne; another to *Wulfstan* archbishop of York; a Penitentiary; and an Epistle to *Wulfstan*, on the ecclesiastical canons. These have been published; and most of them in Saxon and Latin. Besides these, there exist in MS. a collection of eighty Sermons; a Saxon Chronicle, a translation of the canons of the Nicene council, a translation of *St. Gregory's Dialogue*, with several lives of monkish saints, all in the Saxon language: also a Latin-Saxon dictionary, a grammar of the Saxon language; Extracts from *Priscian*, &c. See *Cave's Historia Litterar.* vol. ii. Tr.]

(33) See the *Chronicon Wormatiense*, in *Ludewig's Reliquiae Manuscriptor.* Tom. ii. p. 43, and the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tome vii. p. 595 &c. [*Burchard* a Hessian, was first a monk of Laubes, and then bishop of Worms, from AD. 996, to 1026. He commenced his great work on canon law, while in his monastery, and with the aid of his instructor *Olbert*; but completed it, during his episcopate. It was first published at Cologne, 1548. Fol. and afterwards in 8vo. Though still in twenty Books, it contains not a sixth part of the original work. Its authority is very small, being compiled without due care, and often from spurious works. The full title of the book is, *Magnum Decretorum* (or *Canonum*) *Volumen*; but it is often cited by the title *Decretum*; and also by that of *Brocardica*, or *Brocardicorum Opus*, from the French and Italian *Brocard*, i. e. *Burchard*. See *Schroëckh's Kirchengesch.* vol. xxii. p. 414 &c. Tr.]

much better.(34) Of those who wrote histories and annals, this is not the place to treat.(35)

(34) [St. *Odilo* was a native of Auvergne, educated at Clugni, where he became the abbot AD. 994. He afterwards refused the archbishopric of Lyons; and died abbot of Clugni, AD. 1049, aged 87 years. His works, as published by *Du Chesne*, in his *Biblioth. Cluniacensis*, Paris 1614; and thence in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xvii, consist of fourteen sermons on the festal days; a life of St. *Maiolus*; a life of St. *Adeleidis*; four hymns; and some letters. His own life, written by his pupil, *Jotsald*, in two Books, is given us by *Mabillon*, together with a long biographical preface, in the *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. viii. p. 631—710. Tr.]

(35) [The *Latin writers* omitted by Dr. *Mosheim*, were some of them mere authors of the lives of certain monks and saints. Such were *Stephen*, abbot of Laubes, and AD. 903, bishop of Liege; *Hubald*, or *Hucbald*, a French monk, who flourished under *Charles the Bald*, AD. 916; *Gerard*, deacon of the cloister of St. Medard, AD. 932;—*Fridegodus*, a monk of Canterbury, AD. 960;—and *Adso*, abbot of Montier en Der, in France, AD. 980. Most of the others, were popes or bishops, who have left us only some epistles. Such were *John X.* pope AD. 915—928;—*Agapetus II.* pope, AD. 946—956;—*John XII.* pope, AD. 956—963;—*John XIII.* pope, AD. 965—972;—*Pilgrim*, or *Peregrine*, archbishop of Lorch, AD. 971—992;—*Benedict VI.* pope, AD. 972—974;—*Benedict VII.* pope, AD. 975—984;—*John XV.* pope, AD. 986—996;—and *Gregory V.* pope, AD. 996—999. To these classes of writers, may be subjoined the two following individuals.

Rosvinda, or *Roswitha*, a learned and devout nun, of Gandersheim in Germany; who flourished about AD. 980. She understood Greek, as well as the Latin, in which she wrote. Her compositions are all in verse; namely, a panegyric on *Otto the Great*, eight Martyrdoms of early Saints, six sacred Comedies, on various subjects, but chiefly in praise of the saints; and a poem on the establishment of her monastery. These were best edited by *H. L. Schurzfleisch*, Wittenb. 1707. 4to. See *Schroeckh's Kirchengesch.* Vol. xxi. p. 177, 256.

Heriger, or *Hariger*, abbot of Laubes, AD. 990—1007. He wrote a history of the bishops of Liege; a tract on the body and blood of Christ; and the lives of St. Ursmar, St. Berlendis, and St. Landcald. Tr.]

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. The state of religion.—§ 2. Contests respecting predestination and the Lord's supper.—§ 3. Belief that the day of judgment was at hand.—§ 4. Multitude of the saints.—§ 5, 6. The different branches of theology neglected.—§ 7. Controversy between the Greeks and Latins.

§ 1. That the most important doctrines of christianity were misunderstood and perverted, and that such doctrines as remained entire, were obscured by the addition of the most unsound opinions, is manifest from every writer of this period. The essence of religion was supposed, both by the Greeks and the Latins, to consist in the worship of images, in honoring departed saints, in searching for and preserving sacred relics, and in heaping riches upon the priests and monks. Scarcely an individual ventured to approach God, without first duly placating the images, and the saints. And in searching after relics and hoarding them, all were zealous even to phrensy : and, if we may believe the monks, nothing was more an object of the divine solicitude, than to indicate to doting old women and bareheaded monks, the places where the corpses of holy men were deposited. The fire, which burns out the stains remaining on human souls after death, was an object of intense dread to all ; nay, was more feared than the punishments of hell. For the latter, it was supposed, might be easily escaped, if they only died rich in the prayers and merits of the priests, or had some saint to intercede for them ; but not so the former. And the priests, perceiving this dread to conduce much to their advantage, endeavored, by their discourses, and by fables and fictitious miracles, continually to raise it higher and higher.

§ 2. The controversies respecting grace and the Lord's supper, which disquieted the preceding century, were at rest in this. For each party, as appears from various testimonies, left the other at liberty, either to retain the sentiments they had embraced, or to change them. Nor was it an object of much inquiry, in this illiterate and thoughtless age, what the theologians believed on these and other subjects. Hence, among those who flourished in this age, we find both followers of *Augustine*, and followers of *Pelagius* ; and perhaps as many can be discovered, who supposed the real body and blood of Christ were literally presented in the eucharist, as there were, who either had no established opinion on the subject, or believed the Lord's body to be not present, and to be received in the eucharist only by a holy exercise of the soul. (1) Let

(1) That the Latin doctors of this century, held different opinions, respecting the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacred Supper, is very clearly attested : nor do learned men among the Roman Catholics,

no one, however, ascribe this moderation and forbearance, to the wisdom and virtue of the age: it was rather the want of intelligence and knowledge, which rendered them both indisposed, and unable to contend on these subjects.

§ 3. Numberless examples and testimonies shew, that the whole christian world was shrowded in immense superstition. To this, were added, many futile and groundless opinions, fostered by the priests for their own advantage. Among the opinions which dishonored and disquieted the Latin churches, in this century, none produced more excitement, than the belief, that the day of final consummation was at hand. This belief was derived, in the preceding century, from the Apocalypse of *John*, xx. 2, 3, 4. (2) and being advanced by many in this century, it spread over all Europe; and excited immense terror and alarm among the people. For they supposed, *St. John* had explicitly foretold, that after a thousand years from the birth of *Christ*, Satan would be let loose, Antichrist would appear, and the end of the world would come. Hence immense numbers, transferring their property to the churches and monasteries, left all, and proceeded to Palestine, where they supposed *Christ* would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others by a solemn vow, consecrated themselves and all they possessed to the churches, the monasteries, and the priests; serving them in the character of slaves, and performing the daily tasks assigned them: for they hoped, the supreme Judge would be more favorable to them, if they made themselves servants to *his* servants. Hence also, whenever an eclipse of the sun or moon took place, most people betook themselves to caverns, and rocks, and caves. Very many also gave a large part of their estates to God and the saints; that is to the priests and monks. And in many places, edifices, both sacred and secular, were suffered to go to decay; and in some instances, actually pulled down; from the expectation that they would no longer be needed. This general delusion was opposed, indeed, by a few wiser individuals; but nothing could overcome it, till the century had closed. But when the century ended, without any great calamity, the greater part began to understand, that *John* had not really predicted, what they so much feared. (4)

who follow truth rather than party feelings, disavow the fact. That the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, was at this time unknown to the English, has been shown from their public *homilies*, by *Rapin de Thoyras*, *Histoire d'Angleterre*. Tome i. p. 463. Yet that this doctrine was then received, by some of the French and German divines, may be as easily demonstrated. ["For a judicious account of the opinions of the Saxon English church concerning the eucharist, see *Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, vol. i. cent. x. p. 204, 266." *Macd.*]

(2) ["And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a *thousand years*," &c. They understood this to refer to the times of the christian dispensation. And as Satan was to be loosed, after the thousand years; and as the vision proceeds immediately to describe the general judgment; they concluded, the world would come to an end, about A.D. 1000. *Tr.*]

(3) Almost all the donations of this century, afford evidence of this general

§ 4. The number of the saints, i. e. of cardinals of the heavenly court, and ministers of state in the world above, was generally very great.(4) For this extremely inconsiderate and superstitious age required a host of patrons and guardians. Besides, so great was the wickedness and madness of most people, that the reputation of being a saint, was obtained without much effort. Whoever was by nature rather austere, and of coarse manners, or was possessed of a strong imagination, appeared amidst such a profligate multitude, as one who had intimate converse with God. The Roman pontiff, who had before begun to assume to himself the right of making new saints, gave the first specimen of the actual exercise of this power, in this century; at least, no example of an earlier date is extant. *John XV*, in the year 993, by a solemn act, enrolled *Udalrich*, bishop of Augsburg, among those to whom christians might lawfully address prayers and worship.(5) Yet this act must not be understood to imply, that from this time onward, none but the Roman pontiff might enroll a saint.(6) For there are examples which shew, that down to the twelfth century, the bishops of the higher ranks, and provincial councils, without even consulting the pontiff, did place in the list of saints, such as they deemed to be worthy of it.(7) But in the twelfth century,

delusion in Europe. For the reason, assigned for the gift, is generally thus expressed: *Appropinquante mundi termino*, &c. [i. e. *The end of the world being now at hand.*] Of the many other proofs of the prevalence of this opinion, (which was so profitable to the clergy,) I will adduce only one striking passage from *Abbo* of Fleury, in his *Apologeticum adversus Arnulphum*, which *Fr. Pithocus* has subjoined to the *Codex Canonum ecclesiae Romanae*, p. 401. "When a little boy, (in the tenth century,) I heard a public discourse delivered in the church of Paris, concerning the end of the world; that immediately after the thousand years terminated, Antichrist would come, and not long after that, the universal judgment would follow. This doctrine I resisted, as far as I was able, from the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and the book of Daniel. At last, my abbot, of blessed memory, *Richard*, very skilfully eradicated the inveterate error respecting the end of the world, after receiving the letter from the Lotharingians which I was to answer. For the rumor had filled nearly the whole world, that when the Annunciation of Mary should fall on Saturday, then, beyond all doubt, the end of the world would take place."

(4) [Yet it should be remarked, that before the year 994, prayers to the saints, and to the virgin Mary, are not mentioned in the canons of the English churches. They are first enjoined, in a collection of canons of this date; which is in *Wilkin's* Concil. Tom. i. p. 265. We read, however, in a circular Epistle of *John XV*, in the year 993: *Sic adoramus et colimus reliquias martyrum et confessorum, ut eum, [Christum,] cujus martyres sunt, adoremus*—siquis contradicat, Anathema. *Harduin's* Concil. Tom. vi. Pt. i. p. 726. *Schl.*]

(5) *Franc. Pagi*, Breviar. Pontif. Roman. Tom. ii. p. 259 &c.

(6) This opinion was held by the friends of the Romish court; and in particular, by *Phil. Bonannus*, Numismat. Pontif. Romanor. Tom. i. p. 41 &c.

(7) See the remarks of *Franc. Pagi*, Breviarium Pontif. Romanor. Tom. ii. p. 260. Tom. iii. p. 30. and of *Arm. de la Chapelle*, Bibliothèque Angloise, Tom. x. p. 105. and *Jo. Mabillon*, Praef. ad. Saecul. v. Actor. SS. ord. Bened. p. liii. [The word *canon*, in the middle ages, denoted in general, a register or a matriculation roll; and in a more limited sense, a list of the saints; and to canonize a person, was to enroll his name in this book or register of the saints. In the earlier times, none were recognized as saints, except martyrs and confessors. But in the times of ignorance, the stupid people often selected and made for themselves saints, who did not deserve the name. To remedy the evil, it was ordained, that no one should be recognized as a saint, till the bishop of the place,

Alexander III, annulled this right of councils and bishops; and made *canonization*, as it is called, to rank among the *greater causes*, or such as belong only to the pontifical court.

§ 5. Of the labors of the theologians in sacred science, and the different branches of it, little can be said. The holy scriptures, no one explained, in a manner that would place him high among even the lowest class of interpreters. For it is uncertain, whether *Olympiodorus* and *Oecumenius* of Tricca, belong to this century. Among the Latins, *Remigius* of Auxerre, continued his exposition of the scriptures, which he commenced in the preceding century. He is very concise on the literal signification, but very copious and prolix on the mystical sense; which he prefers greatly to the literal meaning. Besides, he exhibits not so much his own thoughts, as those of others, deriving his explanations from the early interpreters. *Odo's* *Moralia* on Job, are transcribed from the work of the same title by *Gregory* the Great. Who were esteemed the best expositors of scripture in that age, may be learned from *Notkerus* Balbulus, [or the Stammerer,] who wrote professedly an account of them.(8)

§ 6. Systematic theology had not a single writer, Greek or Latin. The Greeks were satisfied with *Damascenus*; and the Latins with *Augustine* and *Gregory* the Great, who were in that age regarded as the greatest of theologians. Yet some also read *Beda*, and *Rabanus Maurus*. Moral and practical theology, received less attention than in almost any age. If we except some discourses, which are extremely meagre and dry, and the lives of saints, which were composed among the Greeks by *Simon* Metaphrastes, and among the Latins by *Hubald*, *Odo*, *Stephen* of Liege, and others, without fidelity, and in very bad taste; there remains nothing more in this century, that can be placed under the head of practical theology. Nor do we find, that any one sought renown, by polemic writings, or confutations of the enemies of truth.

§ 7. The controversies between the Greeks and Latins, in consequence of the troubles and calamities of the times, were carried on with much less noise than before; but they were not

after investigation made, should declare him such. This was the practice in Europe, from the seventh century, onward. The popes canonized, as well as others; but only in their own diocess. But at this time, the chapter of Augsburg saw fit, to request the pope to pronounce their bishop *Ulrich*, a saint for all the churches. The bishop of Augsburg who succeeded *Ulrich*, might have canonized this worthy man, for the church of Augsburg; but in that case, he would have been honored only in his own diocess, and not throughout the whole church. The pope complied with the request, without much enquiry. *Schl.*]

(8) [His book is entitled: de Interpretibus divinarum litterarum; and may be found in *Pez's* Thesaur. anecdot. noviss. Tom. i. Pt. i. p. 1. It was addressed to *Solomon*, afterwards bishop of Constance; whom it excited to the study, not only of the biblical interpreters, but also of the ecclesiastical historians, and the writers of biographies of the saints; so that it may be viewed as a guide to the best method of studying theology, agreeably to the taste of those times. *Schl.*]

wholly at rest.(9) And those certainly err very much, who maintain, that this pernicious discord was healed, and that the Greeks for a time came over to the Latins :(10) although it is true, that the state of the times obliged them, occasionally, to form a truce, though a deceptive one. The Greeks contended violently, among themselves, respecting repeated marriages. The emperor *Leo*, surnamed the *Wise*, or the *Philosopher*, having had no male issue by three successive wives, married a fourth, born in humble condition, *Zoë Carbinopsina*. As such marriages, by the canon law of the Greeks, were incestuous, the patriarch *Nicolaus* excluded the emperor from the communion. The emperor, indignant at this, deprived *Nicolaus* of his office; and put *Euthymius* into his place, who admitted the emperor, indeed, to the communion, but resisted the law which the emperor wished to enact, allowing of fourth marriages. Hence a schism and great animosity, arose among the clergy; some siding with *Nicolaus*, and others with *Euthymius*. *Leo* died soon after, and *Alexander* deposed *Euthymius*, and restored *Nicolaus* to his office; who now assailed the character of the deceased emperor, with the severest maledictions, and execrations; and defended his opinion of the unlawfulness of fourth marriages, in the most contentious manner. To put an end to these commotions, so dangerous to the Greeks, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, the son of *Leo*, assembled an ecclesiastical council, at Constantinople, in the year 920. This council prohibited fourth marriages, altogether, but allowed third marriages, under certain restrictions. The publication of this law, restored the public tranquillity.(11) Some other small contests, of similar importance, arose among the Greeks; which show their want of discernment, their ignorance of true religion, and how much deference they had for the opinions of the fathers, without exercising their own reason and judgment.

(9) *Mich. Le Quien*, Diss. i. Damascenica, de processione Spiritus S. § 13. p. 12. *Fred. Spanheim*, de perpetua dissensione ecclesiae Orient. et Occident. Pt. iv. § vii. Opp. Tom. ii. p. 529.

(10) *Leo Allatius*, de perpetua consensione ecclesiae Orient. et Occident. Lib. ii. cap. vii, viii. p. 600 &c.

(11) These facts are faithfully collected from *Cedrenus*, *Louclavius*, (de Jure Graeco-Rom. Tom. i. p. 104 &c.) *Leo Grammaticus*, *Simeon Logothetes*, and other writers of Byzantine history.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF CEREMONIES AND RITES.

§ 1. The multitude of ceremonies.—§ 2. Feast days.—§ 3. Office of St. Mary ; the Rosary.

§ 1. How great a load of rites and ceremonies, oppressed and stifled religion, in this century, appears abundantly from the acts of the councils held in England, France, Germany and Italy. The many new-made citizens of heaven, who were daily enrolled, required the institution of new festal days, new forms of worship, and new religious rites. And in excogitating these, the priests, though in every thing else a stupid and inefficient set of beings, were wonderfully ingenious. Some of their arrangements flowed from the erroneous opinions on sacred and secular subjects, which the barbarous nations derived from their ancestors, and incorporated with christianity. Nor did the guides of the church, oppose these customs; but supposed they had fulfilled all their duty, when they had either honored with some christian forms, what was worthless and base in itself, or had assigned to it some far-fetched allegorical import. Several customs, accounted sacred, arose from the silly opinions of the multitude, respecting God and the inhabitants of heaven. For they supposed God, and those intimate with him in heaven, to be affected, just as earthly kings and their nobles are; who are rendered propitious by gifts and presents, and are gratified with frequent salutations, and external marks of respect.

§ 2. Near the end of this century, in the year 998, by the influence of *Odilo* abbot of Clugni, the number of festal days among the Latins, was augmented, by the addition of the annual celebration in memory of *all departed souls*. Before this time, it had been the custom in many places, to offer prayers, on certain days, for the souls in purgatory: but these prayers were offered only for the friends and patrons of a particular religious order, or society. *Odilo's* piety was not to be thus limited; he wished to extend this kindness, to all the departed souls, that were suffering in the invisible world.(1) The author of the sug-

(1) See *Jo. Mabillon*, Acta SS. ord. Bened. [Tom. viii. or] Saecul. vi. Pt. i. p. 584: where he gives the life *Odilo*, and his decree instituting this new festival. [The story of the hermit is differently related. One says, the hermit stated, that wandering near Mount Aetna, he overheard the souls burning in that volcano, relate the benefits they received from the prayers of *Odilo*. Another represents the hermit, as saying, simply, it was divinely revealed to him. One likewise, represents the hermit as stating, that all the souls in purgatory enjoyed *respite*, two days each week, namely Mondays and Tuesdays. Another says, he represented, that several souls had been *released* entirely from purgatory, by his prayers. And another, that many souls *might be released* &c. See *Mabillon*.

gestion was a Sicilian recluse, or hermit, who caused it to be stated to *Odilo*, that he had learned from a divine revelation, that the souls in purgatory might be released, by the prayers of the monks of Clugni.(2) At first therefore, this was only a private regulation of the *society of Clugni*: but a Roman pontiff,—who he was, is unknown,—approved the institution, and ordered it to be every where observed.

§ 3. The worship of the virgin *Mary*, which previously had been extravagant, was in this century carried much farther than before. Not to mention other things less certain, I observe first, that near the close of this century, the custom became prevalent among the Latins, of celebrating masses, and abstaining from flesh, on Saturdays, in honor of *St. Mary*. In the next place, the daily *office of St. Mary*, which the Latins call the *lesser office*, was introduced; and it was afterwards confirmed by *Urban II*, in the council of Clermont. Lastly, pretty distinct traces of the *Rosary*, and *Crown of St. Mary*, as they are called, or of praying according to a numerical arrangement, are to be found in this century. For they who tell us, that *St. Dominic* invented the *Rosary*, in the thirteenth century, do not offer satisfactory proof of their opinion.(3) The *Rosary* consisted of fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and one hundred and fifty salutations of *St. Mary*: and what the Latins called, the *Crown of St. Mary*, consisted of six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and sixty or seventy salutations, according to the age ascribed by different authors to the holy virgin.

ny, l. c. p. 666, 701. (ed. Paris, 1701.) and *Fleury*, *Histoire de l'Église*, Livr. lix. § 57. All agree, that the hermit made his representation to a French monk, then on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and bid him acquaint *Odilo* with it; which was accordingly done. Tr.]

(2) The pontiff *Benedict XIV*, or *Prosper Lambertinus*, in his treatise de *Festis Jesu Christi, Mariæ, et Sanctorum*, Lib. iii. c. 22. Opp. Tom. x. p. 671, very wisely observes silence, respecting this obscure and disreputable origin of that anniversary; and thus shows us, what he thought of it. And in this work of *Benedict XIV*, are many specimens of the author's discernment.

(3) This is formally demonstrated by *Jo. Mabillon*, *Praef. ad Acta Sanctorum*. ord. Bened. Saecul. v. p. lviii. &c.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. The more ancient heresies.—§ 2. The Paulicians.—§ 3. Commotions excited by Leuthard.—§ 4. The Anthropomorphites.

§ 1. The amazing stupidity of the age, which was the source of so many evils, had this one advantage, that it rendered the church tranquil, and undisturbed by new sects and discords. The Nestorians and Monophysites began to experience more hardships, under the Arabians, than formerly; and they are said to have repeatedly suffered the greatest violence. But as many of them gained the good will of the great, by their skill in medicine, or by their abilities as stewards and men of business, the persecutions that occasionally broke out, were again suppressed.(1)

§ 2. The Manichaeans or Paulicians, of whom mention has been made before, became considerably numerous, in Thrace, under the emperor *John Tzimiscēs*. As early as the eighth century, *Constantine Copronymus* had removed a large portion of this sect to this province, that they might no longer disturb the tranquillity of the East: yet they still remained numerous in Syria, and the neighboring countries. *Theodorus* therefore, the bishop of Antioch, for the safety of his own flock, did not cease importuning the emperor, until he ordered a new colony of Manichaeans to be transplanted to Philippopolis.(2) From Thrace, the sect removed into Bulgaria and Slavonia; in which countries they afterwards had a supreme pontiff of the sect; and they continued their residence there, down to the times of the council of Basil, or to the fifteenth century. From Bulgaria, they migrated to Italy; and thence spread into other countries of Europe, and gave much trouble to the Roman pontiffs.(3)

§ 3. At the close of this century, a plebeian man, of the name of *Leuthard*, in the village of Virtus near Chalons, attempted some innovations in religion; and in a short time, drew a large share of the vulgar after him. He would allow of no images; for he is said to have broken the image of our Savior. He maintained, that tythes ought not to be given to the priests: and said,

(1) [Some Nestorians were private secretaries of the Kaliphs; and the Nestorian patriarch had such influence with the Kaliph, that the Jacobite and Greek bishops, living among the Arabians, were obliged, in their difficulties, to put themselves under his protection. See *Asseman*, Biblioth. Orient. Vatic. Tom. iv. p. 96—100. *Schl.*]

(2) *Jq. Zonaras*, Annal. Lib. xvii. p. 200. ed. Paris. p. 164. ed Venice.

(3) And, as has been already observed, perhaps some remains of the sect still exist in Bulgaria.

that in the prophecies of the Old Testament, some things were true, and some things were false. He pretended to be inspired : but bishop *Gebwin* drove the man to extremities ; and he at last threw himself into a well.(4) I suppose, the disciples of this man, who doubtless taught many other things, besides what are stated above, joined themselves with those who, in France, were afterwards called *Albigenses*, and who are said to have leaned to the views of the Manichaeans.

§ 4. Some remains of the Arians, still existed in certain parts of Italy ; and especially in the region about Padua.(5) *Ratherius*, bishop of Verona, had controversy with the *Anthropomorphites*, from the year 939, onwards. For in the neighborhood of Vicenza, there were many persons, not only among the laity, but also among the clergy, who supposed that God possesses a human form, and sits upon a golden throne, in the manner of kings ; and that his ministers or *angels*, are winged men, clothed in white robes.(6) These erroneous conceptions will not surprise us, if we reflect, that the people, who were extreme-

(4) An account of these transactions, is given by *Glaber Radulphus*, Hist. Lib. ii. c. xi. [*Fleury*, Histoire de l'Eglise, Livr. lviii. § 19, thus relates the whole story, on the authority of *Glaber*. Near the close of the year 1000, a plebeian man, by the name of *Leutard*, in the village of Virtus and diocese of Chalons, pretended to be a prophet, and deceived many. Being at a certain time in the fields, and fatigued with labor, he laid himself down to sleep ; when a great swarm of bees seemed to enter the lower part of his body, and to pass out of his mouth, with a great buzzing. They next began to sting him severely ; and after tormenting him awhile, they spoke to him and commanded him to do some things, which were beyond human power. He returned home exhausted ; and with a view to obey the divine admonition, dismissed his wife. Then proceeding to the church, as if for prayer, he entered it, and seized and broke the image of the crucifix. The bye-standers were amazed, and supposed the man was deranged ; but as they were simple rustics, he easily persuaded them, that he had performed the deed under the direction of a supernatural, and divine revelation. *Leutard* talked much, and wished to be regarded as a great teacher. But in his discourses, there was nothing solid, and no truth. He said, that the things taught by the prophets, were to be believed, only in part ; and that the rest was useless. He declared, that it was of no use to a man, to pay his tithes. Fame now proclaimed him to be a man of God ; and no small part of the vulgar went after him. But *Gebwin*, the venerable and wise bishop of Chalons, summoned the man before him, and interrogated him respecting all the things reported of him. He began to dissemble and conceal the poison of his wickedness, and quoted portions of the scriptures, which he had never studied. The sagacious bishop now convinced the blockhead of falsehood, and madness ; and in part reclaimed the people, whom he had seduced. The wretched *Leutard*, finding his reputation ruined among the people, drowned himself in a well. Tr.]

(5) [It appears from *Ugell's Italia Sacra*, Tom. v. p. 429, of the new edition, that in the diocese of *Peter*, the bishop of Padua, who died AD. 942, there were many Arians, whom that bishop strenuously opposed. And in the same work, p. 433, it is stated, that bishop *Goslin*, or *Gauslin*, who filled the see from the year 964, till into the following century, completely exterminated this sect. Schl.]

(6) [We ought not to class these poor creatures among heretics. The language of *Ratherius* does not imply, that such opinions were taught in public. The erroneous views entertained by individuals in private, do not constitute a heresy. And how many such *Anthropomorphites* should we not now find, if we were to examine the conceptions of our own common people, in regard to God and the angels ? Schl.]

ly ignorant on all subjects, and especially on religion, saw God and the angels so *represented*, every where, in the *paintings* that adorned the churches. Still more irrational was the superstition of those, whom the same *Ratherius* opposes; who were led, I know not how, to believe that *St. Michael* says mass, every Monday, before God in heaven; and they therefore resorted, on these days, to the churches that were dedicated to *St. Michael*.(7) It is probable, that the priests, who performed service in the temples devoted to *St. Michael*, instilled this most absurd notion, as they did other errors, into the minds of the vulgar, in order to gratify their own avaricious views.

(7) *Ratherius*, *Epistola synodica*, in *Dacherii Spicileg. Scriptor. veter.* Tom. ii. p. 294 &c. *Sigbert* of Gemblours, *Chronol.* ad ann. 939.

CENTURY ELEVENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Propagation of christianity.—§ 2. Fruitless efforts of some, for the conversion of pagan nations.—§ 3. The Saracens driven from Sicily. The Sicilian monarchy.—§ 4. Expedition against the Saracens in Palestine.—§ 5. Progress of the holy war.—§ 6, 7. The history of it.—§ 8. Causes of these expeditions.—§ 9. Evils of them.—§ 10. Injurious to the church.

§ 1. The Hungarians, Danes, Poles, Russians, and other nations, who in the preceding century had received a kind of knowledge of the christian religion, could not universally be brought, in a short time, to prefer christianity to the religions of their fathers. Therefore during the greatest part of this century, their kings, with the teachers whom they drew around them, were occupied in gradually enlightening and converting these nations.(1) In Tartary,(2) and the adjacent regions, the activity of the Nestorians, continued daily to gain over more people to the side of christianity. And such is the mass of testimony at the present day, that we cannot doubt, but that bishops of the highest order, or *Metropolitans*, with many inferior bishops subject to them, were established, at that period, in the provinces of Cashgar, Nuacheta, Turkestan, Genda, Tangut, and others.(3) Whence

(1) For an account of the Poles, and Russians, see the life of *Romualdus*, in the *Acta Sanctor.* Tom. ii. Februar. p. 113, 114: and for the Hungarians, p. 117.

(2) The word *Tartary*, is here used in its broadest sense; for I am not insensible, that the *Tartars*, properly so called, are widely different from the Tanguians, Calmucs, Mungals, and other tribes.

(3) *Marco Paulo*, the Venetian, de regionibus Orientalibus, Lib. i. cap. 38, 40, 45, 47, 48, 49, 62, 63, 64; Lib. ii. c. 39. *Euseb. Renaudot*, Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, p. 320. *Jos. Sim. Asseman*, Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana, Tom. iii. Pt. ii. p. 502 &c. The history of this so successful propagation of christianity by the Nestorians, in China, Tartary, and other adjacent countries, richly deserves to be more thoroughly explored, and set forth to the world, by some man well acquainted with oriental history. But the task would be, on various accounts, very difficult of execution. It was attempted by an excellent man, *Theoph. Sigfr. Bayer*, who was furnished with a large number of documents for the purpose, both printed and manuscript. But the premature death of this learned man intercepted his labors.

it will be manifest, that there was a vast multitude of christians, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in these countries; which are now either devoted to Muhammedism, or worshippers of imaginary gods. And that all these christians followed the Nestorian creed, and were subject to the supreme pontiff of the Nestorians residing in Chaldea, is so certain, as to be beyond all controversy.

§ 2. For the conversion of the European nations, who still lived buried in superstition and barbarism, as the Slavonians, the Obotriti, the Wends, the Prussians, &c. some pious and good men labored indeed, but with either very little or no success. Near the close of the preceding century, *Adalbert*, bishop of Prague, visited the ferocious nation of the Prussians, with a view to instruct them in the knowledge of christianity; and the result was, that he was murdered, in the year 996, by *Siggon*, a pagan priest.(4) The king of Poland, *Boleslaus Chrobry*, avenged the death of *Adalbert*, by a severe war; and labored to accomplish by arms and penalties, what *Adalbert* could not effect by arguments.(5) Yet there were not wanting some, who seconded the king's violent measures, by admonitions, instructions, and persuasions. In the first place, we are told, one *Boniface*, of illustrious birth, and a disciple of St. *Romuald*, and afterwards one *Bruno*, with eighteen companions, went from Germany into Prussia, as christian missionaries.(6) But all these were put to death by the Prussians: nor could the valor of *Boleslaus* or of the subsequent kings of Poland, bring this savage nation to abandon the religion of their ancestors.(7)

(4) See the *Acta Sanctor. ad diem 23. Aprilis*, p. 174 &c. [and *Jo. Mabillon*, *Acta SS. ord. Bened. Tom. vii. p. 846 &c. Tr.*]

(5) *Solignac*, *Histoire de Pologne*, Tom. i. p. 133.

(6) [*Bruno* and *Boniface* were, in fact, one and the same person: the first being his original and proper name, and the other his assumed name; for the monks were then accustomed to take assumed names. See *Ditmar*, Lib. vi. p. 82. *Chronicon Quedlinburg. and Sigebert Gemblacens. ad ann. 1009.* The analist *Sazo*, on this year, says expressly: *Sanctus Bruno qui et Bonifacius, Archiepiscopus gentium, primum Canonicus S. Mauritii in Magdaburh. xvi. Kal. Mart. martyr incytus coelos petiit.* He was of the highest rank of Saxon nobility, a near relative of the emperor *Otto III.* and beloved by him. *Bruno* served for a time at the imperial chapel. But in the year 997, he preferred a monastic life; and connected himself with St. *Romuald*, whom he accompanied first to Monte Cassino, and then to Perra near Ravenna. He obtained permission from the pope to preach to the pagans; and therefore received ordination as an archbishop. He preached to pagans till the twelfth year, and was then killed, near the confines of the Prussians and Lithuanians, [AD. 1003.] The bodies of *Bruno* and his companions, were purchased of the pagans, by *Boleslaus. Schl.* See also *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Vol. viii. p. 79—81. and Fleury*, *Histoire de l'Eglise. Livr. lviii. § 26. Tr.*]

(7) *Anton. Pagi*, *Critica in Baronium*, Tom. iv. ad ann. 1008. p. 97 &c. *Christ. Hariknoch*, *History of the Prussian church*; written in German, Book i. ch. i. p. 12 &c. [Some of the principal Poles, also, to whom christianity was burdensome, on account of the many tythes they had to pay to the clergy, relapsed again into idolatry. See *Dugloss*, *Hist. Polon. ad ann. 1022.* On the other hand, the Transylvanians were vanquished by the king of Hungary, in the year 1002; and were brought to embrace christianity, after their prince *Gcula*, with his wife and children, were thrown into prison. And the same king undertook some successful campaigns against the Bulgarians, and the pagan Slavonians. See *Theuroezius*, in *Chron. Hungar. c. 29, 30. Schl.*]

§ 3. The Saracens siezed upon Sicily, in the ninth century ; nor could the Greeks or the Latins, hitherto expel them from the country, though they made frequent attempts to do it. But in this century, AD. 1059, *Robert Guiscard*, the Norman duke of Apulia, with his brother *Roger*, under the authority of the Roman pontiff *Nicolaus II*, attacked them with great valor ; nor did *Roger* relinquish the war, till he had gained possession of the whole island, and cleared it of the Saracens. After this great achievement, in the year 1090, *Roger* restored the christian religion, now almost extinguished there by the Saracens, to its former dignity ; and established bishops, founded monasteries, erected magnificent churches, and put the clergy in possession of ample revenues and honors, which they enjoy to the present times.(8) To this heroic man, is traced the origin of what is called *the Sicilian monarchy*, or the supreme power in matters of religion, which is claimed by the kings of Sicily : for *Urban II*, is said to have created this *Roger* and his successors, hereditary legates of the apostolic see, by a special diploma, dated AD. 1097. The Romish court contend, that this diploma is a forgery : and hence, even in our times, those severe contests, between the Roman pontiffs and the kings of Sicily, respecting the *Sicilian monarchy*. The posterity of *Roger*, governed Sicily down to the twelfth century ; at first under the title of dukes, and then under that of kings.(9)

(8) See *Burigny*, *Histoire generale de Sicile*, Tome i. p. 386 &c. [The character of this *Roger*, is highly extolled by the historians of those times. Among other things, he is extolled for his tolerant disposition in regard to religion. For when he conquered Sicily, he allowed the Saracens, who chose to remain in the island, to live according to their own laws, and to follow their own religion, so long as they should continue obedient subjects. See *Muratori*, *Annal. Ital. ad ann. 1090. Schl.*]

(9) See *Caes. Baronius*, de *Monarchia Siciliae Liber* ; in his annales, Tom. xi. and *Lud. Ell. du Pin*, *Traité de la Monarchie Sicilienne*. [The famous bull of the *monarchy of Sicily*, is supposed to have been granted, at an interview of pope *Urban II*. with *Roger* duke of Sicily and Calabria, held at Salerno, AD. 1098. The pope had appointed *Robert*, bishop of Frani, his legate *a latere* in Sicily. But the Duke, no stranger to the authority claimed by such legates, and to the disturbances they produced, entreated the pope to revoke the commission, plainly insinuating that he would suffer no legate in his dominions. As the duke had rendered signal services to the apostolic see, had driven the Saracens quite out of Sicily, and subjected all the churches of that island to the see of Rome, though claimed by the patriarch of Constantinople, the pope not only recalled the commission he had given to the bishop, but to engage the duke still more in his favor, he conferred upon him all the power he had granted to his legate, declaring him, his heirs, and his successors, *hereditary legates*, and vested with the legatine power, in its full extent. The bull is dated at Salerno, July, Indiction vii, *Urban's* reign xi. i. e. 1098. Here is some mistake, as the 11th year of *Urban*, coincided with the 6th year of the Indiction. And this error has been urged against the genuineness of the instrument, by *Baronius*, who inserts it, and endeavors to prove it a forgery, in the eleventh volume of his *Annals*. He also urges, that the bull, if genuine, related only to *Roger* and his immediate descendants ; that it was a *family privilege*, given to reward the personal services of *Roger*. Though many learned men regard the bull as of very questionable origin, and especially as the Sicilian monarchs, when challenged to do it, have not produced the original writing, yet the kings of *Arragon*, to whom

§ 4. From the times of *Sylvester II*, the Roman pontiffs had been meditating the extension of the limits of the church in Asia, and especially the expulsion of the Muhammedans from Palestine : but the troubles of Europe prevented the execution of their designs. *Gregory VII*, the most daring of all the pontiffs that ever sat in the chair of St. Peter, being excited by the perpetual complaints of the Asiatic christians respecting the cruelty of the Muhammedans, wished to engage personally in a holy war ; and more than fifty thousand men prepared themselves for an expedition under him.(10) But his controversy with the emperor *Henry IV*, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, and other unexpected events, obliged him to abandon the design. But near the close of the century, a certain Frenchman of Amiens, *Peter*, surnamed the Hermit, was the occasion of the renewal of the design by *Urban II*. *Peter* visited Palestine, in the year 1093, and there beheld with great anguish of mind, the extreme oppressions and vexations, which the christians, residing at the holy places, suffered from the Muhammedans. Therefore, being wrought up to an enthusiasm, which he took to be a divine impulse, he first applied for aid to *Simeon*, the patriarch of Constantinople, [the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem,] and to *Urban II*, the Roman pontiff, without success ; and then began to travel over Europe, calling on both princes and people, to make war upon the tyrants of Palestine. He moreover carried with him an epistle on the subject, which came from heaven, was addressed to all christians, and was calculated to awaken the sensibilities of the ignorant.(11)

Sicily was long subject, claimed and exercised the legatine power, as being the successors of duke *Roger*. And they would not suffer the eleventh volume of *Baronius' Annals* to circulate in their dominions, on account of its elaborate confutation of their claims. The same power has been likewise claimed, and sometimes exercised, by all the princes, who have been masters of that island, down to modern times. In the year 1715, *Clement XI*, having published two bulls, the one abolishing the *monarchy*, as it is called, and the other establishing a new plan of ecclesiastical government, the duke of Savoy, as sovereign of Sicily, banished all who received either of them, out of the country. Some compromise has since taken place, but the supreme ecclesiastical power, is still in the hands of the temporal sovereign of the country : that is, he is supreme head of the church there ; has power to excommunicate and absolve all persons whatever, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, and cardinals themselves, if resident in the island ; he has a right to preside in all the provincial councils of the country, and to exercise all the jurisdiction of a legate *a latere*, vested with the fullest legatine power. And this power, the sovereign may exercise, though a female ; as in the instance of *Jane* of Arragon and Castile ; and not only in his own person, but also by a commissioner of his appointment. For the more convenient exercise of this power, a commissioner, who is styled the *Judge of the monarchy*, is appointed by the king, whose tribunal is the supreme ecclesiastical court, for Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, Tarento, Malta, and the other Islands. Yet from him, lies an appeal to the royal audience. See *Bower's Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 340. and *Stæudlin's Kirchl. Geographie*. vol. i. p. 476 &c. Tr.]

(10) *Gregory VII*, *Epistolarum Lib. ii.* Ep. 31. and in *Harduin's Concilia Tom. vi.* Pt. i. p. 125.

(11) This fact is mentioned by the abbot *Dodechinus*, in his *Continuat. Chronici Mariani Scotti* ; in the *Scriptor. Germanicor. Jo. Pistorii*, Tom. i. p. 462.

§ 5. The public feelings being thus excited, *Urban II*, in the year 1095, assembled a very numerous council at *Placentia*, in which he first recommended this holy war.(12) But the dangerous enterprise was relished only by a few; although the ambassadors of the Greek emperor *Alexius Comnenus*, were present, and in the name of their master, represented the necessity of opposing the Turks, whose power was daily increasing. The business succeeded better in the council of *Clermont*, which was assembled soon after. For the French, being more enterprising and ready to face dangers, than the Italians, were so moved by the tumid eloquence of *Urban*, that a vast multitude, of all ranks and ages, were ready at once to engage in a military expedition to *Palestine*.(13) This host seemed to be a very formidable army, and adequate to overcome almost any obstacles; but in reality, it was very weak and pusillanimous: for it was composed chiefly of monks, mechanics, farmers, persons averse from their regular occupations, spendthrifts, speculators, prostitutes, boys, girls, servants, malefactors, and the lowest dregs of the idle populace, who hoped to make their fortune. From such troops, what could be expected? Those attached to this camp, were called *Crusaders* (*cruciati*); and the enterprise itself was called a *Crusade* (*expeditio cruciata*); not only, because they professedly were going to rescue the *cross* of our Lord from the hands of its enemies, but also, because they wore upon their right shoulders a white, red, or green *cross* made of woollen cloth, and solemnly consecrated.(14)

For an account of *Peter*, see *Car. du Fresne*, *Notae ad Annae Comnenae Alexiadem*, p. 79. ed. Venet.

(12) [*Berthold*, a contemporary writer, says, there were present in this council about four thousand clergymen, and more than 30,000 laymen, and that its sessions were held in the open air, because no church could contain the multitude. See *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. vi. Pt. ii. p. 1711 &c. Tr.]

(13) *Theod. Ruinart*, *Vita Urbani ii*, § ccxxv &c. p. 224, 229, 240, 272, 274, 282, 296. of the Opp. posthum. of *Jo. Mabillon*, and *Theodore Ruinart*, Tom. iii. *Jo. Harduin's Concilia* Tom. vi. Pt. ii. p. 1726. *Caesar Baronius*, *Annal. Eccles.* Tom. xi. ad ann. 1095, No. xxxii. p. 648. [The number present at the council of *Clermont*, is not definitely stated, by the early writers, though they all agree that it was very great. There were thirteen archbishops, two hundred and fifty bishops, besides abbots and inferior clergy, with a multitude of laymen. The Acts of this council, with two speeches of *Urban*, are given by *Harduin*, *Concilia*, Tom. vi. Pt. ii. p. 1718 &c. Tr.]

(14) See *Abrah. Bzovius*, *Continuat. Annal. Baronii*, Tom. xv. ad ann. 1410, § ix. p. 32 &c. ed. Colon. *Jac. Lefant*, *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, Tom. ii. Livr. v. p. 60 &c. The writers who give account of the Crusades, are enumerated by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. xxx. p. 518. [Most of the original writers, living in or near the times of the Crusades, were collected by *Jac. Bongars*, in his *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hannov. 1611. 2 vol. Fol. Of these original writers, the most important are, *Robert* of Rheims, *Baldrich* or *Baudri* of Dol, *Raimond* of Agile, *Albert* of Aix, *Fulcher* or *Fulcard* of Chartres, and *Guibert* of Nogent; but especially *William* bishop of Tyre, and *James* de Vitry. To these may be added *Marino Sanuto* of the thirteenth century. The best moderns are said to be *I. Bapt. Mailly*, *Esprit des Croisades, ou Histoire politique et militaire des Guerres entreprises par les Chretiens pour le recouvrement de la Terre sainte*, Paris 1780. 4 vol. 12mo. *Maimbourg*, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1675 &c. 4 vol. 12mo. *J. C. Mayer*, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*,

§ 6. Eight hundred thousand persons, therefore, as credible writers inform us, marched from Europe, in the year 1096, pursuing different routes, and conducted by different leaders, all of whom directed their way to Constantinople, that receiving instructions and aid from *Alexius Comnenus*, the Greek emperor, they might pass over into Asia. The author of the war, *Peter the Hermit*, girded with a rope, first led on a band of eighty thousand, through Hungary and Thrace. But this company, after committing innumerable base deeds, were nearly all destroyed by the Hungarians and Turks.(15) Nor did better fortune attend some other armies of these Crusaders; who roamed about, like robbers, under unskilful commanders, and plundered and laid waste the countries over which they travelled. *Godfrey* of Bouillon, duke of Lorrain, a man who may be compared with the greatest heroes of any age,(16) and who was commander in chief of the war, conducted, with his brother *Baldwin*, a well organized body of eighty thousand horse and foot, through Germany and Hungary. Another body, under the command of *Raymond*, earl of Toulouse, marched through Slavonia. *Robert* earl of Flanders, *Robert* duke of Normandy,(17) and *Hugo* the Great, brother to Philip king of France, embarked with their forces at Brundisi and Tarento, (Brundisium and Tarentum,) and landed at Durazzo (Dyrachium). These were followed by Boamund, duke of Apulia and Calabria, at the head of a numerous and select band of Normans.

§ 7. This army, the greatest since the memory of man, when it arrived at Constantinople, though greatly diminished by various calamities, excited much alarm, and not without reason, in the mind of the Greek emperor. But his fears were dispelled, when it had passed the straits of Gallipolis, and landed in Bithynia. The crusaders first besieged Nice, the capital of Bithynia; which was taken in the year 1097. They then proceeded on, through Asia Minor into Syria; and in the year 1098, took Antioch [in Syria]; which was given, with its territory, to *Boamund*, duke of Apulia. They also captured Edessa; of which *Baldwin*, the

Berlin 1780. 2 vol. 8vo. *F. Wilkin*, *Gesch. der Kreuzz.* Lips. 1807—17. 3 vol. 8vo. *I. Ch. Waken*, *Gemalde der Kreuzz.* Francf. 1808—10. 3 vol. 8vo. *A. H. Heeren*, *Versuch e. Entwicklung d. Folg. d. Kreuzz.* (a prize essay,) Gotting. 1808. 8vo. The English reader may consult, *Gibbon's* Hist. of the Decline &c. ch. lviii, lix. *Bower's* Lives of the Popes, vol. v. and vi. *Mill's* History of the Crusades; &c. Tr.]

(15) [The army under *Peter* the Hermit, vented their rage especially against the Jews; whom they either compelled to receive baptism, or put to death with horrid cruelty. The same thing was done by another division, in the countries along the Rhine, at Mayence, Cologne, Treves, Worms, and Spier; where, however, the Jews were sometimes protected by the bishops. See the *Annalist*, Sax. ad ann. 1096, in *Eccard's* Corpus Hist. medii aevi, Tom. i. p. 579 &c. *Schl.*]

(16) Of this illustrious hero, the Benedictine monks treat professedly, in the *Histoire litteraire de la France*, Tom. viii. p. 598 &c.

(17) [He was the eldest son of *William* the Conqueror, king of England. Tr.]

brother of *Godfrey* of Bouillon, was constituted the sovereign. Finally, in the year 1099, these Latins reduced the city of Jerusalem by their victorious arms. And here the seat of a new kingdom was established, and the above named *Godfrey* was declared the first king of Jerusalem. He however, refused the title of *king*, from motives of modesty; and retaining a few soldiers with him, permitted the others to return back to Europe. But this great man died not long after, and left his kingdom to his brother, *Baldwin*, prince of Edessa; who did not hesitate to assume the title of king.

§ 8. With the Roman pontiffs, and particularly with *Urban II*, the principal motive for enkindling this holy war, was furnished, I conceive, by the corrupted religion of that age. For, according to the prevailing views, it was a reproach upon christians to suffer the land which had been consecrated by the footsteps and the blood of *Christ*, to remain under the power of his enemies; and moreover, a great and essential part of piety to God, consisted in pilgrimages to the holy places; which were most hazardous undertakings, so long as the Muhammedans should occupy Palestine. To these religious motives, there was added an apprehension, that the Turks, who had already subdued a large part of the Greek empire, would march into Europe, and would, in particular, assail Italy. Those among the learned who suppose, that the Roman pontiff recommended this terrible war, for the sake of extending his own authority, and of weakening the power of the Latin emperors and kings; and that the kings and princes of Europe encouraged it, in order to get rid of their powerful and warlike vassals, and to obtain possession of their lands and estates; bring forward indeed plausible conjectures, but they are mere conjectures. (18) Yet afterwards, when the pontiffs as well as the kings

(18) The first of these motives, ascribed to the pontiffs, is brought forward by many, both Protestants and Catholics, as one not at all to be questioned. See *Bened. Accoltus*, de Bello sacro in infideles, Lib. i. p. 16. *Jac. Basnage*, Hist. des Eglises Reformées, Tom. i. Period. v. p. 235. *Ren. de Vertot*, Histoire des Chevaliers de Malthe, Tom. i. Lib. iii. p. 302, 308. Lib. iv. p. 428. *Andr. Baillet*, Hist. des dèmelez du Boniface VIII, avec Philip le Bel, p. 76. Hist. du droit Eccles. François, Tom. i. p. 296, 299, and many others. But that this supposition has no solid foundation, will be clear, to such as consider all the circumstances. The Roman pontiffs could not certainly foresee, that so many princes, and people of every class, would march away from Europe to Palestine: neither could they discover, beforehand, that these expeditions would be so beneficial to themselves. For all the advantages accruing to the pontiffs and to the clergy from these wars, both the extension of their authority and the increase of their wealth, were not apparent, at once, and at the commencement of the war; but they gradually developed themselves, being the result rather of accidental circumstances, than of design. This single fact shows, that the pontiffs who promoted these wars, could have had no thoughts of extending their power by them. It may be added, that the general belief, and the expectation of the pontiffs, was, that the whole business would be accomplished in a single expedition, of no long continuance; and that God himself would, by miraculous interpositions, overthrow those enemies of christianity who were the unjust possessors of Palestine. Besides, as soon as Jerusalem was taken, most of the European princes and soldiers returned back to Europe; which the popes surely would

and princes learned, by experience, the great advantages resulting to them from these wars, new and additional motives for encouraging them, undoubtedly occurred to them; and particularly that of increasing their own power and aggrandisement.

§ 9. But these wars, whether just or unjust, (19) produced immense evils of every sort, both in church and state; and their effects are visible even to the present day. Europe was deprived of more than half of its population, and immense sums of money

not have permitted, if from the continuance of this war, they anticipated great accessions to their wealth and power.—But no conjecture on this subject, is, in my view, more unfortunate, than that which supposes *Urban II.* to have eagerly pressed forward this holy war, in order to weaken the power of the emperor *Henry IV.* with whom he was in a violent contest respecting the investiture of bishops. The advocates of this conjecture forget, that the first armies which marched against the Muhammedans of Asia, were raised chiefly among the Franks and Normans, and that the Germans, who were opposed to *Urban II.*, were at first the most averse from these wars. other arguments are omitted, for the sake of brevity.—Nor is the other part of the conjecture, which relates to the kings and princes of Europe, better founded. It has received the approbation of *Vertot*, (*Histoire de Malthe*, Liv. iii. p. 309.) *Boulanvilliers*, and other great and eminent men, who think they see farther than others into the policy of the courts in those ages. But these excellent men have no other argument to adduce, but this: many kings, especially of the Franks, were rendered more rich and powerful, by the death and the misfortunes of those who engaged in these wars; and therefore, they craftily gave, not only permission, but also a direct encouragement, to these wars. All can see the inconclusiveness of this reasoning. We are too prone to ascribe more sagacity and cunning both to the Roman pontiffs and to the kings and princes of those times, than they really possessed; and we too often judge of the *causes* of transactions by their *results*; which is a defective and uncertain mode of reasoning. I apprehend, that the Roman pontiffs, (of whom alone I would speak,) obtained their immense aggrandisement, not so much by shrewdly forming plans for enlarging their power, as by dexterously seizing the opportunities that occurred.

(19) The question of the *justice* of what are called the *Crusades*, I shall not take upon me to discuss: nor shall I deny, that it is, when viewed impartially, an intricate and dubious question. But I wish the reader to be apprised, that there was discussion among christians, as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, respecting the justice and injustice of those holy wars. For the *Cathari*, or the Albigenses and Waldenses, denied their justice. The arguments they used, are collected and refuted by *Fr. Moneta*, a Dominican writer, of the thirteenth century, in his *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*, (which was published a few years ago, at Rome, by *Richini*;) Lib. v. c. xiii. p. 531 &c. But the arguments of the *Cathari* against the *transmarine expeditions*, (*viam ultramarinam*;) as they called these wars, had not great weight; nor were the answers of the well meaning *Moneta* very solid. An example will make this clear. The *Cathari* opposed the holy wars, by urging the words of Paul, 1 Cor. x. 32. *Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the gentiles, nor to the church of God.* By the *gentiles*, they said, may be understood the *Saracens*. Therefore European christians ought not to make war upon the *Saracens*, lest they should *give offence to the gentiles*. The answer of *Moneta* to this singular argument, we will give in his own words. “We read, Gen. xii. 7, that God said to *Abraham*: *To thy seed will I give this land.* But *we* (the christians of Europe) are the seed of *Abraham*; as says the apostle to the Galat. iii. 29. *To us* therefore has that land been given for a possession. Hence, it is the duty of the civil power, to labor to put us in possession of that land; and it is the duty of the church, to exhort civil rulers to do their duty.”—A rare argument this, truly! But let us hear him out.—“The church does not intend to harm the *Saracens*, or to kill them: nor have christian princes any such design. And yet, if they will stand in the way of the swords of the princes, they will be slain. The church of God therefore is without offence, that is, it injures no one in this matter, because it does no one any wrong, but only defends its own rights.”—Who can deny that here is ingenuity?

were exported to foreign countries ; and very many families previously opulent and powerful, either became extinct, or were reduced to extreme poverty ; for the heads of families either mortgaged or sold their territories, possessions and estates, in order to defray the expense of their expedition : (20) while others imposed such intolerable burdens upon their vassals and tenants, as obliged them to abandon their houses and lands, and assume themselves the badge of the cross. A vast derangement of society, and a subversion of every thing, took place throughout Europe : not to mention the robberies, murders, and destructions of life and property, every where committed with impunity, by these soldiers of God and Jesus Christ, as they were called, and the new, and often very grievous privileges and prerogatives, to which these wars gave occasion. (21)

§ 10. These wars were no less prejudicial to the church and to religion. The power and greatness of the Roman pontiffs were greatly advanced by them ; and the wealth of the churches and monasteries was, in many ways, much augmented. (22) More-

(20) Many and very memorable examples of this, occur in ancient records. *Robert* duke of Normandy, mortgaged to his brother *William*, king of England, the duchy of Normandy, to enable him to perform his expedition to Palestine. See *Matthew Paris*, *Historia major*, Lib. i. p. 24 &c. *Odo*, viscount of Bourges, sold his territory to the king of France. See the *Gallia Christiana*, by the *Benedictines*, Tom. ii. p. 45. For more examples, see *Car. Du Fresne*, adnot. ad *Joinvilli vitam Ludovici S.* p. 52. *Boulainvilliers*, sur l'origine et les droits de la Noblesse ; in *Malets Memoires de litter. et de l' Histoire*, Tome ix. Pt. i. p. 68. *Jo. Geo. Cramer*, de *juribus et praerogativis Nobilitatis*, Tom. i. p. 81, 409. From the time therefore of these wars, very many estates of the nobility, in all parts of Europe, became the property of the kings and more powerful princes, or of the priests and monks, or of private citizens of inferior rank.

(21) Those who took the badge of Crusaders, acquired extraordinary rights and privileges, which were injurious to other citizens. Of these the Jurists properly treat. I will only observe, that hence it became customary, whenever a person would contract a loan, or buy, or sell, or enter into any civil compact ; to require of him, to renounce the privileges of a Crusader, whether already acquired, or yet future (*privilegio crucis sumptae ac sumendae renunciare.*) See *Le Beuf*, *Memoires sur l' Histoire d' Auxerre*, Append. Tome ii. p. 292.

(22) The accessions to the wealth and the power of the Roman pontiffs, arising from these wars, were too numerous and various, to be conveniently enumerated here with particularity. And not only the visible head of the church, but likewise the church universal, augmented its power and resources, by means of these wars. For they, who assumed the cross, as they were about to place their lives in great jeopardy, conducted as men do, when about to die. They therefore generally made their wills ; and in them, they gave a part of their property to a church or monastery, in order to obtain the protection and favor of God. See *Pless's*, *Histoire de Meaux*, Tome ii. p. 76, 79, 141. *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. ii. p. 128, 139. *Le Beuf*, *Memoires pour l' Hist. d' Auxerre*, Tome ii. Append. p. 31. *Du Fresne*, Adnot. ad *vitam Ludovici Sancti*, p. 52. Numerous examples of such pious donations, are to be found in ancient records.—Those who had controversies with priests or monks, very commonly would abandon their cause or law suit, and yield up the property in controversy. Those who had themselves seized on property of the churches or convents, or were told that their ancestors had done some wrong to the priests, freely restored what they had taken, and often with additions ; and compensated for the injuries done, whether real or imaginary, by their donations. See *du Fresne*, l. c. p. 52. [In general, the Crusades were a rich mine for the popes. Whoever became a knight of the cross, became subject to the pope, and was no longer subject to the secular power of his temporal lord. Whoever had taken the vow to march to the

over, as bishops and abbots in great numbers forsook their charges and travelled into Asia, the priests and monks lived without restraint, and addicted themselves freely to every vice. Superstition also, previously extravagant, now increased greatly among the Latins. For the long list of tutelary saints, was amplified with new, and often fictitious saints of Greek and Syrian origin, before unknown to the Europeans ;(23) and an immense number of relics, generally of a ridiculous character, were imported, to enrich our churches and chapels. For every one that returned home from Asia, brought with him, as the richest treasure, the sacred relics which he had purchased, at a high price, of the fraudulent Greeks and Syrians ; and committed them to the careful charge of some church, or of the members of his own family.(24)

holy land, and afterwards wished to be released from it, could purchase an exemption from the pope, who gave such dispensations; &c. *Schl.*]

(23) The Roman Catholics themselves acknowledge, that in the time of the crusades, many saints before unknown to the Latins, were brought from Greece and the East into Europe, where they were worshipped most religiously. And among these new spiritual guardians, there were some, of whose lives and history there is the greatest reason to doubt. For example, *St. Catharine* was introduced into Europe from Syria, as is admitted by *Caes. Baronius*, ad Martyrol. Rom. p. 728, by *Geo. Cassander*, Scholia ad hymnos ecclesiae, in his Opp. Paris 1616. Fol. p. 278, 279. Yet it is very doubtful, whether this *Catharine*, the patroness of learned men, ever existed.

(24) The sacred treasures of relics, which the French, Germans, Britons, and other nations of Europe formerly preserved with such care, and which are still exhibited with reverence, are not more ancient than the times of the crusades, and were purchased at a great price, by kings, princes, and other distinguished persons, of the Greeks and Syrians. But that these avaricious and fraudulent dealers, imposed upon the pious credulity of the Latins, the most candid judges will not doubt. *Richard*, king of England, in the year 1191, purchased of *Saladin*, the noted Muhammedan Sultan, all the relics at Jerusalem. See *Matthew Paris*, Hist. major, p. 138. who also tells us, (p. 666,) that the Dominicans brought from Palestine a white stone, on which *Christ* had impressed the prints of his feet. The Genoese possess, as a present from *Baldwin* the second king of Jerusalem, the dish, from which *Christ* ate the paschal lamb, with his disciples, at his last supper. And this singular monument of ancient devotion, is ridiculed by *Jo. Baptist Labat*, Voyages en Espagne et en Italie, Tome ii. p. 63. Respecting the great amount of relics, brought from Palestine to France, by *St. Lewis* the French king, see *Joinville's* Life of St. Lewis, edited by *du Fresne*; *Plessis*, Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux, Tome i. p. 120. *Lancelot*, Memoires pour la vie de l'Abbé de S. Cyran, Tome ii. p. 175. *Christ's* pocket handkerchief, which is held sacred at Besançon, was brought from Palestine to Besançon, by a christian Jewess. See *Jo. Jac. Chifflet*, Vesontium, Pt. ii. p. 108. and, de linteis Christi sepulchralibus, cap. ix. p. 50. For other examples, see *Anton. Matthaeus*, Analecta veteris aevi, Tom. ii. p. 677. *Jo. Mabillon*, Annales Benedict. Tom. vi. p. 52. and especially, *Jo. Jac. Chifflet*, Crisis historiae de linteis Christi sepulchralibus, cap. ix. p. 50 &c. Among other things, *Chifflet* says, p. 59. Sciendum est, vigente immani et barbara Turcarum persecutione, et imminente Christianae religionis in Oriente naufragio, educta e sacchariis et per Christianos quovis modo recondita Ecclesiarum pignora.—Haece plane divinis opibus illecti prae aliis Galli, sacra Asi-Java qua vi, qua pretio a detinentibus hac illac extorserunt. And this learned writer brings many examples, as proofs.

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Sufferings of christians from the Saracens and Turks, in the East.—§ 2. Also in the West.

§ 1. The principal conflicts of the christians, in this century, were from the Saracens ; and from the Turks, who were equally the enemies of both Saracens and christians. The Saracens, though at war among themselves, and at the same time unable to arrest the daily encroachments of the Turks upon them, persecuted their christian subjects, in a most cruel manner, putting some to death, mutilating others, and plundering others of all their property. The Turks not only pressed hard upon the Saracens, but also subjugated the fairest provinces of the Greek empire, along the Euxine sea ; and ravaged the remaining provinces with their perpetual incursions. Nor were the Greeks able to oppose their desolating progress, being miserably distracted with intestine discords, and so exhausted in their finances, that they could neither raise forces, nor afford them pay and support when raised.

§ 2. In Spain, the Saracens seduced a large portion of the christians, by rewards, by marriages, and by compacts, to embrace the Muhammedan faith.(1) And they would doubtless have gradually induced most of their subjects to apostatise from christianity, had they not been weakened by the loss of various battles with the christian kings of Arragon and Castile, especially with *Ferdinand I*, of Arragon, and been stripped of a large part of the territories subject to them.(2) Among the Danes, Hungarians, and other nations, those who still adhered to their ancient superstitions, (and there were many of this description among those nations,) very cruelly persecuted their fellow citizens, as well as the neighboring nations who professed christianity. To suppress this cruelty, the christian princes, in one place and another, made it a capital crime, for their subjects to continue to worship the gods of their ancestors. And this severity was undoubtedly more efficacious for extinguishing the inveterate idolatry, than the instructions given by persons, who did not understand the nature of christianity, and who dishonored its purity by their corrupt morals and their superstitious practices. The still unconverted European nations of this period, the Prussians, the Lithuanians, the Slavo-

(1) *Jo. Hen. Hottinger*, *Historia eccles. Saecul. xi*, Sect. ii. p. 452. *Mich. Geddes*, *History of the expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain* ; published among his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 104 &c.

(2) These wars between the christian kings of Spain and the Muhammedans or Moors, are described by the Spanish historians, *Jo. Mariana*, and *Jo. Ferreras*.

nians, the Obotriti, and others inhabiting the lower parts of Germany, continued to harass the neighboring christians with perpetual wars and incursions, and cruelly to destroy the lives of many.(3)

(3) *Helmold*, Chronicon Slavor. Lib. i. cap. xv. p. 52 &c. *Adam Bremensis*, Histor. Lib. ii. cap. xxvii. [Among these nations, many persons had professed christianity; but, on account of the numberless taxes laid upon them, particularly by the clergy, and the cruelty of the christian magistrates, they returned to paganism again; and then persecuted the christians without mercy. Thus *Helmold* (Lib. i. cap. 16, 24, 25,) and *Adam Bremensis* (Lib. ii. cap. 32.) inform us, particularly, in regard to the Slavonians. *Schl.*]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF LEARNING AND SCIENCE.

- § 1. State of learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. Their most celebrated scholars.
—§ 3. State of learning in the West.—§ 4. Schools opened in various places.
—§ 5. The sciences taught in these schools.—§ 6, 7. Dialectics in high repute.
—§ 8, 9. Disputes among the logicians. Nominalists and Realists.

§ 1. The calamitous state of the Greek empire, entirely subverted the prosperity of literature and science. The Turks as well as the Saracens, were daily depriving the empire, more and more, of its glory and power : and what they left inviolate, the civil discords, the frequent insurrections, and the violent dethronement of emperors, gradually wasted and destroyed. Yet there was here and there an individual, that cherished and encouraged the liberal arts, both among the emperors, (as *Alexius Comnenus*,) and among the patriarchs and bishops. Nor would the controversies of the Greeks with the Latins, allow the former to spurn at all cultivation of the understanding, and all love of learning. Owing to these causes, the Greeks of this century, were not entirely destitute of men, who were respectable for their learning and intellectual culture.

§ 2. I omit the names of their poets, rhetoricians, and grammarians ; who, if not the best, were at least tolerable. Among their historians, *Leo the Grammarian*, (1) *John Scylitzes*, (2) *Cedrenus*, (3) and some others, are not to be passed by in silence ; although they adhered to the fabulous stories of their countrymen, and were not free from partiality. *Michael Psellus*, a man in high reputation, was a pattern of excellence in all the learning and science of his age. He also labored to excite his country-

(1) [He was the continuator of *Theophanes'* Chronicle, from AD. 813, to 1013, the time when he is supposed to have lived and wrote. His work was published, Gr. and Lat. subjoined to *Theophanes*, ed. *Combes*, Paris 1655. Fol. Tr.]

(2) [*John Scylitzes*, a civilian, and Curopalates at Constantinople. He wrote a *History of transactions in the East*, from AD. 811, to 1057 ; and afterwards continued it to AD. 1081. The whole was published in a Latin translation, by *J. B. Gabe*, Venice 1570. Fol. and the latter part, in Gr. by *P. Goar*, Paris 1648. Fol. Tr.]

(3) [*George Cedrenus*, a Greek monk, compiled a chronicle, extending from the creation, to AD. 1057. It is a mere compilation, or transcript, from *George Syncellus*, prior to the reign of Diocletian ; then from *Theophanes*, to AD. 813 ; and lastly, from *John Scylitzes*, to AD. 1057. It was first published, Gr. and Lat. by *Hylander*, Basil 1566. Fol. and afterwards, much better, and with notes by *Fabrotus* and *Jac. Goar*, Paris 1647. Fol. Tr.]

men to the study of philosophy, and particularly of Aristotelian philosophy; which he attempted to explain and recommend by various productions of his pen.(4) Among the Arabians, the love of science still flourished; as is manifest from those among them who, in this age, excelled in the sciences of medicine, astronomy, and mathematics.(5)

§ 3. In the West, learning revived, in some measure, among those devoted to a solitary life, or the monks and the priests. For other people, and especially the nobles and the great, despised learning and science, with the exception of such as devoted themselves to the church, or aspired to sacred offices. In Italy, schools flourished here and there, after the middle of this century; and a number of learned men acquired reputation as authors and as instructors. Some of these afterwards removed to France, and especially to Normandy, and there taught the youth devoted to the service of the church.(6) The French, while they admit, that they were indebted in a degree to learned men who came from Italy, produce also a respectable list of their own citizens, who cultivated and advanced learning in this age; and they name quite a number of schools, which were distinguished by the fame of their teachers, and the multitude of their students.(7) And it is unquestionable, that the French paid great attention to letters and the arts, and that their country abounded in learned men, while the greatest part of Italy was still sunk in ignorance. For *Robert* king of France, the son of *Hugh Capet*, and a pupil of *Gerbert* or *Sylvester II*, was himself a learned man, and a great patron of learning and learned men. His reign terminated in the year 1031, and his great zeal for the advancement of the arts

(4) See *Leo Allatius*, *Diatriba de Paellis*, p. 14. ed. Fabricius. [*Michael Psellus*, Junior, was of noble birth, a senator at Constantinople, tutor to *Michael Ducas*, afterwards emperor. He retired to a monastery, about AD. 1077, and died not long after. He wrote a metrical paraphrase, and a prose commentary on the *Canticos*, a tract on the Trinity and the person of Christ, tracts on virtue and vice, on Tantalus and Circe, on the Sphinx, on the Chaldaic oracles, on the faculties of the soul, on diet, on the virtues of stones, on factitious gold, on food and regimen; notes on portions of Gregory Nazianzen, and on the eight Books of Aristotle's physics; a paraphrase on Aristotle *περί ἐμπνεύσεως*; a panegyric on Simeon Metaphrastes; some law tracts; and on the ecclesiastical canons, on the four branches of mathematics, (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy,) several philosophical tracts, &c. &c. Many of his pieces were never printed; and most of those published, were published separately. Tr.]

(5) *Elmacin*, *Historia Saracen*. p. 281. *Jo. Henr. Hottinger*, *Historia eccles. Saecul. xi.* p. 449 &c.

(6) See *Muratori*, *Antiqq. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. iii. p. 871. *Giannone*, *Histoire de Naples*, Tom. ii. p. 148.

(7) See the Benedictine monks, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tom. vii. Introduction, *passim*. *Cacs. Egasse de Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. i. p. 355 &c. *Le Beuf*, *Diss. sur l'état des sciences en France, depuis la mort du roy Robert*, &c. which is published among his *Dissertations sur l'Hist. Eccles. et civile de Paris*, Tom. ii. p. 1 &c. [Among their monastic schools, that of *Bec* in Normandy, taught by *Lanfranc* and *Anselm*, was particularly celebrated; and among their Episcopal schools, were those of Rheims, Liege, Orleans, Tours, Angers, and Chartres. *Schl.*]

and learning of every kind, was not unsuccessful.(8) The Normans from France, after they obtained possession of the lower provinces of Italy, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, diffused the light of science and literature over those countries. To the same people belongs the honor of restoring learning in England. For *William* the Conqueror, duke of Normandy, a man of discernment, and the great *Mæcenas* of his time, when he had conquered England, in the year 1066, made commendable efforts by inviting learned men from Normandy and elsewhere, to banish from the country barbarism and ignorance, the fruitful sources of so many evils.(9) For those heroic Normans, who had been so ferocious and hostile to all learning, before they embraced christianity, imbibed after their conversion, a very high regard both for religion and for learning.

§ 4. The thirst for knowledge, which gradually spread among the more civilized nations of Europe, was attended by this consequence, that more schools were opened, and in various places better teachers were placed over them. Until the commencement of this century, the only schools in Europe, were those attached to the monasteries and the cathedral churches; and the only teachers of secular as well as sacred learning, were the Benedictine monks. But in the beginning of this century, other priests and men of learning undertook the instruction of youth, in various cities of France and Italy: and they taught more branches of science, than the monks had done; and they adopted a happier method of inculcating some of the branches before taught. Among these new teachers, those were the most distinguished, who either studied in the schools of the Saracens in Spain, (which was a very common thing in this age, with such as aspired after a superior education,) or at least, read the books of the Arabians, many of which were translated into Latin. For such masters taught philosophy, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, and the kindred sciences, in a more learned and solid manner, than they were taught by the monks and by those educated under them. For the science of medicine, the school of *Salerno*, in the kingdom of Naples, was famous in this century; and to this school, medical students resorted from most of the countries of Europe. But all the medical knowledge possessed by the teachers at Salerno, was derived from the schools of the Saracens in Spain and Africa, and from the medical works of the Arabs.(10) From the same

(8) See *Daniel*, Histoire de la France, Tom. iii. p. 58. *Boulay*, Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. i. p. 636, et passim.

(9) See the Histoire litteraire de la France, Tom. viii. p. 171. "The English," says *Matthew Paris*, Historia major, Lib. i. p. 4. ed. Watts, "before the time of William, were so illiterate, that one who understood grammar, was looked upon with astonishment."

(10) *Muratori*, Antiquitt. Ital. Medii ævi, Tom. iii. p. 935 &c. *Giannone*, Histoire de Naples, Tom. ii. p. 151. *Jo. Friend*, History of Physic from the time of Galen, Lond. 1726. 8vo. And who does not know, that the *Schola Salernitana*, or rules for preserving health, was written in this age, by the physicians of Salerno, at the request of the king of England?

schools and books, and at the same time, nearly all the nations of Europe, derived those futile arts of predicting the fortunes of men by the stars, by the countenance, and by the appearance of the hands, which in the progress of time acquired such an extensive currency and influence.

§ 5. In most of the schools, what were called the *seven liberal arts* were taught. The pupil commenced with grammar; then proceeded to rhetoric, and afterwards to logic or dialectics. Having thus mastered the *Trivium*, as it was called, those who aspired to greater attainments, proceeded with slow steps, through the *Quadrivium*, (11) to the honor of a perfectly learned man. But this course of study, adopted in all the schools of the West, was not a little changed, after the middle of this century. For, *logic* (which included *metaphysics*, at least in part,) having been improved by the reflection and skill of certain close thinkers, and being taught more fully and acutely; acquired such an ascendancy in the minds of the majority, that they neglected grammar, rhetoric, and the other sciences, both the elegant and the abstruse, and devoted their whole lives to *dialectics*, or to logical and metaphysical discussions. For whoever was well acquainted with dialectics, or what we call logic and metaphysics, was supposed to possess learning enough, and to lose nothing by being ignorant of all other branches of learning. (12) And hence arose that contempt for the languages, for eloquence, and the other branches of polite learning, and that gross barbarism, which prevailed for several centuries in the occidental schools, and which had a corrupting influence on theology as well as philosophy.

§ 6. The philosophy of the Latins, in this age, was confined wholly to what they called *dialectics*; and the other branches of

(11) [The *Quadrivium* embraced *arithmetic*, *music*, *geometry*, and *Astronomy*. Tr.]

(12) See the citations in *Boulay's Historia Acad.* Paris. Tom. i. p. 408, 409, 511, 512. To show how true the vulgar maxim is, that *there is nothing new under the sun*, I here subjoin a passage from the *Metalogicum* of *John of Salisbury*, a writer of no contemptible abilities, Lib. i. cap. iii. p. 741. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1639, 8vo. "The poets and historians were held in contempt; and if any one studied the works of the ancients, he was pointed at, and ridiculed by every body, as being more stupid than the ass of Arcadia, and more senseless than lead or a stone. For every one devoted himself exclusively to his own discoveries, or those of his master."—"Thus men became, at once, consummate philosophers: for the illiterate novice did not usually continue longer at school, than the time it takes young birds to become fledged."—"But what were the things taught by these new doctors, who spent more sleeping hours than waking ones, in the study of philosophy? Lo, all things became new: grammar was quite another thing; dialectics assumed a new form; rhetoric was held in contempt; and a new course for the whole *Quadrivium* was got up, derived from the very sanctuary of philosophy, all former rules and principles being discarded. They talked only of *suitableness*, (*convenientia*), and *reason: proof!* (resounded from every mouth)—and, *very inept!* or *crude* and *unphilosophical!*—To say or do any thing *suitably*, and *rationally*, was thought to be impossible, without the express *statement* of the *suitableness* and *reason* of it." The author says more on the same subject, for which see his work.—[The latter part of the extract above, is very obscure in the original Latin, at least, when thus deprived of light from the context. The translation here given, is not offered, with great confidence. Tr.]

philosophy were unknown even by name.(13) Moreover their *dialectics* was miserably dry and barren, so long as it was taught either from the work on the *ten Categories*, falsely attributed to *Augustine*, or from the *Introductions to Aristotle* by *Porphyrus* and *Averroes*. Yet the schools had, in the former part of this century, no other guides in this science; and the teachers had neither the courage nor the skill, to expand and improve the precepts contained in these works. But after the middle of the century, dialectics assumed a new aspect, first in France. For some of the works of *Aristotle* being introduced into France, from the schools of the Saracens in Spain, certain eminent geniuses, as *Berengarius*, *Roscelin*, *Hildebert*, and afterwards *Gilbert of Porretta*, *Abelard*, and others, following the guidance of *Aristotle*, labored to extend and perfect the science.

§ 7. None however obtained greater fame, by their attempts to improve the science of dialectics and render it practically useful, than *Lanfranc*, an Italian, who was promoted from the abbacy of St. Stephen in Caen, to the archbishopric of Canterbury in England; *Anselm*, whose last office was likewise archbishop of Canterbury; and *Odo* who became bishop of Cambrai. The first of these men was so distinguished in this science, that he was commonly called the *Dialectician*: and he applied the principles of the science, with acuteness, to the decision of the controversy with his rival, *Berengarius*, respecting the Lord's supper. The second, *Anselm*, in his dialogue *de Grammatico*, among other efforts to dispel the darkness of the dialectics of the age, investigated particularly the ideas of *substance*, and of *qualities* or *attributes*.(14) The third, *Odo*, both taught dialectics, with great applause, and explained the science in three works, *de Sophista*, *de Complexibus*, and *de re et Ente*; which however are not now extant.(15) The same *Anselm*, a man great and renowned in many respects, and who labored to improve the science of dialectics, was likewise the first among the Latins, that rescued *metaphysics* and *natural theology*, from obscurity and neglect; and explained, acutely, what reason can teach us concerning God, in two treatises, which

(13) In the writings of this age, we find mention indeed of many *philosophers*: e. g. *Mancgold* the philosopher, *Adalard* the philosopher, and many more. But it would mislead us, to attribute to the term the meaning it had anciently, among the Greeks and Romans, and which it now has. In the style of the middle ages, a *philosopher* is a man of learning. And this title was given to the interpreters of scripture, though ignorant of every thing which is properly called philosophy. The *Chronicon Salernitanum*, (in *Muratori's* *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* Tom. ii. P. ii. c. cxxiv. p. 265.) states, that *there were thirty two philosophers at Benevento*, in the tenth century; at which time the light of science scarcely glimmered in Italy. But what follows this statement, shows, that the writer intended to designate *grammarians*, and persons having some knowledge of the liberal arts.

(14) This Dialogue is among his *Works*, published by *Gabr. Gerberon*, Tom. i. p. 143 &c.

(15) See *Herimann*, *Narratio restaurationis Abbatiae S. Martini Tornac.* in *Dachser's* *Spicilegium scriptor. veterum*, Tom. ii. p. 869 &c. of the new edition. "Odo, though well skilled in all the liberal arts, was particularly eminent in *dialectics*; and for this, especially, his school was frequented by the clergy."

he entitled *Monologion* and *Proslogion*.(16) He it was, who invented, what is commonly called, the *Cartesian* argument; which aims to prove the existence of a God, from the very conception of an all-perfect Nature, implanted in the minds of men. The conclusiveness of this argument, was assailed, in this very century, by the French monk *Gaunilo*; whom *Anselm* attempted to refute, in a tract expressly on the subject.(17)

§ 8. But the science of dialectics was scarcely matured, when a fierce contest broke out, among its patrons, respecting the *subject matter* of the science. This controversy was of little importance in itself, and one that had long been agitated in the schools; but considered in its consequences, it now became a great and momentous affair; for the parties applied their different theories to the explanation of religious doctrines; and they mutually charged each other with the most odious consequences. They were all agreed in this, that dialectics is occupied with the consideration and comparison of *general ideas* (*rebus universalibus*); because *particular* and individual things, being liable to change, cannot become the subject matter of fixed and invariable science. But it was debated, whether these *general ideas*, with which dialectics is concerned, are to be referred to the class of *things*, or to the class of mere *words* or *names*. Some maintained, that *general ideas* are *things*, that have real existence; and they supported their opinion by the authority of *Plato*, *Boethius*, and others among the ancients. On the contrary, others affirmed, that these *general ideas* (*universalia*) are nothing more than *words* or *names*; and these quoted the authority of *Aristotle*, *Porphyry*, and others. The former were called *Realists*, and the latter *Nominalists*. Each of these parties became in process of time, subdivided into various sects, according to the different ways in which they explained their favorite doctrine.(18) This controversy filled all the schools in Europe, for many centuries; and it produced frequently mortal combats among the theologians and the philosophers. Its origin, some learned men trace back to the controversy with *Berengarius*, respecting the Lord's sup-

(16) [In the *Monologion*, a person is represented as meditating, or reasoning with himself alone: in the *Proslogion*, the same person is represented as addressing himself to God. Tr.]

(17) *Gaunilo's* Tract against *Anselm*, as well as the Answer to it, is to be found in *Anselmi* Opp. p. 35, 36.

(18) Of the *Nominalists*, and likewise of the dialectic controversy, there is a full account in *Jac. Brucker's* *Historia crit. philosoph.* Tom. iii. p. 904 &c. He also, as his custom is, mentions the other writers concerning this sect. Among these writers, is *John Salabert*, a presbyter of Agen; whose *Philosophia Nominalium vindicata*, was published at Paris, 1651. 8vo. None of those who have treated expressly of the *Nominalists*, have made use of this very rare book. I have before me a manuscript copy, transcribed from one in the library of the king of France; for the printed work was not to be obtained in that country. The acute *Salabert* however, is at more pains to defend the philosophy of the *Nominalists*, than to narrate its history. And yet he relates some facts, which are generally little known.

per;(19) and although they have no authorities to adduce, the conjecture is very probable; because the opinion of the *Nominalists*, might be used very conveniently, in defending the doctrine of *Berengarius* respecting the Lord's supper.

§ 9. The father of the *Nominalist* sect, was one *John*, a Frenchman, called the *Sophist*; of whom almost nothing is now known except the name.(20) His principal disciples were *Robert* of Paris, *Roscelin* of Compeigne, and *Arnulph* of Laon; and from these, many others learned the doctrine. Perhaps also we may reckon among the disciples of *John*, that *Raimbert*, who taught a school at Lisle in Flanders; for he is said to have read logic to his clergy, in voce; whereas *Odo*, of whom mention has been made, read it to his disciples, in RE.(21) But of all the *Nominalists* of this age, no one acquired greater celebrity than *Rocelin*: whence he has been regarded, and is still regarded, by many, as the founder of this sect.

(19) *Boulay*, Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. i. p. 443. *Gerh. du Bois*, Historia eccles. Paris. Tom. i. p. 770.

(20) This is stated by the unknown author of the Fragmentum Historiae Francicae a Roberto Rege ad mortem Philippi I. which is extant in *Andr. du Chesne's* Scriptores Histor. Francicae, Tom. iv. p. 90. This writer says: In Dialectica hi potentes extiterunt Sophistae, *Johannes*, qui artem Sophisticam vocalem esse disseruit, &c. *Caes. Egasse de Boulay*, in his Histor. Acad. Paris. Tom. i. p. 443, and 612, conjectures that this *John* was, *John of Chartres*, surnamed the Deaf, an eminent physician, and first physician to *Henry I*, the king of France. And he tells us, p. 377, that *John's* instructor, was *Giraldus* of Orleans, an extraordinary poet and rhetorician: but of this he brings no proof. *Jo. Mabillon*, in his Annales Benedictini, Tom. v. Lib. lxvii. § 78. p. 261, supposes him to be that *John*, who made known to *Anselm* the error of *Roscelin*, concerning the three persons in the Godhead.

(21) *Herimann*, Historia restaurat. monasterii S. Martini Tornac. in *Dachery's* Spicilegium veter. Scriptorum, Tom. ii. p. 889.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Corruption of the clergy.—§ 2, 3, 4, 5. The Roman pontiffs.—§ 6. Prerogatives of the Cardinals in their election.—§ 7, 8. Their authority.—§ 9. Hildebrand a pope.—§ 10, 11. His acts.—§ 12. The decrees of Gregory VII, against simony and concubinage.—§ 13. Commotions arising from the severity of the pope against concubinage.—§ 14. The enactments against simony, produce the contest about investitures.—§ 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. History of this contest.—§ 21, 22. State of monkery.—§ 23. The Cluniacensians.—§ 24. The Camaldulensians, Valumbrosians, and Hirsaugians.—§ 25. The Cistercians.—§ 26. New orders of monks; the Grandimontensians.—§ 27. The Carthusians.—§ 28. The order of St. Anthony.—§ 29. The order of Canons.—§ 30. The more distinguished Greek writers.—§ 31. The Latin writers.

§ 1. All the records of these times bear testimony to the vices of those, who managed the affairs of the church; and to the consequent prostration of discipline, and of all religion. The western bishops, when raised to the rank of dukes, counts, and nobles, and enriched with territories, towns, castles, and wealth of all sorts; became devoted to their pleasures, and to magnificence, and hovered about courts, attended by splendid retinues of servants. (1) At the same time, the inferior clergy, few of whom exhibited any degree of virtue and integrity, gave themselves up, without shame, to frauds, debaucheries, and crimes of various descriptions. The Greeks practised a little more restraint; for the calamities of their country, would not allow them to indulge themselves extravagantly. Yet the examples of virtue among them, are few and rare.

§ 2. The power and majesty of the Roman pontiffs attained their greatest height, during this century; though it was by gradual advances, and through great difficulties. They exercised indeed, at the commencement of this century, very great power in sacred and ecclesiastical affairs; for they were styled by most persons, *masters of the world*, (*magistri mundi*), and *popes*, or *universal fathers*; they presided also every where in the councils, by their Legates; they performed the functions of arbiters, in the controversies that arose respecting religious doctrines or discipline; and

(1) See the examples of *Adalbert*, (in *Adam Brem. Lib. III. cap. 23. p. 133. Lib. IV. cap. 35. p. 52.*) of *Gunther*, (in *Henr. Canissius, Lectiones Antiq. Tom. III. P. I. p. 155.*) of *Manasses*, (in *Joh. Mabillon, Museum Italic. Tom. I. p. 114.*) and those collected by *Muratori*, *Antiqq. Ital. medii aevi, Tom. VI. p. 72 &c.* [Among the servants of bishops, in these times, we meet with the ordinary officers of courts. In *Harzheim's Concilia German. Tom. III. p. 17 &c.* we read: "The duke of *Brabant*—is *carver* to the bp. of *Utrecht*. The count of *Guelders*—his *Aunter*. The count of *Holland*, is styled, and is, the bp. of *Utrecht's marshal*. The count of *Cleves*, is the bishop's *chamberlain*. Count de *Benthem*, is the bishop's *janitor*. Lord de *Cucke*, is the bishop's *butler*. Lord de *Choer*, is the bishop's *standard-bearer*." *Schl.*]

they defended in a degree the supposed rights of the church, against the encroachments of kings and princes. Yet their authority had some limits ; for the sovereign princes, on the one hand, and the bishops on the other, opposed such resistance, that the court of Rome could not overthrow civil governments, nor destroy the authority of councils.(2) But from the time of *Leo IX*, especially, [AD. 1049,] the pontiffs labored by various arts, to remove these limitations. With incessant efforts, they strove to be acknowledged, not only the sovereign legislators of the church, superior to all councils, and the divinely constituted distributors of all the offices, and dispensers of all the property, belonging to the church ; but also—what was the extreme of arrogance,—to be acknowledged as lords of the whole world, judges over all judges, or kings over all kings.(3) These unrighteous designs were opposed by the emperors, by the kings of France, by *William the Conqueror*, now king of England, once duke of Normandy, a most vigorous asserter of the rights of kings against the pontiffs,(4) and by other sovereigns. Nor were the bishops wholly silent, especially those of France and Germany ; but others of them succumbed, being influenced either by superstition, or by motives of interest. Thus, although the pontiffs did not obtain all they wished for, yet they secured no small part of it.

§ 3. Those who presided over the Latin church, from the death of *Sylvester II*, in the year 1003, till AD. 1012, namely *John XVII*, *John XVIII*, and *Sergius IV*, neither did nor suffered any thing great or noticeable. It is beyond a doubt, however, that they were elevated to the chair, with the approbation and by the authority of the emperors. *Benedict VIII*, who was created pontiff in 1012, being driven from Rome by one *Gregory*, his com-

(2) A very noticeable summary of the ecclesiastical law of this age, has been collected from the Epistles of *Gregory VII*, by *Jo. Launoy*, in his *assertio contra privilegium S. Medardi*, P. II. cap. xxxi. Opp. Tom. III. P. II. p. 307. From this summary, it appears, that even this *Gregory* himself did not claim absolute power over the church.

(3) Before *Leo IX*, there is no example of a Roman pontiff's assuming the power to transfer countries and provinces from their owners to other persons. But this pope generously gave to the Normans, then reigning in the south of Italy, both the provinces which they then occupied, and also such as they might wrest from the Greeks and the Saracens. *Gaufr. Malaterra*, *Historia Sicula*, Lib. I. cap. xiv. in *Muratori's Scriptores Ital.* Tom. V. p. 553.

(4) See *Eadmeri Historia novorum*, Lib. i. p. 29 &c. subjoined to the Opp. *Anselmi Cantuar.* And yet this very *William*, who so openly and vigorously resisted the extension of pontifical and episcopal power, is himself a proof, that the kings of Europe, when the desire of extending or confirming their power demanded it, did imprudently feed the lust of dominion which reigned in the breasts of the pontiffs. For when he was preparing to invade England, he sent ambassadors to the pontiff, *Alexander II*, "in order" (as *Matthew Paris* says, *Hist. major*. Lib. i. p. 2.) "that the enterprise might be sanctioned by Apostolic authority. And the pope, after considering the claims of both the parties, sent a standard to *William* as the omen of kingly power."—And the Normans, I can suppose, did the same thing ; humbly requesting *Leo IX*, to confer on them the territories which they now occupied, and those they might afterwards seize. What wonder, then, that the pontiffs should claim dominion over the whole world, when kings and princes themselves suggested to them this very thing ?

petitor, implored the aid of the emperor, *Henry II*, called the Saint ;(5) was restored by him, and reigned peacefully, till the year 1024. Under his reign, the celebrated Normans, who afterwards acquired so much fame, came into Italy, and subdued the southern extremity of it. *Benedict* was succeeded by his brother, *John XIX*, who presided over the church till AD. 1033. The five above named pontiffs appear to have sustained respectable moral characters.(6) But very different from them, or a most flagitious man, and capable of every crime, was their successor, *Benedict IX*. The Roman citizens therefore, in the year 1038, hurled him from St. Peter's chair : but he was restored soon after, by the emperor *Conrad*. As he continued, however, in his base conduct, the Romans again expelled him in the year 1044 ; and gave the government of the church to *John*, bishop of Sabina, who assumed the name of *Sylvester III*. After three months, *Benedict* forcibly recovered his power, by the victorious arms of his relatives and adherents ; and *Sylvester* was obliged to flee. But soon after, finding it impossible to appease the resentments of the Romans, he sold the pontificate to *John Gratian*, arch-presbyter of Rome, who took the name of *Gregory VI*. Thus the church now had two heads, *Sylvester* and *Gregory*. The emperor, *Henry III*, terminated the discord ; for, in the council of Sutri, AD. 1046, he caused *Benedict*, *Gregory*, and *Sylvester*, to be all declared unworthy of the pontificate ; and he placed over the Romish church *Suidger*, bishop of Bamberg, who assumed the pontifical name of *Clement II*.(7)

§ 4. On the death of *Clement II*. AD. 1047. *Benedict IX*, who had been twice before divested of the pontificate, seized the third time upon that dignity. But the year following, he was

(5) [This statement, that *Benedict* was driven from Rome by *Gregory*, and implored the succor of king *Henry II*, is given also by *Baronius*, ad ann. 1012, § 6. and by *Pagi*, Breviar. Pontif. Vita Bened. viii. § 2. But it is founded on a misinterpretation of *Ditmar's* Chronicon, Lib. iv. near the end, p. 399. *Ditmar* says : Papa Benedictus Gregorio cuidam in electione praevaluit. Ob hoc iste (not *Benedict*, for he had the superiority ; but *Gregory*) ad nativitatem Domini ad regem in Palithi (Poelde) venit cum omni apparatu apostolico, expulsionem suam omnibus lamentando innotescens.—See *Muratori*, ad ann. 1012, and the (German) translator's notes there. *Schl.*—But it is not so certain, that *Gregory* was the suitor to king *Henry*. If he lost his election, how could he appear before the king in the pontifical habiliments, never having been pope ? But suppose *Benedict*, after “prevailing in the election,” and being put in possession of the papacy, to have been vanquished and “expelled” from Rome by his antagonist, and he might well flee to the king in the habiliments, and might there plead, that he had prevailed in the election, and complain of his expulsion. Besides, it is certain, that it was *Benedict* who crowned king *Henry*, as emperor, upon his first arrival at Rome Feb. 1014. It is therefore supposed, that the people of Rome finding *Benedict* to be supported by the king, restored him of their own accord. See *Schroeckh's* Kirchengesch. Vol. xxii. p. 322 &c. Tr.]

(6) [Yet *Benedict* was rescued from purgatory, by the prayers of St. *Odilo* ; and *John* obtained the papacy, by base means ;—according to *Baronius*, ad ann. 1012. § 1—4. Tr.]

(7) In this account of the pontiffs, I have followed the best historians, *Anton*. and *Fran. Pagi*, *Papebrock*, and *Muratori*, in his *Annales Italicae* ; disregarding what *Baronius* and others, allege in defence of *Gregory VI*.

obliged to yield to *Damasus* II, or *Poppo*, bishop of Brixen, whom the emperor *Henry* III, had created pontiff, in Germany, and sent into Italy. *Damasus* dying after a very short reign of twenty-three days, *Henry* III, at the diet of Worms, in the year 1048, elevated *Bruno*, bishop of Toul, to the throne of St. Peter. This pontiff bears the name of *Leo* IX, in the pontifical catalogue, and, on account of his private virtues, and his public acts, has been enrolled among the Saints. Yet if we except his zeal for augmenting the wealth and power of the church of Rome, and for correcting some more flagrant vices of the clergy, by the councils which he held in France and Germany, we shall find nothing in his character or life, to entitle him to such honor. At least, many of those who on other occasions are ready to palliate the faults of the Roman pontiffs, censure freely the last acts of his reign. For in the year 1053, he rashly made war upon the Normans, whose dominion in Apulia, near his estates, excited his apprehensions. And the consequence was, that he became their prisoner, and was carried to Benevento. Here his misfortunes so preyed upon his spirits, that he fell sick : but after a year's captivity, he was set at liberty, conducted to Rome, and there died, on the 19th of April, AD. 1054.(8)

§ 5. *Leo* IX was succeeded, in the year 1055, by *Gerhard*, bishop of Eichstadt, who assumed the name of *Victor* II.(9) and he was followed, AD. 1058, by *Stephen* IX, brother to *Godfrey*, duke of Lorrain. Neither of these, so far as is now known, performed any thing worthy of notice. Greater celebrity was obtained by *Nicolaus* II, who was previously bishop of Florence, and was raised to the pontificate in 1058.(10) For *John*, bishop of Veletri, who with the appellation of *Benedict* X, has been inserted between *Stephen* IX, and *Nicolaus* II, does not deserve to be reckoned among the popes ; because after nine months, he was compelled to renounce the office, which a faction at Rome had induced him to usurp. In a council at Rome, which he assembled in the year 1059, *Nicolaus* sanctioned among other regulations calculated to remedy the inveterate evils in the church,

(8) See the *Acta Sanctor.* ad d. 19. Aprilis, Tom. iii. p. 642 &c. *Histoire litter. de la France*, Tome vii. p. 459. *Giannone*, *Histoire de Naples*, Tome ii. p. 52.

(9) [*Leo* of Ostia states, that *Hildebrand*, a subdeacon of the Romish church, was sent by the clergy and people of Rome, to the emperor in Germany, requesting permission to elect, in the name of the Romans, whom he should deem most fit to be pope ; and the request being granted, *Hildebrand* selected this bishop of Eichstadt. But this story is very improbable ; and it is supposable, that *Hermannus Contractus* was better acquainted with the facts, who states, (ad ann. 1054.) that the emperor held a council at Mayence, in which *Victor* II was elected. It is also worthy of notice, that this pope, and his predecessors, continued to hold their former bishoprics, when elevated to the papal throne. See *Muratori*, *Annales*, ad ann. 1055. *Schl.*]

(10) Of *Nicolaus* II, besides the common historians of the pontiffs, the Benedictine Monks have treated particularly, in their *Histoire litter. de la France*, Tome viii. p. 515.

a new mode of electing the Roman pontiffs; which was intended to put an end to the tumults and civil wars, which so often took place at Rome and in Italy, and divided the people into factions, when a new head of the church was to be appointed. He also, in due form, created *Robert Guiscard*, a Norman, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, on the condition, that he would be a faithful vassal of the Romish church, and would pay an annual tribute. By what right *Nicolaus* could do this, does not appear; for he was not lord of those territories, which he thus gave to the Normans.(11) Perhaps he relied upon the fictitious donation of *Constantine* the Great: or perhaps, with *Hildebrand*, the Romish archdeacon, who afterwards became supreme pontiff under the title of *Gregory VII*, he believed, that the whole world belonged to the bishop of Rome, as Christ's vicegerent. For it is well known, that this *Hildebrand* guided him in all his measures. This was the commencement of the Neapolitan kingdom, or that of the two Sicilies, which still exists; and of that right of sovereignty over this kingdom, which the Roman pontiffs assert, and the Neapolitan kings recognize from year to year.

§ 6. Before the reign of *Nicolaus II*, the Roman pontiffs were elected, not by the suffrages of the *cardinals*, but by those of the whole Roman clergy; nor by theirs alone, for the military gentlemen, that is, the nobles, and also the citizens, and all the people of Rome, gave their voice. Among such a mixed and heterogeneous multitude, it was unavoidable, that there should be parties, cabals, and contests. *Nicolaus* therefore ordered, that the *cardinals*, as well bishops as presbyters, should elect the pontiff; yet without infringing the established rights of the Roman emperors in this important business. At the same time, he did not exclude the rest of the clergy, nor the citizens and people, from a share in the election; for he required, that the assent of all these should be asked, and be obtained.(12) From this time onwards, the *cardinals* always acted the principal part, in the choice of a new pontiff: and yet, for a long time, they were much impeded in their functions, both by the priests and the Roman citizens, who either laid claim to their ancient rights, or abused the power given to them of approving the election. These altercations were at length terminated, in the following century, by *Alexander III*, who was so fortunate as to perfect, what was begun by *Nicolaus*,

(11) See *Muratori*, Annal. d' Italia, Tom. vi. p. 186. *Baronius*, Annales, ad ann. 1060.

(12) The decree of *Nicolaus* respecting the election of Roman pontiffs, is found in the collections of the Councils, and in many other works. But the copies of it, as I have learned by comparing them, differ exceedingly; some being longer, and others shorter; some favoring the imperial prerogative more, and some less. The most extended form of it, is found in the *Chronicon Farfense*, published in *Muratori's* *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* Tom. ii. Pt. ii. p. 645. Very different from this, is the form exhibited by *Hugo* of Fleury, in his book *de regia protestate et sacerdotali dignitate*; in *Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. iv. p. 62. Yet all the copies, universally, agree in the points we have stated.

and to transfer the whole power of creating a pontiff to the college of *cardinals*.(13)

§ 7. From this period therefore, the august college of Romish *cardinals*, and that high authority which they possess, even to this day, both in the election of the pontiffs and in other matters, must be dated. By the title *cardinals*, *Nicolaus* understood the seven bishops in the immediate vicinity of Rome, or the *suffragans* of the bishop of Rome, of whom the bishop of Ostia was chief; and who were thence called *cardinal bishops*; together with the twenty eight ministers of the parishes in Rome, or presbyters of the churches, who were called *cardinal clerks* or *presbyters*. To these, in process of time, others were added, first by *Alexander II.* and then by other pontiffs; partly, to satisfy those who complained that they were unjustly excluded from a share in the election of pontiffs, and partly, for other reasons. Therefore, although the exalted order of purpled dignitaries in the Romish church, denominated *cardinals*, had its commencement in this century, yet it did not acquire the settled character, and the form of a real college, before the times of *Alexander III.* in the next century.(14)

(13) See *Jo. Mabillon*, Comment. in Ord. Roman. Tom. ii. of his *Museum Italicum*, p. cxiv. *Constant. Cenni*, Praef. ad concilium Lateran. Stephani iii. p. xviii. Rom. 1735. 4to. *Franc. Pagi*, Breviar. Pontif. Romanor. Tome ii. p. 374.

(14) Concerning the *cardinals*, their name, their origin, and their rights, very many persons have written treatises; and these are enumerated by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, in his *Bibliographia Antiquar.* p. 455, 456. by *Casp. Sagittarius*, *Introduct. ad Hist. Eccles.* cap. xxix. p. 771. and in *J. A. Schmidt's* Supplement, p. 644. by *Christ. Gryphius*, *Isagoge ad Hist. Saeculi xvii.* p. 430. To these I add *Lud. Thomassinus*, *Disciplina ecclesiae vet. et nova*, Tom. i. Lib. ii. cap. cxv, cxvi. p. 616. and *Lud. Ant. Muratori*, whose *diss. de Origine Cardinalatus*, is in his *Antiquit. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. v. p. 156.—Among these writers, are many who are both copious and learned; but I am not certain, that any one of them is so lucid and precise, as he should be, in respect to the grand points of enquiry, the origin and nature of the office. Many expend much time and labor in ascertaining the import of the word, and tracing its use in ancient authors; which is not unsuitable indeed for a philologist, but is of little use to give us clear views of the origin of the college and dignity of *cardinals*. It is certain, that the word *cardinal*, whether used of things or persons, or as the appellation of a certain clerical order, was of dubious import, being used in various senses, by the writers of the middle ages. We also know, that this title, anciently, was not peculiar to the priests and ministers of the church of Rome, but was common to nearly all the churches of the Latins: nor was it applied only to what are called *secular* clergymen, but likewise to *regular* ones, as abbots, canons, and monks, though with some difference in signification. But after the times of *Alexander III.* the common use of the word was gradually laid aside, and it became the exclusive and honorary title of those who had the right of electing the pontiff. When we undertake to investigate the origin of the college of *cardinals*, at Rome, the enquiry is not, who were they that were anciently distinguished from the other clergy by the title of *cardinals*, both among the Latins generally, and at Rome in particular; nor is the object, to ascertain the original import and the propriety of the term, or in how many different senses it was used; but the sole enquiry is, whom did *Nicolaus II.* understand by the appellation *cardinals*, when he gave to the *cardinals* of Rome the sole power of electing the pontiff, excluding the other clergy, the soldiery, the citizens, and the people at large. If this can be ascertained, the origin of the college of *cardinals*, will be seen; and it will likewise appear, how far the modern *cardinals* differ from those who first

§ 8. Notwithstanding *Nicolaus II.*, had forbid any infringement on the right of the emperor to ratify, at his pleasure, the election

held the office. Now the answer to this enquiry, in my view, is manifest from the edict of *Nicolaus* itself. "We ordain," says the pontiff, (according to *Hugo* of Fleury, in *Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. iv. p. 62.) "that on the demise of a pontiff of this universal, Roman church, the *cardinal bishops*, in the first place, hold a solemn consultation among themselves; and then, forthwith advise with the *cardinal clerks*; and so let the rest of the clergy and the people give their assent to the new election." The pontiff here, very obviously, divides the cardinals who are to elect a pope, into two classes, *cardinal bishops*, and *cardinal clerks*. The former, beyond all controversy, were the seven bishops of the city and its dependent territory, the *comprovinciales Episcopi*, as *Nicolaus* afterwards calls them, borrowing a phrase from *Leo I.* [These seven bishops were, those of *Ostia* (*Ostiensis*), of *Porto* (*Portuensis*), of *Albano* (*Albanensis*), of *St. Rufina*, or *Silva Candida*, of *Frascati* (*Tusculanus*), of *Palestrina* (*Prænestinus*), and of *La Sabina* (*Sabinensis*). Tr.] These seven bishops, long before this period, bore the title of *cardinal bishops*. And the pontiff himself puts this construction beyond all doubt, by indicating, that he understood the *cardinal bishops* to be those, to whom belonged the consecration of a pontiff, after his election: "Because the apostolic see can have no *metropolitan* over it" (to whom, in that case, would belong the principal part in the ordination,) "the *cardinal bishops*, undoubtedly, supply the place of a metropolitan; for they, it is, who raise the pontiff elect, to the summit of his apostolic elevation." And that it was the custom, for those seven bishops above named, to consecrate the Roman pontiffs, is a fact known to all men. These *cardinal bishops*, therefore, *Nicolaus* would have to first hold a consultation by themselves, and discuss the merits of the candidates for the high office of pontiff. Immediately after, they were to call in the *cardinal clerks*, and with them, as forming one body of electors, they were to choose a pontiff. Clerk here is the same as *presbyter*. And all admit, that the *cardinal presbyters* were the ministers who had charge of the twenty-eight *parishes*, or principal churches, in Rome. All the remaining clergy of Rome, of whatever rank or dignity, *Nicolaus* excludes expressly from the office of electors of the pontiffs. And yet, he would have "the clergy and the people give their assent to the new election;" that is, he leaves them, what is called, a *negative voice*, or the right of approving the election. It is therefore clear, that the college of electors of the Roman pontiffs, who were afterwards denominated *cardinals* in a new and peculiar sense of the word, as this college was at first constituted by *Nicolaus*, embraced only two orders of persons, namely, *cardinal bishops*, and *cardinal clerks* or *presbyters*. And of course, we are not to follow *Onuphr. Pantrius*, (cited by *Jo. Mabillon*, *Comment. in Ordinem Roman.* in his *Museum Italicum*, Tom. ii. p. cxv.) who undoubtedly errs when he says, that *Alexander III.* added the *cardinal bishops* to the college of cardinals. And they, also, are to be disregarded, who suppose there were *cardinal deacons* in the electoral college, from the beginning. There were indeed then, and there had long been, as there are at the present day, *cardinal deacons* at Rome, that is, superintendents of the *diakonias* or churches, from whose revenues the poor are supported, and to which hospitals are annexed. But *Nicolaus* committed the business of electing the pontiffs solely to such cardinals as were *bishops* and *clerks*; so that he excluded *deacons*. And hence in the diploma of the election of Gregory VII., the *cardinals* are plainly distinguished from *deacons*. But this decree of *Nicolaus* could not acquire at all the force of a fixed law. "It is evident," says *Anselm* of Lucca, (*Libro ii. contra Wibertum*, *Antipapam*, et ejus sequeas; in the *Lectiones antiq. of H. Canisius*, Tom. iii. Pt. i. p. 383.) "It is evident, that the above mentioned decree," (of *Nicolaus*, for of that he is speaking,) "is of no importance; nor did it ever have any force. And by saying this, I do not injure pope *Nicolaus*, of blessed memory, nor derogate at all from his honor.—Being a man, he could not be secured against doing wrong." *Anselm* is speaking especially of that part of the decree, which secures to the emperors the right of confirming the elections of pontiffs: but what he says, is true of the whole decree. For those who were excluded by it from this most important transaction; namely, first, the seven *palatine judges*, as they were called, that is, the *Primicerius*, *Secundicerius*, *Archerius*, *Saccellarius*, *Protoscriniarius*, *Primicerius Defensorum*, and the *Administratores*; next, the higher clergy, who filled the more important offices, and also the inferior clergy, priests, *deacons*, &c. and lastly, the soldiery, the citizens, and

of a pontiff, yet on the death of *Nicolaus*, in 1061, the Romans, at the instigation of *Hildebrand*, then archdeacon, and afterwards pontiff of Rome, proceeded, without consulting *Henry IV*, not only to elect, but to consecrate *Anselm* the bishop of Lucca, who assumed the name of *Alexander II*. When the news of this reached *Agnes*, the mother of *Henry*, through the bishops of Lombardy, she assembled a council at Basle; and to maintain the majesty and authority of her son, then a minor, she there had *Cadolaus*, bishop of Parma, appointed pontiff, who took the name of *Honorius II*. Hence a long and severe contest arose between the two pontiffs; in which *Alexander* indeed prevailed, but he could never bring *Cadolaus* to abdicate the papacy. (15)

§ 9. This contest was a trifle, compared with those direful conflicts which *Gregory VII*, the successor of *Alexander*, and whose former name was *Hildebrand*, produced, and kept up to the end of his life. He was a Tuscan by birth, of obscure parentage, once a monk of Clugni, then archdeacon of the church of Rome, and for a long time, even from the reign of *Leo IX*, he had governed the pontiffs by his counsels and influence; when, in the

the common people,—complained that injury was done them; and they raised commotions and gave trouble to the *cardinals*, whom *Nicolaus* had constituted [sole electors.] Therefore, to appease these tumults, *Alexander III*, thought proper to extend and enlarge the college, of those now called *cardinals* in the restricted sense. And he accordingly added to the list of *cardinals*, certain priests of high rank, namely, the prior, or arch-presbyter of the Lateran church, the arch-presbyters of St. Peter and St. Maria Maggiore, and the abbots of St. Paul and St. Laurence without the walls; and after these, the seven *palatine judges* which have been mentioned. See *Cenni*, Praef. ad Concil. Lateran. Stephani III. p. xix. *Mabillon*, Comment. ad Ord. Roman. ex Panvinio, p. cxv. By this artifice, the *higher clergy*, or those of superior rank, were vanquished, and ceased to disturb the elections of the *cardinals*. For the heads of this body of clergy being admitted into the electoral college, the rest could neither effect nor attempt any thing. The *inferior clergy* still remained. But they were reduced to silence, in the same way: for their leaders, the *cardinal deacons*, or *regionarii*, were admitted into the electoral college; and after this, the whole mass of deacons, subdeacons, acolythists, &c. had to be quiet. But which of the pontiffs it was, whether *Alexander III*, or some other, that admitted the principal deacons at Rome to the rank of *cardinals*, I have not been able to ascertain. This however, I am sure of, that it was done in order to pacify the inferior clergy, who were dissatisfied at the violation of their rights. When all the *clergy*, both the higher and the lower, were placated, it was an easy matter to exclude the Roman people from the election of pontiffs. Hence, on the death of *Alexander III*, when his successor, *Victor III*,* was to be chosen, the assent and approbation of neither the clergy, nor the people, were sought, as had always been done before; but the college of *cardinals* alone, to the exclusion of the people, created the pontiff. And the same custom has continued down to the present age. Some tell us, that *Innocent II*, [AD. 1130.] was chosen by the *cardinals* only, or without the voice of the clergy and people. See *Pagi*, Breviar. Pontif. Romanor. Tom. ii. p. 615. I grant, it was so: but it is also true, that this election of *Innocent* was irregular and disorderly; and therefore was no example of the ordinary practice at that time.

(15) *Fred. Ughelli*, Italia sacra, Tom. ii. p. 166. *Jo. Jac. Mascovius* de rebus sub Henrico iv. et. v. Lib. i. p. 7 &c. *Franc. Pagi*, Breviar. Pontif. Roman. Tom. ii. p. 385 &c. *Muratori*, Annali d' Italia, Tom. vi. p. 214 &c.

* [It should read *Lucius III*; for he was the successor of *Alexander III*, whereas *Victor III* reigned in the preceding century. Tr.]

year 1073, and during the very obsequies of *Alexander*, he was hailed pontiff, by the concordant suffrages indeed of the Romans, but contrary to the mode of proceeding enjoined by the decree of *Nicolaus*. When the election was laid before *Henry IV*, king of the Romans, by the ambassadors from Rome, he gave it his approbation; but greatly to his own injury, and to the detriment both of the church and the public.(16) For *Hildebrand* being elevated to the chair of *St. Peter*,—a man of extraordinary abilities, and competent to the greatest undertakings, intrepid, sagacious, and full of resources, but beyond measure proud, pertinacious, impetuous, untractable, and destitute of true religious principle and piety,—he being elevated, I say, to the highest post in the christian commonwealth, labored during his whole life, to enlarge the jurisdiction, and augment the opulence of the see of Rome, to subject the whole church to the sole will and power of the pontiff, to exempt all clergymen and all church property, wholly, from the jurisdiction of kings and princes, and to render all kingdoms tributary to *St. Peter*. The extravagance of his views, and the vastness of his plans, are discoverable in those noted propositions, which from his name are called the *Dictates of Hildebrand*.(17)

(16) The writers who describe the life and achievements of *Gregory VII*, are mentioned by *Casp. Sagittarius*, *Introduct. ad Hist. Eccles. Tom. i. p. 687 &c.* and *Jo. And. Schmidt*, in his *Supplem. Tom. ii. p. 627 &c.* But especially should be consulted, the *Acta Sanctor. Tom. v. Maii, add. xxv. p. 568.* and *Jo. Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Saecul. vi. Pt. ii. p. 406 &c.* Add, *Vita Gregorii vii*, by *Just. Christ. Dithmar*, *Francf. 1710. 8vo.* and all those who have written the history of the contest between the civil and the ecclesiastical powers, and of the controversy respecting investitures. [Also *Hildebrand* also *Papst Gregor vii. and seiner Zeitalter*, by *I. Voigt*, *Weimar 1815. 8vo. Tr.*]

(17) By the *Dictates*, or as some write it, the *Dictate*, of *Hildebrand*, are to be understood xxvi short propositions, relating to the supreme power of the Roman pontiffs, over the whole church, and over states; which are found in the second Book of the Epistles of *Gregory VII*, inserted between the 55th and 56th Epistles. See *Jo. Harduin's Concilia, Tom. vi. Pt. i. p. 1304.* and nearly all the Ecclesiastical Historians, large or small. *Caes. Baronius*, and *Christian Lupus*, (whose full Commentary on these *Dictates*, which he considers most sacred, is among his Notes and Dissertations on the Councils; *Opp. Tom. v. p. 164.*) and nearly all the patrons and friends of the Roman pontiffs maintain, that these *Dictates* were drawn up, and ratified, perhaps in some council, by *Gregory VII*, himself: and therefore, the Protestants have not hesitated to ascribe them to *Hildebrand*. But the very learned French writers, *Jo. Launoy*, (*Epistolar. Lib. vi. Ep. xiii. in his Opp. Tom. v. Pt. ii. p. 309.*) *Natalis Alexander*, (*Historia eccles. Saecul. xi. xii. Tom. vi. Diss. iii. p. 719.*) *Antony* and *Francis Pagi*, (the former in his *Critica* in *Baron.* the latter in his *Breviarium Pontif. Roman. Tom. ii. p. 743.*) *Lewis Ellis du Pin*, and many others, zealously contend, that these propositions, called *Dictates*, were palmed upon *Hildebrand*, by some crafty flatterer of the Romish see. And to prove this, they allege, that although some of those sentences express very well the views of the pontiff, yet there are others among them which are clearly repugnant to his opinions, as expressed in his Epistles. The French have their reasons, (which need not be here detailed,) for not admitting that any pontiff ever spoke so arrogantly and loftily of his own power and authority. I can readily concede, that so far as respects the form and arrangement of these *Dictates*, they are not the work of *Gregory*. For they are void of all order and connexion; and many of them also of clearness and perspicuity. But *Gregory*, who was a man of no ordinary genius, if he had attempted to draw up and describe, what he conceived to be the prerogatives of the pontiffs, would have expressed, with neatness and perspicuity, what he had

§ 10. Nearly the whole form of the Latin church, therefore, was changed by this pontiff; and the most valuable rights of councils, of bishops, and of religious societies, were subverted, and transferred over to the Roman pontiff. The evil, however, was not equally grievous, throughout the countries of Europe; for in several of them, through the influence of different causes, some shadow of pristine liberty and customs was preserved. *Hildebrand*, as he introduced a new code of ecclesiastical law, would also have introduced a new code of civil law, if he could have accomplished fully his designs. For he wished to reduce all kingdoms into fiefs of *St. Peter*, i. e. of the Roman pontiffs; and to subject all causes of kings and princes, and the interests of the whole world, to the arbitrement of an assembly of bishops, who should meet annually at Rome. (18) But neither he, nor his suc-

revolved in his own mind. But the *matter* of these *Dictates*, is undoubtedly *Hildebrand's*: for the greater part of them are found, couched in nearly the same terms, here and there in his Epistles. And those which seem to deviate from some assertions in his epistles, may, without much difficulty, be reconciled with them. It is probable, therefore, that some person collected these sentences out of his epistles, partly the printed ones, and partly such as are lost or unknown, and perhaps likewise from his oral declarations; and then published them, without judgment, and without arrangement.—[The following are the principal propositions which compose these *Dictates*. I. "That the Romish church was founded by our Lord alone. II. That the Roman pontiff alone is justly styled *universal*. III. That he alone can depose bishops, and restore them. IV. That his legate has precedence of all bishops in a council, though he be of an inferior order; and can issue sentence of deposition against them. V. That the pope can depose absent persons. VI. That no person, among other things, may live under the same roof, with one excommunicated by the pope. VII. That the pope alone is competent, as occasion shall require, to enact new laws, to gather new congregations,—to divide rich bishoprics, and to unite poor ones. VIII. That he alone can use the imperial insignia. IX. That all princes should kiss his feet only.—XII. That it is lawful for him, to depose emperors.—XVI. That no council, without his order, is to be accounted a *general* council.—XVIII. That his sentence is not to be reviewed by any one; while he alone can review the decisions of all others. XIX. That he can be judged by no one. XX. That no one may presume to condemn a person, who appeals to the apostolic see. XXI. That the greater causes of every church, should be carried up to that see. XXII. That the Romish church never erred; nor will it, according to the scriptures, ever err.—XXIV. That with his licence, subjects may impeach [their sovereigns].—XXVI. That no one is to be accounted a catholic, who does not harmonize with the Romish church. XXVII. That he can absolve subjects from their allegiance to unrighteous rulers." See *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. vi. Pt. i. p. 1304. &c. Tr.]

(18) Proofs of this most audacious design, which are above all exception or doubt, have been collected by learned men; and still more may be collected, from the epistles of this pontiff, and from other ancient monuments. In his Epist. Lib. ix. Ep. iii. p. 1481. (I use, all along, the edition of *Harduin*, *Concilia*, Tom. vi. Pt. i.) he prescribes this form of an oath, to be taken by future kings of the Romans or emperors. "From this hour onward, I will be faithful, with upright integrity, to the apostle Peter, and to his vicar pope *Gregory*—and whatever the said pope shall command me, under the following form: *by true obedience*, (per veram obedientiam,) I will observe, with fidelity. And on the day when I shall first see him, I will, with my own hands, make myself a *vassal* (*miles*) of *St. Peter* and him." What is this, but a *feudal oath*, (*ligium*,) as the jurists call it; and a perfect *vassalage* (*hominium*)? That the pontiffs of Rome derived all their civil power from the kings of France, is a fact well known. And yet *Gregory* contended, that the kingdom of France was tributary to the church of Rome;

cessors, could fully accomplish this arduous design ; on account, especially, of the vigilance and firmness of the emperors, and of the kings of France and England.

and he directed his ambassadors, to demand an annual contribution or tribute from the French. Lib. viii. Ep. xxiii. p. 1476. "You must declare to all the Franks, and command them, by true obedience, that each family is to pay, annually, at least one denarius, to St. Peter, if they recognize him as their father and shepherd, according to ancient custom." It should be remembered, that the phrase, *by true obedience*, here used, denotes, as those versed in antiquities well know, that the injunctions and commands to which it was annexed, were to be inevitably obeyed. But in vain did *Gregory* lay this command upon the French ; for he never obtained the least tribute from them. In the same epistle, he vainly asserts, that Saxony was a *fief* of the Romish church ; or, that *Charlemagne* had presented it to St. Peter. He insolently addresses *Philip I.*, the king of France, in the following manner ; (Lib. vii. Ep. xx. p. 1468.) "Strive to the utmost, to make St. Peter (i. e. the pontiff, St. Peter's vicar) your debtor ; for in his hands are your kingdom and your soul, and he is able to bind and to loose you, both in heaven and on earth." He endeavored to instill the same principles into the Spaniards, as into the French, Lib. x. Ep. vii. "that the kingdom of Spain was, from ancient times, the property of St. Peter—and righteously belong solely to the Apostolic see." But in L. x. Ep. xxvii. where he most earnestly inculcates the same doctrine upon the Spaniards, he has to acknowledge, that the record of this important transaction was worn out and lost. Yet with the Spaniards he was rather more successful, than with the French. For *Peter de Marca*, in his *Histoire de Bearn*, Lib. iv. p. 331, 332, proves from ancient documents, that the king of Arragon, and *Bernhard* Count of Besalva, promised and paid an annual tax to our *Gregory*. And it might be shown, if there was room for it, that other Spanish princes did the same. *William* the Conqueror, a king of enlarged views, and a most watchful guardian of his rights, when *Gregory* required him to pay St. Peter's denarius [Peter-pence,] and to render his kingdom a *fief* of St. Peter, replied with spirit : "*Hubert* your legate has admonished me, to do fealty to you and your successors, and to be more careful to send the money which my predecessors were accustomed to remit to the Romish church. One of these I accede to, the other I do not. Fealty I have not done, nor will I do it.—The money—when there shall be opportunity, shall be transmitted." The letter of king *William*, is in *Steph. Baluze*, *Miscellaneous*, Tom. vii. p. 127. With this answer, *Gregory* had to be contented ; for, though he might fear no other, he stood in fear of *William*. To *Geusa* king of Hungary, he writes, Lib. ii. Ep. lxx. p. 1316. thus : "It can not be unknown, we think, to your prudence, that the kingdom of Hungary is the property of the Apostle *Peter*." [He had before, Lib. ii. Ep. xiii. p. 1273. written to *Solomon*, king of Hungary, claiming that kingdom, by virtue of an absolute surrender of it to the see of Rome, made by king *Stephen*, and in consequence of an acknowledgment by the emperor *Henry II.*, after conquering it, that it belonged to St. Peter. And as *Solomon* had done homage for it to the king of the Teutones, *Gregory* now threatens him, with the loss of his kingdom, unless he shall acknowledge the Pope, and him only, to be his liege Lord. *Tr.*] He labored most zealously, to bring the more potent princes of Germany in particular, under subjection or fealty to St. Peter. Hence, in Lib. ix. Ep. iii. p. 1480. he strongly exhorts the bishop of Padua, to persuade *Welfo* Duke of Bavaria, and the other German chiefs, by all the means in his power, to subject their territories to the see of St. Peter. Lib. ix. Ep. iii. p. 1480. "We would have you admonish Duke *Welfo*, to do homage to St. Peter.—For we wish to place him wholly in the bosom of St. Peter, and to draw him in a special manner into his vassalage. If you shall find such a disposition in him, or in other men of power, influenced by love of St. Peter, labor to bring them to do fealty." He approaches *Sueno*, king of Denmark, Lib. ii. Ep. li. p. 1300. with much flattery, to persuade him, "To commit, with pious devotedness, his kingdom to the Prince of the Apostles, and obtain for it the support of his authority." Whether he was more successful in Denmark, than in England and France, I know not ; but in other places, his efforts certainly, were not fruitless. A son of *Demetrius*, king of the Russians, (to whom he addressed the lxxiv. Ep. Book ii. p. 1319.) came to Rome, "and wished to obtain the kingdom," (which he expected to inherit from his father,) "by gift from St. Peter,

§ 11. *Gregory* was more successful, in extending the territories of the Romish church in Italy, or enlarging the patrimony of St. Peter. For he persuaded *Matilda*, the daughter of *Boniface*, the very opulent duke and marquis of Tuscany, who was a very powerful Italian princess, and with whom he was on terms of peculiar intimacy, after the death of her first husband *Godfrey* the Hump-backed, duke of Lorrain, and of her mother *Beatriz*, in the year 1076 or 1077, to make the church of Rome heir to all her estates, both in Italy, and out of it. A second marriage of this very heroic and prosperous lady, in the year 1089, with *Welf*, [or *Guelph*,] the son of *Welf*, duke of Bavaria, contracted with the consent of the Roman pontiff *Urban II.* seemed to prejudice this donation. But being repudiated by her husband, in the year 1095, and thus again made free and independent, *Matilda*, in the year 1102, formally renewed the donation. (19) The pontiffs indeed had to encounter severe contests, first with the emperor *Henry V.* and then with others, respecting this splendid inheritance; nor were they so fortunate at last, as to secure the

through the hands of *Gregory*, *paying due fealty to St. Peter, the Prince of Apostles*: the import of which language, will be quite intelligible, from what has been said. *Gregory* granted his "*devout prayer*," being certainly not backward to perform such offices, and "in behalf of St. Peter, committed the government of the kingdom" to the Russian prince. More such examples might be adduced. *Demetrius*, surnamed *Suinimer*, Duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, was created a king, by *Gregory*, in the year 1076, and was solemnly inaugurated at Salona, by the Pontiff's Legate, on the condition, that he should annually pay to St. Peter, on Easter day, a tribute of two hundred golden Byzantines. [a Grecian golden coin, of from twenty-three to twenty-four Carats. *Schl.*] See *Du Mont's Corps Diplomatique*, Tome i. Pt. i. no. 88. p. 53. *Jo. Lucius*, de regno Dalmatiae, Lib. ii. p. 85. Up to this time, however, the emperors of Constantinople held the sovereignty over the province of Croatia. *Boleslaus II.*, king of Poland, having killed *Stanislaus*, bishop of Cracow, *Gregory* not only excommunicated him, but likewise deprived him of his crown; and not contented with this severity, he by a special mandate forbid the Polish bishops, to crown any one king of Poland, without first obtaining the consent of the Roman pontiff. *Dlugoss*, *Historia Polon.* Tom. i. p. 295. But I desist.—If *Gregory's* success had equalled his wishes and his purpose, all Europe would at this day have been one great empire of St. Peter, or tributary to the Roman pontiffs; and all kings feudal lords or vassals of St. Peter. But *Gregory* did not utterly fail in his attempts. For from his time onward, the state of the whole of Europe was changed; and many of the rights and prerogatives of emperors and kings were either abridged or annulled. Among those annulled, was the right of the emperor to ratify the election of a pontiff, which became extinct in *Gregory*, and could never after be revived.

(19) The life and achievements of this extraordinary princess, (than whom, the Roman church had no stronger bulwark against the emperors, and *Gregory VII.* no more obedient daughter,) are described by *Bened. Luchin*, *Domin. Mellin*, *Felz Contelorius*, *Julius de Puteo*, and especially, by *Fran. Maria Florentini*, in his *Monuments of the Countess Matilda*, written in Italian; and by *Bened. Bachini*, in his *Historia monasterii Podalironensis*, which was founded by her. The ancient biographies of her, one by *Donizo*, and another anonymous, are given by *Godf. William von Leibnitz*, in his *Scriptores Brunsvicens.* Tom. i. p. 629 &c. and by *Lud. Anton. Muratori*, in his *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* Tom. v. p. 335 &c. with notes; and also the formula of her second donation, mentioned above. Well worth perusing, also, are the remarks concerning this woman of so masculine an understanding, which are found in the *Origines Guelphicae*, Tom. i. Lib. iii. cap. v. p. 444 &c. and Tom. ii. Lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 303 &c. where also is an account of her second husband *Welf*.

whole of it to St. Peter ; yet after various struggles and hazards, they succeeded in obtaining no small share of it, which they hold to this day.(20)

§ 12. The design of *Gregory VII.*, to raise the church above all human authority, and to render it perfectly free and independent, was obstructed especially by those two capital vices of the European clergy, *concubinage* and *simony*. The Roman pontiffs, from the times of *Stephen IX.* had combatted, with zeal, but without much success, on account of their inveteracy, these monstrous vices.(21) *Gregory*, therefore, in the second year of

(20) Some distinguished men infer from the terms of the conveyance, that *Matilda* gave to the church of Rome, only her *allodial* possessions, and not the territories which she held as *fiefs of the empire*; and of course, that she did not include in the donation the marquisate of *Tuscany*, and the duchy of *Spoletto*. For she says: *Ego Mathildis—dedi et obtuli ecclesiae S. Petri—omnia bona mea jure proprietario*, tam quae tunc habueram, quam ea, quae in antea acquisitura eram, sive jure successionis, sive alio quocunque jure ad me pertinent. See the *Origines Guelph.* Tom. i. Lib. iii. p. 148 &c. But I doubt, whether this is so clear, that it must be admitted without hesitation. For the words *jure proprietario*, from which learned men conclude, that *Matilda* gave to St. Peter, only what she *possessed jure proprietario*, or her *allodial* possessions, manifestly refer, or I am greatly mistaken, not to the possession by the owner, but to the mode of the gift; and are to be construed with the verbs *dedi* and *obtuli*. The princess does not say: “I have given all the estates which I *possess* and *hold jure proprietario*,” which had she said, we must have acceded to the opinion of the learned gentlemen; but she says, “I have *given* all my estates to the church *jure proprietario*,” i. e. it is my will, that the church should possess all my estates, *jure proprietario*, as their real property. Besides, the words which follow, refute the construction of the learned gentlemen. Had *Matilda* intended to include only what she possessed *jure allodii*, she could not have said, as she does say: “whether belonging to me, by right of inheritance, or (*alio quocunque jure*) by any other right whatever.”—Certainly, she excludes no species of possessions; but by using this very comprehensive language, embraces all. Possibly, some one however, may object and say: The church of Rome never contended, that the *fiefs of the empire*, which *Matilda* possessed, were included in this donation; and therefore they claimed only her *allodial* possessions. I am not sure, that such was the fact: many reasons induce me to believe, that the pontiffs wished to secure to their church all the estates of *Matilda*. But allow it to be so, as I cannot now go into the enquiry; that fact will not disprove what I contend for. Our enquiry is not, how moderate were the Roman pontiffs in claiming the property bequeathed to them by *Matilda*, but what is the import of the words used in the bequest.

(21) *Monstrous vices*, we may justly call them. For although no honest man will deny, that in hunting down these vices, *Gregory* violated not only the principles of religion, but also those of natural justice and equity, and committed deeds without number, that were most incompatible with the character he professed to sustain; yet it must be acknowledged, that evils of no slight magnitude, resulted from both these vices of the clergy, to the church and to civil society; and that it was necessary, that restraint should be laid upon them. Very many among the married clergy, were pious and upright men, whom *Gregory* ought to have spared. But there were also, in all parts of Europe, a vast number, not only of priests and canons, but likewise of monks, implicated in illicit amours; who kept concubines under the name of wives, which they dismissed at their pleasure, substituting others, and often a plurality, in their place; who basely squandered the property of the churches and colleges which they served, even dividing it up among their spurious offspring, and committed other insufferable offences. How extensive the crime of *simony* had become, in this age, and what pernicious effects it produced every where, will be manifest, from those examples, (not to mention innumerable others,) which the Benedictine monks have interspersed in various parts of their *Gallia Christiana*. I will give a few specimens. In the first volume of this excellent work, Append. Docum.

his reign, or AD. 1074, attacked them with increased energy and firmness ; for in a council held at Rome, he renewed all the laws of the former pontiffs against *simony*, severely forbidding the sale of ecclesiastical benefices ; and enacted, that no priests should henceforth marry, and that such as now had either wives or concubines, should relinquish, either *them*, or the sacred office. After these enactments, he wrote letters to all bishops, requiring them to obey these decrees, on pain of incurring severe punishments ; and also sent ambassadors into Germany, to *Henry IV*, king of the Romans, demanding of him a council, for trying the causes of those especially, who were contaminated with *simony*.

§ 13. Both these decrees appeared very proper, salutary, and accordant with the principles of the religion of the age ; for it was then maintained, that priests should be *elected*, and that they ought to *live single*. Yet both gave rise to the most lamentable contentions, and to very great calamities. When the decree respecting celibacy was promulged, horrible tumults were excited in most of the countries of Europe, by those priests, who were connected with either lawful wives or concubines : (22) many of

p. 5. we have the document, by which *Bernard* a viscount, and *Froterius* a bishop give, or rather openly *sell*, to *Bernard Aymar* and to his son, the bishopric of *Alby*, reserving to themselves a large part of its revenues. Immediately after, follows a writing of *Pontius* a count, in which he bequeathes to his wife, this bishopric of *Alby*, [and moieties of another bishopric, and an abbey ; the reversion of which, at her death, was to belong to his children :] *Ego Pontius* dono tibi dilectae sponsae meae episcopatum Albiensem—cum ipsa ecclesia et cum omni adjacentia sua—et medietatem de episcopatu Nemanso—et medietatem de Abbatia S. Aegidii :—post obitum tuum remaneat ipsius alodis ad infantes qui de me erunt creati. Similar and even worse instances, are stated, p. 24, 37, and elsewhere. In vol. ii. Append. documentorum, p. 173. there is a letter of the clergy of Limoges, in which they humbly entreat *William*, count of Aquitain, that he would not sell the bishopric, [and to give them a *pastor*, not a *devourer* of the flock :] Rogamus tuam pietatem, ne propter mundiale lucrum vendas S. Stephani locum ; quia si tu vendis episcopalia, ipsae nostra manducabit communia.—Mitte nobis ovium custodem, non devoratore. In vol. ii. p. 179. *Ade-mar*, viscount of Limoges, laments, that he “ had heretofore simoniacally sold the charge of souls to abbots that purchased of him.” In fact, it appears from authors and documents, which are above all exceptions, that the licentiousness of this age in buying and selling sacred offices, exceeded all bounds and almost all credibility. I will subjoin only one short extract from *Abbo's* Apologeticum, in *Pithoeus*, Codex Canon. ecclesiae Romanae, p. 398. which is worthy of notice, as containing the argument, by which the traders in sacred offices attempted to justify their base conduct. “ There seems to be almost nothing appertaining to the church, which is not put upon sale ; viz. bishoprics, presbyterships, deaconries, and the other lower orders, archdeaconries also, deaneries, superintendencies, treasurers offices, baptisteries.”—“ And these traffickers are accustomed to offer the cunning excuse, that they do not buy *the blessing*, by which the grace of the Holy Spirit is conveyed, but the *property* of the church, or the *possessions* of the bishop.” [non se emere *benedictionem*, qua percipitur gratia Spiritus Sancti, sed *res ecclesiarum*, vel *possessiones episcopi*]. An acute distinction truly !—[So also, *Glaber Radulphus*, Lib. v. cap. v. says, of the Italian churches, in the middle of this century : “ All ecclesiastical offices were at that time as much accounted things vendable, as merchandise is in a common market.” *Schl.*]

(22) The histories of those times are full of the commotions, excited by those priests who had either wives or concubines. For an account of the insurrections among the German priests, see *Car. Sigonius*, de regno Italiae, Lib. ix. Tom. II. p. 557. and *Seb. Tengnagel's* Collectio veter. monumentor. p. 45, 47, 54 &c. and the other writers of German history. [Two councils were held in Germany,

whom, especially in the Italian province of Milan, were willing rather to relinquish the priesthood, than to part with their wives : and accordingly, they seceded from the church of Rome ; and they branded the pontiff and his adherents, who condemned the marriage of priests, with the odious appellation of *Paterini*, i. e. Manichaeans. (23) The impartial, however, though they wished priests to lead single lives, blamed *Gregory* for two things : *first*, that he fell indiscriminately upon the virtuous and the profligate, with equal severity ; and dissolved the most honorable marriages, to the great disgrace and hazard and grief, of husbands, wives, and children : (24) and *secondly*, that he did not correct the married

one at Erfurth, and the other at Mayence, in which the papal decree against the marriage of priests was made known. But in both, tumults were excited ; and the adherents of the pope were in jeopardy of their lives, especially the abp. of Mayence, and the papal legate the bp. of Chur. The German clergy said : " they would rather lose their priesthood, than part with their wives. Let him who despises *men*, see whence he can procure *angels*, for the churches." See *Tritheimius*, in Chron. Hirsaug. and *Lambert* of Aschaffenh. ad ann. 1074.—The clergy of Passau, when the papal prohibition was published, said to their bp. *Altmann* : " That they neither could nor would abandon the custom, which it was clear they had followed from ancient times, under all preceding bishops." The French also, declared, in an assembly at Paris, that they would not suffer the pope's insupportable yoke to be laid upon them. See *Mansi*, suppl. Concil. Tom. II. p. 5. Schl.]—Of the commotions in England, *William of Paris* treats, *Histor. major*, Lib. I. p. 7. For those in the Netherlands and France, see the Epistles of the clergy of Cambray to those of Bremen, in behalf of their wives, in *Jo. Mabillon's* Annal. Benedict. Tom. V. p. 634. and the Epistle of the clergy of Noyon to those of Cambray, in *Mabillon's* Museum Italicum, Tom. I. p. 128. How great a commotion this thing produced in Italy, and especially among the Milanese, is fully stated by *Arnulph* senior, and *Landulf*, historians of Milan ; extant with notes, in *Muratori's* Scriptores rerum Italic. Tom. IV. p. 36 &c. Each of these historians favors the marriage of priests, in opposition to *Gregory* and the pontiffs.

(23) *Paterini* was one of the names by which the *Paulicians* or *Manichaeans* were designated in Italy, (who are well known to have migrated from Bulgaria to Italy in this age,) and who were the same as were also called Cathari. In process of time, this became the common appellation of all heretics ; as might easily be shown by many examples from writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Respecting the origin of the name, there are many opinions, the most probable of which is, that which derives it from a certain *place*, called *Pattaria*, where the heretics held their meetings. And a part of the city of Milan, is still vulgarly called *Pattaria*, or *Contrada de Pattari*. See the notes on *Arnulphus Mediolan.* in *Muratori's* Scriptores rer. Italicar. Tom. IV. p. 39. *Saxius* ad *Sigonium*, de regno Italiae, Lib. ix. Opp. Sigon. Tom. II. p. 536. An opinion has prevailed, perhaps originating from *Sigonius*, that this name was given at Milan, to those priests, who retained their wives contrary to the decrees of the pontiffs, and who seceded from the Romish church. But it appears from *Arnulph* and other ancient writers, that it was not the married priests that were called *Paterini*, but that these priests gave that appellation, by way of reproach, to such friends of the pontiffs, as disapproved of the marriage of clergymen. See *Arnulph*, Lib. III. cap. x. and the copious and learned proofs of this fact, by *Anton. Pagi*, Critica in annal. Baron. Tom. IV. ad ann. 1058. § III. and *Lud. Ant. Muratori*, Antiq. Ital. medii aevi. Tom. V. p. 82. Nor need we look farther for the origin of this term of reproach. For the *Manichaeans*, and their brothers, the *Paulicians*, were opposed to marriage ; which they considered as an institution of the evil demon : and therefore, such as held the marriage of priests to be lawful and right, by applying the designation *Paterini* to the pontiffs, and their adherents, who prohibited such marriages, would represent them as following the opinions of the Manichaeans.

(24) For there was a vast difference, among those priests who were more attached to their women, than to the decrees of the pontiffs ; all of them being, by

clergy, with moderation, and with only ecclesiastical penalties; but delivered them over to the civil magistrates, to be prosecuted, deprived of their property, and subjected to indignities and sufferings of various kinds.(25)

§ 14. This first conflict gradually subsided, in process of time, through the firmness and perseverance of the pontiff: nor was there any one, among the European sovereigns, disposed to become the patron of clergymen's wives. But the conflict arising from the other law, (that for the suppression of *simony*,) was extremely difficult to be closed; and being protracted through many years, it involved both the church and the state in very great calamities and distress.(26) *Henry IV.* received indeed the legates of the pontiff in a gracious manner, and he commended the pon-

no means, equally censurable. The better sort of them, among whom those of Milan stood conspicuous, also those of the Netherlands, and some others, only wished to live according to the laws of the Greek church; maintaining, that it should be allowed to a priest before his ordination, to marry one wife, a virgin, and no more. And they supported their opinions, by the authority of *Ambrose*. *Se Jo. Petri. Puricelli Diss.* utrum S. Ambrosius clero suo Mediolan. permisisset, ut virgini semel nubere possent; republished in *Muratori's Scriptores rer. Italicar.* Tom. IV. p. 223 &c. With this class of priests, *Gregory* and the other Roman pontiffs ought, as some advocates of the pontiffs have themselves acknowledged, to have been more indulgent, than to those who claimed the right of marrying many wives, and those who advocated concubinage. The case of the monks also, whose vows bound them to perpetual celibacy, was very different from that of priests, who were unwilling to be separated from their children and their lawful wives, whom they had espoused with upright intentions.

(25) *Theodoric* of Verdun, *Epistola ad Gregorium VII.* in *Martens's Thesaurus Anecdotor.* Tom. I. p. 208. "They put me to the greatest confusion, for this, that I should ever admit of a law for restraining the incontinence of the clergy, by the intemperate proceedings of laymen." (*per laicorum insanias.*) — "Nor must you suppose, that persons of these sentiments, when they bring forward such vindications, wish to encourage incontinence in the clergy. They sincerely desire to see them lead blameless lives; but they wish to have only the restraints of ecclesiastical terrors, as is proper, held out to them." (*nec aliter, quam oportet, ecclesiasticæ ultionis censuram intentari gaudent.*)

(26) We have numerous histories, both ancient and modern, of this famous contest about *investitures*, which was so calamitous to a large part of Europe, and which being commenced by *Gregory VII.* was carried on by him and the succeeding pontiffs, on the one part, and by the emperors *Henry IV.* and *V.* on the other. Yet few, if any of these histories, are entirely impartial. For all the writers espouse the cause either of the popes, or of the emperors; and they decide the controversy, not (as in my opinion they should do,) by the laws then in force, and according to the principles then universally admitted, but according to a supposed system of laws, and the opinions of the present age. The principal ancient writers, on the side of *Gregory*, are collected by the noted Jesuit *Jac. Gretser*, in his *Apologia pro Gregorio VII.* which was published, separately, and also in his *Opp.* Tom. VI. Those who defend *Henry IV.* are collected by *Melch. Goldastus*, in his *Replicatio contra Gretserum et Apologia pro Henrico IV.* Hanov. 1611. 4to. Of the moderns, besides the *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*, *Baronius*, the writers of Germanic and Italian history, and the biographers of *Matilda*, the reader may consult *Jo. Schilterus*, de *libertate ecclesiæ Germanicæ*, Lib. IV. p. 481 &c. *Christ. Thomasius*, *Historia contentions inter imperium et sacerdotium: Henr. Meibomius*, de *jure investituræ episcopalis*; in the *Scriptores rer. Germanicarum.* Tom. III. *Just. Chr. Dithmar*, *Historia belli inter imperium et sacerdotium*, Francf. 1714. 8vo. and others. Superior to all these in learning, is *Henry Noris*, in his *Istoria delle investiture della dignità ecclesiastiche*, which was published, after the death of this great man, Mantua 1741. Fol. It is a very learned work, but unfinished, and defective; and, what is not surprising in a friend of the pontiffs, or a cardinal, not candid towards the adversaries of the

tiff's design of putting an end to *simony*. But neither he, nor the German bishops, would grant leave to the legates, to assemble a council in Germany, for the purpose of trying those who were guilty of *simony*. The next year therefore, AD. 1075, in a new council at Rome, *Gregory* proceeded still further; for, in the first place, he excommunicated some of the favorites of king *Henry*, whose advice and assistance he was said to have used in the sale of benefices; and likewise certain bishops of Germany and Italy: and in the next place, he decreed, that "whoever should confer a bishopric or abbacy, or should receive an investiture from the hands of any layman, should be excommunicated." (27) For it had long been customary with the emperors, and kings and princes of Europe, to confer the larger benefices, and the government of monasteries, by the delivery of a ring and a staff. And as this formal inauguration of the bishops and abbots, was the main support, both of the power claimed by kings and emperors to create whom they chose bishops and abbots, and also of the licentious sale of sacred offices to the highest bidders, or of *simony*; the pontiff judged, that the custom ought to be wholly extirpated and suppressed. (28)

pontiffs, or the emperors. With advantage, also, may be consulted, *Jo. Jac. Mascoo's* Commentarii de rebus imperii German. sub. Henrico IV. et V. Lips. 1749. 4to.

(27) See *Ant. Pagi*, Critica in Baronium, Tom. IV. ad ann. 1075. *Henr. Noris*, Istoria delle investiture, p. 39 &c. *Christ. Lupus*, Scholia et Diss. ad Concilia, Opp. Tom. VI. p. 39 &c. 44 &c.

(28) I must be allowed here to go into an investigation, respecting the rite of inaugurating bishops and abbots with the ring and staff; because it is misunderstood by many, and not very intelligibly explained by others. Among these last, I may place the name of *Henry Noris*, the author of a History of Investitures, in Italian; for in chap. III. p. 56. where he treats of the motives, which induced *Gregory* to prohibit investitures, though he states many things well, and better than other writers do, yet he does not see through the whole thing, and he omits some circumstances important to be known. The investiture itself of bishops and abbots, undoubtedly, commenced at the time when the emperors, kings, and princes of Europe conferred on them the possession and use of territories, forests, fields, and castles. For according to the laws of those times, (and they have not yet ceased to operate,) persons holding territories &c. by favor of the emperors and sovereigns, were not considered to be in legal possession of them, until they had repaired to the court, sworn fealty to the sovereign, and received from his hand the token of the transfer and dominion of the property. But the mode of inaugurating or investing bishops and abbots, with the ring and the staff or crosier, (which are the insignia of the sacred office,) was of later date, and was introduced at the time when the emperors and kings, subverting the free elections, which the ecclesiastical laws required, assumed to themselves the power, not only of conferring, but also of selling, sacerdotal and abbatial offices, at their pleasure. At first the emperors and kings handed over to men of the sacred orders, the same tokens of transferred use and possession, as they did to soldiers, knights, counts, and others, who approached the throne as vassals, namely written instruments, green twigs, and other things. *Humbert*, a cardinal of the Romish church, who wrote before the contest about investitures was moved by *Gregory VII.* in his Lib. III. adversus Simoniacos, cap. xi. (in *Martens's* Thesaur. Anecdotor. Tom. V. p. 787.) says: "The secular authority favored the ambitious, who coveted ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, first by making request for them, next by threats, and afterwards by formal grants: and in all this, finding no one gainsaying them, none who moved the wing, or opened the mouth and peeped, they proceeded to what was still greater; and now, under the name of investiture — give, first, a writ-

§ 15. But *Henry* was not dismayed at the decree of the pontiff. He acknowledged indeed that he had done wrong in selling sa-

ten instrument, or deliver any sort of green twigs, and then staffs — — — which horrid abomination has become so well established, that it is accounted the only canonical way, and what the ecclesiastical rule is, is neither known nor thought of."—And this custom of inaugurating or investing clergymen and laymen, in the same manner, would doubtless have continued unchanged, had not the clergy, who had the legal power and right of electing their bishops and abbots, artfully eluded the designs of the emperors and sovereigns. For they, as soon as their bishop or abbot was dead, without delay, and in due form, elected a successor to him, and caused him to be consecrated. And the consecration having taken place, the emperor or prince, who had purposed to give or sell that office to some one of his friends, was now obliged to desist from his purpose, and to confirm the person who was elected and consecrated. There is not room here, for examples and proofs of this shrewd management of the canons and monks, by which they eluded the intentions of emperors and kings to sell or give away sacred offices. But many may be collected out of the records of the tenth century. For this reason, the sovereigns, that they might not lose the power of conferring the sacred offices on whom they pleased, required the insignia of such offices, namely the staff and ring, immediately after the decease of a bp. to be transmitted to them. For according to ecclesiastical law, official power is conveyed by delivering the staff and ring: so that, these being carried away, if the clergy should elect any one for their bp. he could not be consecrated in due form. And every election till it had been ratified by consecration, could be set aside, without violation of ecclesiastical law; nor could a bishop elect perform any episcopal function, till he was consecrated. As soon therefore as any one of the higher officers in the church died, the magistrate of the city where he lived, or the governor of the province, siezed upon his staff and ring, and transmitted them to court. *Ekbo*, in his life of *Otto* of Bamberg, (who lived in the court of *Henry IV.*) Lib. I. § 8, 9. (in the *Acta Sancto. mensis Julii*, Tom. I. p. 426.) says: "Soon after, the ring and the pastoral staff of the bp. of Bremen, were brought to the royal court. For at that period, the church had not free elections, — but when any bp. was about to go the way of all the earth, presently the commandants of his city transmitted his ring and pastoral staff to the palace; and thus by royal authority, after consulting with his courtiers — he placed a suitable prelate over the bereaved people. — After a few days, again the ring and pastoral staff of the bp. of Bamberg, were transmitted to our lord the emperor. Which being told abroad, many nobles — flocked to the royal court, who endeavored to obtain one of these, either by price or by petition." — 'The emperor or king then delivered the ring and staff, to whom he pleased: after which the person thus inaugurated and appointed bp. repaired to the metropolitan, to whom it belonged to perform the consecration, and delivered over to him the staff and ring received from the emperor, that he might again receive these insignia of his power from the hands of the Metropolitan. Thus the new bps. and abbots received the ring and staff, twice; first, from the hand of the king or emperor, and then from the metropolitan by whom they were consecrated. *Humbert*, contra *Simoniacos*, Lib. III. cap. VI. in *Marteno's* Thesaur. Anecd. Tom. V. p. 779. "Being thus consecrated." (i. e. *invested* by the emperor,) the intruder comes upon the clergy, the people, the sacred order, as their master, before he is known by them, sought after, or asked for. And he goes to the metropolitan, not to be judged by him, but to judge him. — For what does it signify or profit, to give up the staff and ring, which he brings with him? Is it because they were given to him by a layman? Why is that given up, which is already held, unless it be, either that the ecclesiastical benefice may be again sold, under this form of enjoining or giving; or that the former sale may be confirmed, by being subscribed to by the metropolitan and his suffrages; or at least, that the appearance of a lay-ordination may be concealed under some cloke and color of a clerical proceeding?"

What king or emperor first introduced this custom of appointing prelates by delivery of the staff and ring, is very uncertain. According to *Adam Bremensis*, (Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. c. 32. p. 10. and c. 39. p. 12. in *Lindembrog's* Scriptores Septentrion.) as early as the ninth century, *Lewis* the Meek conferred on new bishops the right of enjoying the revenues of the churches they ruled, by delivery of a staff or shepherd's crook. But I suspect, that *Adam* described the

cred offices ; and he promised amendment : but he could by no means be induced to give up the power of appointing bishops and

events of the former centuries, in accordance with the customs of his own age, which was the eleventh century. For in the ninth century, most emperors and kings allowed bishops to be created, by the suffrages of the clergy and people : so that such an inauguration was then unnecessary. See the remarks of *Dan. Papebroch*, against *Adam Brem.* in the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. Tom. i. p. 557. *Humbert* states, (*Lib. iii. contra Simoniac. c. vii. p. 780. and c. xi. p. 787.*) that this custom commenced, in the age of *Otto the Great* : and I am much inclined to that opinion. At least, the learned men who have treated explicitly on the origin of investitures, have adduced nothing, which dissuades me from receiving this opinion. See *Lud. Thomassin. Disciplina ecclesiae circa benef. Tom. ii. Lib. ii. p. 434. and Natal. Alexander, Selecta Hist. eccles. capita, Saecul. xi, xii. Diss. iv. p. 725.* The same *Humbert* relates, (*l. c. cap. vii. p. 780.*) that the emperor *Henry*, the son of *Conrad*, (*l. e. Henry III. surnamed Niger*.) wished to abrogate these investitures, but was prevented by various circumstances ; but that *Henry I.* the king of France, threw every thing into confusion, and was excessively addicted to *simony* : against whom, therefore, *Humbert* inveighs most vehemently.

In this method of inaugurating bishops and abbots, by delivery of the ring and staff, there were two things especially, that displeased the Roman pontiff. *First*, that by it, the ancient privilege of electing bishops and abbots was entirely subverted, and the power of creating prelates was placed wholly in the hands of the kings and emperors. This objection appeared a fair one, and perfectly accordant with the religious principles of that age. *Secondly*, it was extremely offensive to them, that the insignia of spiritual power, namely, the staff and ring, should be conveyed by the hands of laymen, i. e. of profane persons ; which seemed to them very like to sacrilege. *Humbert*, who wrote, as already stated, anterior to the contest between *Gregory* and *Henry*, has a long complaint on this subject, *Lib. III. contra Simoniac. c. VI. p. 779, 795.* I will subjoin some of his language. "What business have laymen, to distribute the ecclesiastical sacraments and episcopal or pastoral grace, that is, the curved staffs and rings, by which episcopal consecration is especially performed, and becomes valid, and on which it wholly depends ? For the curved staff denotes the pastoral care, which is committed to them : and the ring is emblematical of the celestial mysteries, admonishing preachers, that they should exhibit the wisdom of God in a mystery, with the apostle. Whoever therefore presume to initiate any one with these two, undoubtedly claim for themselves, by this presumption, the whole pastoral authority." And this reasoning was certainly good, if not according to our views, at least according to the opinions of that age : for the staff and the ring were viewed as the emblems of spiritual things, and whoever conferred these emblems, was supposed to confer along with them spiritual authority and power.

From these considerations, it will be easy to perceive what it was, that induced *Gregory VII.* to oppose so resolutely the inauguration of bishops by means of the staff and ring. In the first council at Rome, he left the subject of investitures untouched, and sought merely to abolish *simony*, and restore the ancient right of election to the societies of priests and monks. Nor had the former pontiffs who opposed *simony*, aimed at any thing more. But when he afterwards learned, that the practice of investitures was so closely connected with the power of kings and emperors to confer the higher sacerdotal offices, and with its adjunct *simony*, that it could not well be separated from them, he now assailed that practice, that he might pluck up the evil which he opposed by the root. Thus we see the true grounds of the contest between the pontiff and the emperor. *Gregory* did not oppose investitures universally, and as such, but only that species of investitures, which was then practised. He did not object to the bishops and abbots swearing fealty to the kings and emperors, and acknowledging themselves their vassals and tenants : nor did he forbid an investiture which should be made by an oral declaration or a written instrument ; for this mode of investiture he conceded to the kings of France and England :—perhaps also, he allowed a sceptre to be used in the transaction, as *Calistus II.* afterwards did. But he would not tolerate an investiture by the insignia of the sacred office ; much less an investiture previous to consecration ; and least of all, an investiture subversive of the free election of bishops and abbots.

abbots, and the *investiture* so closely connected with that power. *Gregory* therefore, well knowing that many of the German princes, especially those of Saxony, were alienated from *Henry*, deemed this a favorable opportunity to extend and to establish his authority; and sending ambassadors to Goslar, he summoned the king to Rome, there to answer before a council to the charges brought against him. The king, who was a high minded prince, and of an ardent temperament, being extremely indignant at this mandate, immediately called a convention of German bishops at Worms; and there, accusing *Gregory* of various crimes, pronounced him unworthy of the pontificate, and appointed a meeting for the election of a new pontiff. (29) *Gregory*, on the other hand, upon receiving this sentence by the king's messengers and letters, interdicted him from the communion and throne, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. (30) War being thus declared on both sides, the church as well as the state was rent into two factions, one party taking sides with the king, and the other with the pontiff; and the evils resulting from this schism were immense.

§ 16. The first that revolted from *Henry*, were the chiefs of Swabia, at the head of whom was *Rudolph*, duke of Swabia. Next followed the Saxons, who had long been inimical to the king. Both were advised by the pontiff, in case *Henry* would not comply with the will of the church, to elect a new king; and they assembled at *Tribur*, in the year 1076, to deliberate on this very important subject. The result of the deliberation was, that the decision of the controversy between the king and the princes, should be referred to the Roman pontiff, who should be invited to attend the diet of Augsburg, the ensuing year, for that purpose; and that the king, during the intervening time, should lead a private life; yet with this condition annexed, that unless he obtained absolution from the anathema, within the year, he was to lose the kingdom. *Henry* therefore with the advice of his friends, determined to go

(29) [The council of Worms was composed of a "very great number of bishops and abbots" from all parts of Germany. *Hugo*, a displaced cardinal, appeared there, and painted the life and character of *Gregory* in the blackest colors. The whole assembly, with the exception of two bps. subscribed his condemnation. *Henry's* letter to the pontiff concludes thus: "Thou therefore, condemned by this anathema, and by the decision of all our bishops, descend; quit the apostolic chair you have invaded; let another ascend it, who will pollute religion by no violence, but will teach the sound doctrines of *St. Peter*. We *Henry*, by the grace of God, king, with all our bishops, say to you: descend." See *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. VI. P. I. p. 1563. Tr.]

(30) [*Gregory's* excommunication of *Henry*, is drawn up in the form of an address to *St. Peter*; stating what he had decreed, and why. It contains these words: "Hac itaque fiducia fretus, pro ecclesiae tuae honore et defensione, ex parte omnipotentis Dei, Patris et Filii et Sp. Sancti, per tuam potestatem et auctoritatem, *Henrico* regi filio *Henrici* Imperatoris, qui contra tuam ecclesiam inaudita superbia insurrexit, totius regni Teutonicorum et Italiae gubernaculo contradico: et omnes Christianos a vinculo juramenti, quod sibi fecere vel facient, absolvo; et ut nullus ei sicut regi serviat, interdicto." See *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. VI. P. I. p. 1566. Tr.]

into Italy, and implore the clemency of the pontiff. But the journey did not secure to him the advantages he hoped for. He obtained, indeed, though with difficulty, from the pontiff, then residing at the castle of Canosa, with *Matilda*, the great patroness of the church, the pardon of his sins; after standing, for three days together, in the depth of winter, in February AD. 1077, barefooted, and bare-headed, and meanly clad, within the walls of the castle, professing himself a penitent. But the pontiff deferred the discussion and decision of his right to the throne, till the convention of the princes should meet; and in the mean time, wholly interdicted his wearing the ornaments or exercising the functions of royalty. The Italian princes and bishops, [who had been *Henry's* supporters,] were most indignant at this convention or compromise; and threatened the king with a deposition, and with other evils; so that *Henry*, soon after, violated the agreement, and, contrary to the command of *Gregory*, resumed the regal character which he had laid aside. The princes of Swabia and Saxony, hearing of this, met in convention at Forcheim, in the month of March, AD. 1077, and by a unanimous vote, elected *Rudolph*, the duke of Swabia, king.(31)

§ 17. A violent war now commenced, both in Germany and Italy. In Italy *Gregory*, with the forces of the Normans, who were sovereigns of lower Italy, and whom he had drawn over to his party, and those of the famous *Matilda*, a very heroic princess, resisted not unsuccessfully the Lombards, who fought for *Henry*. In Germany, *Henry* with his confederates, encountered *Rudolph* and his associates; but not with good success. *Gregory* fearing the dubious issue of the war, wished to be accounted neutral, for some years. But, taking courage, after the unfortunate battle of *Henry* with the Saxons, at Fladenheim, in the year 1080, he excommunicated *Henry* a second time; and sending a crown to *Rudolph*, pronounced him the legitimate king of Germany.(32) In revenge, *Henry*, supported by the suffrages of many of the German and Italian bishops, again deposed *Gregory*, the same year, in a council at Mayence; and a little after, in a convention at Brixen in the Tyrol, he created the archbishop of Ravenna, *Guibert*, supreme pontiff; who subsequently took the name of *Clement III.* when consecrated at Rome, AD. 1084.

§ 18. A few months after, *Rudolph*, the enemy of *Henry*, died at Merseburg, in consequence of a wound received in battle at the river Elster. Therefore, the following year, AD. 1081, the king

(31) The ancient and modern writers of Italian and German history, have given ample relations of these and subsequent events, though not all of them with equal fidelity and accuracy. I have consulted the original writers, and have followed those most to be relied on. *Sigonius*, *Pagi*, *Muratori*, *Mascovius*, *Noris*, and others; whose accounts differ indeed in some minor things, but agree as to the main points.

(32) [The golden crown which *Gregory* sent to *Rudolph*, had this memorable inscription. *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodulpho. Tr.*]

marched with his army into Italy, intending, if possible, to crush *Gregory* and his adherents; for if these were subdued, he hoped the commotions in Germany might be easily quelled. He made several campaigns, with various success, against the forces of *Matilda*: twice he besieged Rome in vain; but at length, in the year 1084, he became master of the greatest part of that city; placed *Guibert*, whom he had made pontiff, in the chair of St Peter, with the title of *Clement III*; was by him crowned emperor, and saluted as such by the Romans: and he now laid close siege to the castle of St. Angelo, in which his enemy *Gregory* was shut up. But *Robert*, the Norman duke of Calabria and Apulia, delivered the pontiff from his siege; and as it was not safe for him to remain at Rome, carried him with him to Salerno. And here it was, in the year following, that this high-minded man, whose spirit was so invincible, but who was the most ambitious and audacious of all the pontiffs that ever lived, terminated his days, in the year 1085. The Romish church honors him among her saints and intercessors with God, though he was never enrolled in that order, by a regular canonization. *Paul V*, near the commencement of the seventeenth century, appointed the 25th day of May to be his festival.(33) But the sovereigns of Europe, especially the emperor of Germany and the king of France, have prevented its being publicly and every where observed. And even in our times, [AD. 1729,] there was a contest with *Benedict XIII*, respecting the worship of him.(34)

§ 19. The death of *Gregory* was followed by very trying times: for *Clement III*, or *Guibert*, the emperor's pontiff,(35) ruled both at Rome and over a large part of Italy; and in Germany, *Henry* himself continued the war with the princes. The pontifical party, supported by the forces of the Normans, elected at Rome, in the year 1086, *Desiderius* an abbot of Monte Cassino, successor to *Gregory*; and he, assuming the name of *Victor III*, was consecrated in the church of St. Peter, AD. 1087, the Normans having rescued a part of the city of Rome from *Clement*. But *Victor*, who was a very different man from *Gregory*, being mild and timorous, soon retired to Benevento, because Rome was in the hands of *Clement*, and not long after, died at Cassino. Before his death however, in a council held at Cassino, he renewed the decrees enacted by *Gregory* for the abolition of investitures.

§ 20. *Victor* was succeeded by *Otto*, bishop of Ostia, and

(33) See the *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp. ad diem 25. Maii*; and *Jo. Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Saecul. VI. P. II.*

(34) See the French work, entitled: *L'Avocat du diable, ou Memoires historiques et critiques sur la vie et sur la legende du Pape Gregoire VII.* published in Holland, 1743, III. vol. 8vo. [See also *J. B. Hartung's Unpartheyische Kirchen-Historie. Vol. II. p. 1057. Tr.*]

(35) A life of this pontiff, *Clement III*, was lately promised to the world, by *Jo. Goutl. Hornius*, in the *Miscell. Lips. Tom. VIII. p. 609.* *Clement* died, AD. 1100; as is expressly stated in the *Chronicon Beneventanum*, published by *Mura-*

likewise a monk of Clugni ; who was elected at Terracina, in the year 1088, and chose the name of *Urban II*. He was inferior to *Gregory*, in courage and fortitude, but his equal in arrogance, and went beyond him in imprudence.(36) At first, fortune seemed to smile upon him : but in the year 1090, the emperor returning into Italy, and boldly and successfully attacking the younger *Guelph*, duke of Bavaria, and *Matilda*, the two heads of the pontifical party, things assumed a new aspect. Yet the hope of subduing the emperor, revived again in 1091, when *Conrad* his son, suffered himself to be seduced by the pontiff and the other enemies of his father, to rebel against his parent, and usurp the kingdom of Italy. The condition of Italy now continued in the utmost confusion ; nor was *Urban* able to bring the city Rome under his subjection. Therefore, after holding a council at Placentia, in the year 1095, in which he reiterated the decrees and the anathemas of *Gregory*, he took a journey into France, and there held the celebrated council of Clermont, in which the holy war against the Muhammedans, the occupants of Palestine, was resolved on. And, what deserves particular notice, in the same council, *Urban*, most imprudently, rendered the contest about investitures, which had long been so obstinate, and calamitous, still more unmanageable and violent. For *Gregory* had not forbidden bishops and priests to swear fealty to their sovereigns ; but *Urban*, very rashly, prohibited them from taking the oath of allegiance.(37) On his return to Italy, the pontiff succeeded in reducing the Roman castle of St. Angelo under his power ; but he died a little after, in the year 1099 ; and the year following, *Clement III* also died. And thus the Benedictine monk, *Raynier*, who was created pontiff after the death of *Urban*, and who assumed the name of *Pascal II*, reigned without a competitor when the century closed.

§ 21. Among the oriental monks, nothing occurred worth noticing : but among the western monks, there were several events which deserve to be mentioned. Of these events, the most important, perhaps, was the closer union between them and the Roman pontiffs. For a long time, many of the monks, in order to

tori, Antiqq. Italicae, Tom. I. p. 262 &c. See *Rubeus*, Historia Ravennat. Lib. V. p. 307. &c.

(36.) The Life of *Urban II*. was written by *Theod. Ruinart* ; and is extant in *Jn. Mabillon's* Opera posthuma, Tom. III. p. 1 &c. It is composed with learning and industry ; but with what fidelity and candor, I need not say. Those acquainted with facts, know, that the monks are not at liberty to describe to us the Roman pontiffs such as they really were. See also, concerning *Urban*, the *Histoire litteraire de la France*, Tom. VIII. p. 514.

(37) To the 15th canon of this council the following addition is subjoined, [constituting the 17th canon ; according to *Harduin's* Concilia, Tom. VI. P. II. p. 1719.] Ne episcopus vel sacerdos Regi vel alicui laico in manibus ligam fidelitatem faciant ; i. e. may take the oath, which vassals or subjects are accustomed to take. They are in an error, who tell us, that *Gregory VII*, forbid bishops taking the oath of fidelity. He was more reasonable than that, unreasonable as he sometimes was. This is proved by *Henry Noris*, Istoria delle investiture, cap. x. p. 279 &c.

escape the oppressions and snares of the bishops and kings and princes, who coveted their possessions, had placed themselves under the protection of the Roman pontiffs; who readily received them, on condition of their paying an annual tribute. But in this age, the pontiffs in general, and especially *Gregory VII.*, who wished to bring all things under subjection to *St. Peter*, and to diminish the rights and prerogatives of the bishops, themselves directly advised and counselled the monks, to withdraw their persons and their property from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and to place both under the inspection and dominion of *St. Peter*. (38) Hence, from the times of *Gregory VII.*, the exemptions of monasteries from the ordinary power, were immensely multiplied, throughout Europe, to the great injury and inconvenience of kings and princes, and to the vexation of the bishops. (39)

§ 22. The irreligious lives, the ignorance, the frauds, the dissoluteness, the quarrels, and the flagrant crimes of the greater part of the monks, are noticed by nearly all the historians of that age; not to mention other proofs of their impiety, which have reached us in great numbers. (40) But still, this class of people were every where in high repute, were promoted to the highest offices in the church, and increased continually in wealth and opulence. The causes of this, are to be traced to the extreme ignorance of every thing pertaining to religion, which gave rise to the grossest superstition, and to the licentiousness and the very dissolute lives of the people at large, in this century. (41) While the great mass of people, and even the *clergy*, secular as well as regular, addicted themselves to every species of vice, those ap-

(38) See, as a specimen, the Epistle of *Gregory VII.* in which he subjects the monks of Redon to the Romish see, with expressions new and unheard of till his age; in *Martens's Thesaur. Anecdotor.* Tom. I. p. 204 &c. To this may be added others, by *Urban II.* and the subsequent pontiffs; which are extant in the same work, and here and there in other collections.

(39) Perhaps no exemption of a Germanic monastery can be produced, which is older than the times of *Gregory*. [*Dr. Mosheim*, probably, means to say: "no exemption by mere papal authority," occurred in Germany, before *Gregory VII.* for there were various monasteries there, which were exempt, at an earlier period. That of *Fulda*, was one; exempt from its foundation, AD. 744; as appears from *Boniface*, Epistola 151. The founders of monasteries, often wished to have them exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, as well as from civil exactions; and therefore procured from the bishop and from the prince such exemption; which was confirmed at first by some council, and afterwards by the Roman pontiff. As the pontiffs advanced in power, and encroached on the prerogatives of bishops, councils, and kings, their confirmation of an exemption became more common, and more necessary, till at last, they assumed the exclusive right of granting exemptions, at their pleasure. See *Petrus de Marca*, Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, Lib. III. cap. XVI. Tr.]

(40) See what *Jo. Laxnøy*, assertio in privileg. S. Medardi, cap. 26. § 6. Opp. Tom. III. P. II. p. 499 &c. and *Rich. Simon*, Bibliothèque Critique, Tom. III. cap. 32. p. 331 &c. have collected and remarked on this subject. [*Ivo Carnaten-sis*, Ep. 70. (cited by *Pagi*, Crit. Baron. ad ann 1100. No. ix.) says to *Walter*, bp. of Meaux: "I state to your goodness, the shameful report, which I have received from the lips of the monks of Tours, and the letters of lady *Adelaid*, the venerable countess, respecting the monastery of *St. Fara*, that it is no longer the residence of holy virgins, but may be pronounced the brothel of demoniac females, who prostitute their bodies to every sort of men." This is only a specimen, of what is to be met with in the writers of these times. Tr.]

(41) On the astonishing wickedness of this age, see *Dav. Blondell*, de formula:

peared like saints, and the friends of God, who preserved some shew of piety and religion. Besides, the nobles, knights, and military gentlemen, who had spent their lives in acts of robbery, in debauchery, in revelry, and other gross vices, when they became advanced in life, and felt the stings of a guilty conscience, hoped they could appease the justice of their almighty judge, if they should either purchase the prayers of the monks by rich gifts, and should return to God and the saints a portion of their ill-gotten wealth, or should themselves become monks, and make their new brethren their heirs.

§ 23. Of all the monks, none were in higher reputation for piety and virtue, than those of *Clugni* in France. Their rules of life, therefore, were propagated throughout all Europe; and whoever would establish new monasteries, or resuscitate and reform old ones, adopted the discipline of *Clugni*. The French monks of *Clugni*, from whom the sect originated, gradually acquired such immense wealth, in consequence of the donations of the pious of all classes, and at the same time, such extensive power and influence, that towards the close of the century, they were able to form a peculiar community of their own, which still exists, under the name of the *Cluniacensian order* or *congregation*.(42) For all the monasteries, which they reformed and brought under their rules, they also endeavored to bring under their dominion: and in this they were so successful, especially under *Hugo*, the sixth abbot of *Clugni*, a man in high favor with pontiffs, kings and nobles, that, at the close of the century, no less than thirty-five of the larger monasteries in France, besides many of the smaller ones, looked up to him as their *general*. Besides these, there were numerous others, which, though they declined becoming members of this community, and continued to elect their own governors, yet chose the *abbot of Clugni*, or the *arch-abbot*, as he was called, for their patron and supervisor.(43) But this prosperity, this abundance of riches and honors and power, gradually produced not only arrogance, but all those vices which disgraced the monks of those ages: and in a little time, there was nothing to distinguish the Cluniacensians from the other monks, except some rites and forms.

regnante Christo, p. 14 &c. Boulainvilliers, de l'origine et les droits de la noblesse; in *Malet's Memoires de litterature et de l'Histoire*, Tome IX. P. I. p. 63 &c. and many others. This licentiousness and impunity of all sorts of wickedness, gave rise to the orders of knights errant, or chivalry; whose business it was, to protect the weak, the poor, and especially females, against the insults and violence of the strong. This was a laudable institution in those wretched times, when the energy of law was wholly prostrate, and those filling the office of judges were incompetent to perform the duties of their stations.

(42.) On the very rapid advances of the order of *Clugni*, in both wealth and reputation, *Stephen Baluze* has collected numerous facts, in his *Miscellanea*, Tom. V. p. 343 &c. and Tom. VI. p. 436. and *Jo. Mabillon* has treated expressly on the subject, in several parts of his *Annales Benedict.* Tom. V.

(43) *Mabillon*, Prefat. ad *Sæcul. V. Actor. SS. ord. Bened.* p. xxvi. &c. *Histoire generale de Bourgogne*, par les Moines Benedictins. Tome I. p. 151 &c. Paris 1737. Fol. *Histoire litter. de la France*, Tome IX. p. 470.

§ 24. The example of the Cluniacensians, led other pious and well disposed men to establish similar monastic associations : and the consequence was, that the Benedictine family, which hitherto had composed but one body, was now split into several sects, all subject indeed to one *rule*, but differing in customs, forms, and mode of living, and moreover indulging animosity towards each other. In the year 1023, *Romuald*, an Italian, retired to *Camaldoli*, or *Campo-Malduli*, a desert spot on the lofty heights of the Appennine,(44) and there laid the foundation of the congregation of the *Camaldulensians* ; which still flourishes, especially in Italy. Those who belong to it, are divided into coenobites and eremites. Both are required to live according to rigorous and severe laws : but the coenobites have relaxed not a little the ancient rigor of the sect.(45) Shortly after, *John Gualbert*, a Florentine, founded at *Valumbrosa*, which is also on the Appennine, the congregation of Benedictine monks of *Valumbrosa*, which in a little time extended into many parts of Italy.(46) To these two Italian congregations, may perhaps be subjoined that of *Hirschau* [in the diocess of *Spire*] in Germany, established by the abbot *William*, who reformed many monasteries in Germany, and also established some new ones.(47) But the *Hirsaugians*, if we examine them closely, appear not to be a new sodality, but a branch of the Cluniacensian congregation, whose rules and customs they followed.

§ 25. Near the end of the century, AD. 1098, *Robert*, abbot of Molesme in Burgundy, a province of France, being utterly unable to bring his monks to live up to the rule prescribed by *St. Benedict*, retired with twenty associates to *Citeaux* (*Cistercium*), then a horrid place, covered with woods and briars, but now a beautiful spot, [in the diocess of *Chalons* and] county of Beaume ; and there commenced the order, or rather congregation, of the *Cistercians*. In the following century, this family, with the same success as that of *Clugni*, spread itself over the greatest part of Europe, became exceedingly opulent, and acquired the form

(44) [See a description and a drawing of the spot, in *Jo. Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. IV. p. 261 &c. Tr.]

(45) Some of the writers concerning the order of Camaldulensians, are named by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Lat. medii ævi*, Tom. I. p. 895. To which, add the Life of *Romualdus*, in the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. Tom. II. p. 101 &c. and in *Jo. Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Saecul. VI. P. I. p. 427.* *Hipp. Helyot*, *Histoire des Ordres*, Tome I. p. 236. *Jo. Mabillon*, *Annales Ord. Bened.* Tom. v. in many places, especially p. 261 &c. *Magnold Ziegelbauer's* *Centifolium Camaldulense*, seu *Notitia Scriptor. Camaldulensium*, Venice 1750. Fol. [and *Anselm Costadoni*, *Annales Camaldulens.* Tom. I. II. Venice 1755 Fol. *Schl.*]

(46) See the life of *Jo. Gualbertus*, in *Mabillon's* *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Saecul. VI. P. II. p. 273.* *Helyot*, *Histoire des Ordres*, Tome V. p. 288. Many documents relating to this order and to its history, were published not long since by *Jo. Lami*, in his *Deliciae eruditorum*, printed at Florence, Tom. II. p. 238, (where the ancient rules of the sect are given,) and p. 272, 279. Tom. III. p. 177, 212, and elsewhere.

(47) See *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Saecul. VI. P. II. p. 726 &c.* *Helyot*, *Histoire des Ordres*, Tome V. p. 332.

and rights, not only of a new monastic sect, but of a new commonwealth of monks. The primary law of this fraternity was, the rule of *St. Benedict*, which the founder required the members to fulfil perfectly, without adopting any convenient interpretations of its precepts : yet he added some further regulations, to serve as a rampart fortifying the rule against any violations ; regulations which were severe and ungrateful to human nature, yet exceedingly holy, according to the views of that age. Yet the possession of wealth, which had corrupted the Cluniacensians at once, extinguished also, gradually, among the Cisterrians, their first zeal for obeying their rule ; so that, in process of time, their faults were as numerous as those of the other Benedictines.(48)

§ 26. Besides these societies formed within the Benedictine family, there were added some new families of monks, or *orders* in the proper sense of the term, i. e. societies having peculiar rules and institutions.(49) For to some persons, who were constitutionally gloomy, and inclined to excessive austerity, the rule of *Benedict* appeared too lax ; and others thought it imperfect, and not well accommodated to the exercise of all the duties of piety towards God. In the first place, *Stephen of Thiers*, a nobleman of Auvergne, and son of a viscount, (whom some call *Stephen de Muret*, from the place where he erected the first convent of his order,) obtained from *Gregory VII.* in the year 1073, permission to institute a new species of monastic discipline. He at first designed to subject his followers to the rule of *St. Benedict* ; but he afterwards changed his purpose, and drew up a rule of his own. It contains many severe injunctions : poverty and obedience, it inculcates as first principles : it forbids the possession of lands beyond the boundaries of the monastery : denies wholly the use of flesh, even to the sick : does not allow of keeping cattle, that a hankering after animal food might be more easily prevented : most sacredly enjoins silence ; and makes solitude of so much importance, that the doors of the monastery were to be opened to none, but persons of high authority : prohibits all converse with females : and finally, commits the care and management of all the temporal affairs and concerns of the monastery, exclusively, to the *converted brethren*, [the *lay brethren*], while the *clerical brethren* were to devote themselves exclusively to the contemplation of divine things. The reputation of this new order,

(48) The principal historian of the Cistercian order, is *Angelus Manriquez* ; whose *Annales Cistercienses*, a ponderous and minute work, was published at Lyons, 1642, in IV. Vol. Fol. The second is *Peter le Nain*, whose *Essai de l'Histoire de l'Ordre de Citeaux*, was published at Paris, 1696. in ix. Vol. 8vo. The other writers are enumerated by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Latina medii ævi*, Tom. I. p. 1066. But to them should be added *Jo. Mabillon*, who learnedly and diligently investigates the origin and progress of the Cistercians, in the 5th and 6th Vol. of his *Annales Benedictini* ; and also *Helyot*, *Histoire des Ordres*, Tome V. p. 341 &c.

(49) [See note (21), p. 146, of this volume. Tr.]

was very high, in this century and the next, so long as these regulations and others no less severe were observed; but its credit sunk entirely, when violent animosity broke out between the *clerical* and the *converted* brethren, the latter exalting themselves above the former, and when the rigor of their rule was in many respects mitigated and softened down, partly by the prefects of the order themselves, and partly by the Roman pontiffs. This monastic sect was called the order of *Grandmontains*, because *Muret*, where they were first established, was near to *Grandmont* in the territory of *Limoges*.(50)

§ 27. Afterwards, in the year 1084 or 1086, followed the order of *Carthusians*, so called from *Chartreuse*, a wild and dismal spot, surrounded with high mountains and craggy rocks, near *Grenoble*, [in the south easterly part of] France. The founder of this noted sect, which exceeded perhaps all others in severity of discipline, was *Bruno*, a German of *Cologne*, and a canon of *Rheims* in France. Unable to endure or to correct the perverse conduct of his archbishop *Manasses*, he bid adieu to the world, and with six companions, took up a wretched residence in the dismal spot I have mentioned, with the permission of *Hugo*, bishop of *Grenoble*.(51) He at first adopted the rule of *St. Benedict*, though enlarged with a considerable number of very austere and and rigid precepts: and his successors, first *Guigo*, and afterwards others, imposed upon the sect other laws, which were still more severe and rigorous.(52) Nor is there any sect of monks,

(50) The origin of this order is described by *Bernard Guidonis* [*de la Gay-onne*]; whose tract was published in *Phil. Labbe's Bibliotheca Manuscriptor*. Tom. II. p. 275. For its history and concerns, see *Jo. Mabillon's Annales Bened.* Tom. v. p. 65 &c. 99 &c. and Tom. vi. p. 116. and *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Saecul. VI. P. II. p. xxxiv. *Helyot*, *Histoire des Ordres*, Tome VII. p. 409. *Gallia Christiana*, by the Benedictine monks, Tom. II. p. 645. *Baluze*, *Vitæ Pontiff. Avenionens.* Tom. I. p. 158. and his *Miscellanea*, Tom. VII, p. 486. Of the founder of the order, *Stephen*, there is a particular account in the *Acta Sanctor. Februar.* Tom. II. p. 199 &c.

(51) Some of the writers concerning *Bruno*, and the order he established, are mentioned by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Lat. mediæ ævi*, Tom. I. p. 784. but there are many more extant. See *Innoc. Masson*, *Annales Cartusiani*, *Coreræ* 1687. Fol. *Peter Orland*, *Chronicon Cartusianum*, and others; from whom *Hipp. Helyot*, (in his *Histoire des Ordres*, Tom. VII. p. 366.) has compiled a neat, but imperfect history of the *Carthusian* order. Many documents relating to the character and laws of the order, are exhibited by *Jo. Mabillon*, in his *Annales Benedict.* Tom. VI. p. 638, 683 &c. Of *Bruno* himself, the Benedictine monks have given a distinct account, *Histoire littér. de la France*, Tome IX. p. 233 &c. The collectors of the *Acta Sanctorum*, will doubtless give a more full account, when they come down to the 6th day of October, which is sacred to his memory. It was the current report formerly, that *Bruno* took his resolution of retiring into a desert, upon occasion of the death of a priest at Paris, who after his death, miraculously returned to life for a short period, in order to attest his own damnation. But since *Jo. Launoï* attacked that story, in his tract *de causa secessus Brunonis in desertum*, it has commonly been accounted a fable, by the more discerning, even in the Romish church itself. And the *Carthusians*, who might feel an interest to keep up the story, seem at this day to abandon it; or at least they defend it timidly. The arguments on both sides, are clearly and fairly stated, by *Caes. Egasse de Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. I. p. 467 &c.

(52) See *Mabillon's Præf. ad Saecul. VI. P. II.* of his *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* p. xxxvii.

that has departed less than this, from the severity of its original discipline. This new sect of solitaries, spread itself more slowly than the others over Europe, and was later in admitting females to join it; indeed, it could never prevail much among that sex; owing undoubtedly, to the rigors and the gloominess of its discipline. (53)

§ 28. At the close of the century, AD. 1095, the *order of St. Anthony*, which was devoted to the receiving and curing diseased persons, and especially those affected with, what was called, the *holy*, or *St. Anthony's fire*, took its rise from small beginnings in France. Those who were seized with this terrible disease, in this century, hastened away to a cell, (built by the Benedictine monks of Montmajor, near *Vienne*,) in which the body of *St. Anthony* was said to repose; that, through the prayers of this holy man, they might be restored. *Gaston*, a rich nobleman of the diocese of *Vienne*, and his son *Guerin*, having both recovered from the disease in this cell, consecrated themselves and all their property to *St. Anthony*, who, as they believed, had healed them; and devoted themselves to works of kindness towards the sick and the indigent. Eight men first joined them, and afterwards many more. This company were indeed all consecrated to God; but they were bound by no vows, and were subject to the Benedictine monks of Montmajor. But after they had become rich, through the bounty of pious individuals, and were spread over various countries, they at first withdrew themselves from the control of the [Benedictine] monks; and at length, under *Boniface VIII*, in the year 1297, they obtained the rank and the rights of an order, or sect of brethren observing the rule of *St. Augustine*. (54)

§ 29. The *canons*, who formed, since the eighth century, an intermediate class between the monks and what are called the *secular* clergy, had become infected with the same dissoluteness of morals, which pervaded the whole sacred order; indeed there

(53) Most of those who treat of this sect, make no mention of *Carthusian nuns*: and hence many represent the order as embracing no females. But they have cloisters of females; though but few. For most of their nunneries are extinct; and in the year 1368, an express regulation was made, prohibiting the erection of any more convents for females in the Carthusian community. At the present day, therefore, [AD. 1755.] there are only five convents of Carthusian nuns, four in France, and one at Bruges in the Netherlands. See the learned author of the *Variétés historiques, physiques, et littéraires*, Tome I. p. 80 &c. Paris 1752. 8vo. The delicate female constitution could not sustain the austere and stern mode of living, required by the laws of the order: and hence, in the few nunneries that remain, it was necessary to yield somewhat to nature, and in particular, to relax or abrogate the severe laws respecting silence, solitude, and eating alone.

(54) See the *Acta Sanctorum*, Januarii Tom. II. p. 160. *Helyot*, *Histoire des Ordres*, Tome II. p. 108 &c. *Gabr. Pennottus*, *Historia Canonicorum regular*. Lib. II. cap. 70. *Jo. Erk. Kapp*, *Diss. de Fratribus S. Antonii*, Lips. 1737. 4to. The present state of the first house or hospital of this order, in which its abbot resides, is described by *Martene* and *Durand*, *Voyage littéraire de deux Benedictins de la Congreg. de S. Maur*, Tom. I. p. 260 &c.

was even greater dissoluteness among them, in some countries of Europe. Therefore good men, who had some sense of religion, and also several of the pontiffs, as *Nicolaus II*, in the council at Rome, AD. 1059,(55) and afterwards others, made commendable efforts for reforming the associations of the *canons*. Nor were these efforts without effect; for a better system of discipline was introduced into nearly all those associations. Yet all of them would not admit reform to the same extent. For some bodies of *canons* returned to the common method of living; except that they all resided in the same house, and ate at a common table; which was especially required by the pontiffs, and was extremely necessary, in order to prevent marriages among this class of priests. These *canons* retained the perquisites and revenues of their priestly offices, and used them at their pleasure. But other associations, chiefly through the influence of *Ivo*, afterwards bishop of Chartres, renounced all private property, and all their possessions and patrimony; and these lived very much after the manner of monks. Hence arose the distinction between *secular canons* and *regular*; the former obeying the precept of *Nicolaus II*, and the latter following the counsels of *Ivo*. And as *St. Augustine* introduced among his clergy nearly the same regulations as those of *Ivo*, though he did not commit any rules to writing; hence the *regular canons* were called by many, *regular canons of St. Augustine*, or *canons under the rule of St. Augustine*.(56)

(55) The decree of *Nicolaus II*, in the council of Rome, AD. 1059, (by which the old *rule* for canons adopted in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, was repealed, and another substituted,) was first published by *Jo. Mabillon*, among the documents, subjoined to Tom. IV. of his *Annales Benedict.* p. 748 &c. and it is also inserted in the *Annals* themselves, Lib. LXI. § xxxv. p. 586 &c.

(56) See *Jo. Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. IV. p. 586. and his *Opp.* posthuma, Tom. II. p. 102—115. *Helyot*, *Histoire des Ordres*, Tom. II. p. 11 &c. *Ludov. Thomassin*, *Disciplina ecclesiae circa beneficia*, Tom. I. P. I. Lib. III. cap. xi. p. 657 &c. *Muratori*, *Antiqq. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. V. p. 357 &c. Many documents occur likewise, in various parts of the *Gallia Christiana*, by the Benedictine monks, relating to this reformation of the *canons*, and the distinction among them. This recent origin of their order, is very disagreeable to the *regular canons*; for they wish, on many accounts, to be esteemed a very ancient, order: and hence, as is well known, they refer the origin of their order to the times of Christ, or at least to those of *Augustine*. But the arguments and testimonies they allege to prove their high antiquity, scarcely deserve a labored confutation. The name *canons* was doubtless used anterior to this century; but its import was anciently very extensive. See *Claude de Vert*, *Explication des ceremonies de la Messe*, Tome I. p. 58. Hence nothing can be inferred from the name. But of *regular* and *secular canons*, there is no mention in any work extant, older than this century: and it is certain, that those canons who had nothing in common, but their dwelling and table, were called *secular canons*; while those who had all things in common, without any exception whatever, were called *regular canons*. — [“To Dr. *Mosheim*’s account of the *canons*, it may not be improper to add a few words concerning their introduction into England, and their progress and establishment among us. The order of *regular canons of St. Augustine* was brought into England by *Adelwald*, confessor to *Henry I*; who first erected a priory of his order at *Nostel* in Yorkshire, and had influence enough to have the church of *Carlisle* converted into an episcopal see, and given to *regular canons*, invested with the privilege of choosing their bishop. This order was singularly favored and protected by *Henry I*, who gave them in the year 1107, the priory of *Dunstable*, and by queen *Maud*, who erected for them,

§ 30. Among the Greek writers, the following are the best.(57) *Theophanes Cerameus*, whose homilies, still extant, are not altogether contemptible.(58) *Nilus Doxopatrius*.(59) *Nicetas Pectoratus*, the most strenuous defender of the opinions of the Greeks against the Latins.(60) *Michael Psellus*, a learned man, and well known by his writings of various kinds.(61) *Michael Cerialarius*, patriarch of Constantinople, who revived the contest between the Greeks and the Romans, when it was nearly put to rest.(62) *Simeon*, junior, some of whose Meditations on the duties of a christian life, are extant.(63) *Theophylact* of Bulgaria, who acquired fame, especially, by his interpretation of the holy scriptures.(64)

the priory of the *Holy Trinity in London*, the prior of which was always one of the twenty-four aldermen. They increased so prodigiously, that besides the noble priory of *Merton*, which was founded for them in 1117, by *Gilbert*, an earl of Norman blood, they had under the reign of *Edward I*, fifty-three priories, as appears by the catalogue presented to that prince, when he obliged all the monasteries to receive his protection and to acknowledge his jurisdiction." *Macl.*

(57) Concerning all of whom, the *Biblioth. Græca* of *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, may be consulted.

(58) [*Theophanes*, surnamed *Cerameus*, (the potter,) was abp. of Tauromenium in Sicily, and probably flourished about AD. 1040, though some place him in the 9th century. His lxii. Homilies, on the lessons from the Gospels for all Sundays and festivals, are written in a natural, and didactic style. They are exegetical. *Fr. Scorsus* published them, Gr. and Lat. Paris 1644. Fol. Tr.]

(59) [*Nilus Doxopatrius*, an abbot, or archimandrite in the Gr. church. He resided at Panormus in Sicily, AD. 1043. He wrote an account of the five patriarchates; namely, of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, containing their statistics. Large extracts from which were published by *Leo Allat.* de Concordia Eccles. orient. et occident. and the intire work, Gr. and Lat. by *Steph. le Moine*, *Varia Sacra*, Tom. i. p. 211. Paris 1611. Tr.]

(60) [He was a monk and presbyter in the monastery of Studium, near Constantinople, and flourished, AD. 1050. He wrote against the Latins, and also against the Armenians. His book de azymis, de Sabbathorum jejuniis, et nuptiis sacerdotum, was published in Lat. by *Canisius*, Tom. vi. Some other of his polemic tracts have been partially published. Tr.]

(61) [For a notice of *Michael Psellus*, see note (4) to p. 174 of this volume. Tr.]

(62) [This *Michael* was patriarch, AD. 1043—1058. We have nothing of his, but some synodic decrees, and a few letters; all in controversy with the Latins. Tr.]

(63) [*Simeon* junior was abbot of St. Mamas, at Constantinople, about AD. 1050. His works, in a Latin translation, were published by *Pontanus*, at Ingolstadt, 1603. 4to; comprising xxxiii Orations on faith and christian morals; a book on divine love; and 228 Capita moralia, practica, et theologica. Tr.]

(64) [*Theophylact* was a native of Constantinople, and abp. of Acris in Bulgaria, AD. 1077. He wrote commentaries, (compiled from *Chrysostom*.) on nearly all the N. Test. and on the minor prophets; also lxxv Epistles, and several tracts: all of which were well published, Gr. and Lat. Venice 1754. Fol. The older editions are less perfect. Besides the writers mentioned by *Mosheim*, the Greeks of this century had the following.

Alexius, patriarch of Constantinople, AD. 1025—1043. Some of his decrees are extant.

Peter, patriarch of Antioch in the middle of this century, has left us iii Epistles, and a profession of his faith.

Leo, abp. of Acris in Bulgaria, AD. 1053. He engaged in the contest against the Latins. One of his Epistles, and extracts from others, are extant.

John, metropolitan of Euchaita in Paphlagonia, AD. 1054, has left a poem on

§ 31. The Latins esteem the following, as their best writers. *Fulbert* of Chartres, a man who encouraged literature and the education of youth, and who has rendered himself famous by his Epistles, and by his immoderate zeal for the virgin Mary. (65) *Humbert*, a cardinal, who wrote against the Greeks, the most zealously and learnedly of all the Latins in this century. (66) *Petrus Damianus*, whose genius, candor, integrity, and writings of various kinds, entitle him to rank among the first men of the age, although he was not free from the faults of the times. (67) *Ma-*

the history of the principal festivals, published, Eton. 1610. 4to. and a few lives of monkish saints.

John Xiphilin, patriarch of Constantinople, AD. 1066—1078. He was of honorable birth, but abandoned public life, became a monk, and at last a patriarch. He has left us a Homily on the cross, and some decrees. His nephew, also called *John Xiphilin*, and his contemporary, was the epitomizer of *Dion Cassius*.

Samuel, a converted Jew of Morocco in Africa, wrote AD. 1070, a letter or tract, in Arabic, proving that the Messiah was already come. A Latin translation of it, is in the Biblioth. Patrum, Tom xviii. p. 519.

Samonas, abp. of Gaza, AD. 1072, wrote a tract, or dispute with Achmed a Saracen, proving the doctrine of transubstantiation: published, Gr. and Lat. in *Duceus*, Auctuarium, Tom. ii. p. 277.

Michael Attaliata, a Gr. jurist, proconsul, and judge, AD. 1072. He wrote a Synopsis or practical treatise on the imperial laws, in xcv Titles, addressed to Michael Ducas: published Gr. and Lat. by *J. Leunclav.* de Jure Gr. Rom. Tom. ii. p. 1.

Nicetas Serron, deacon of the chh. at Constantinople, and then abp. of Hieraclea. He flourished AD. 1077; and wrote commentaries on *Gregory Nazianzen*. To him, as well as to *Olympiodorus*, has been ascribed the Catena on Job, published Gr. and Lat. by *Fr. Junius*, Lond. 1637. Fol.

Nicolaus, Grammaticus, patriarch of Constantinople, AD. 1084—1111. He has left us a long letter to *Alexis Comnenus*, against depriving metropolitans of their sees; also several decrees. Tr.]

(65) For an account of this famous man, see the *Histoire litteraire de la France*, Tome VII. p. 261.—[*St. Fulbert* came from Rome to Chartres, about AD. 1000, and there taught school, with great reputation. In the year 1007, he was made bp. of Chartres: and filled that office till his death in the year 1028. His writings consist of 134 letters, generally well written, and of some use to the history of those times; besides several indifferent sermons, some worse poetry, and two lives of monkish saints. They were edited, with bad faith, Paris 1608. 8vo. and thence admitted into the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xviii. p. 1. See *Du Pin's* Ecclesiastical authors, vol. ix. p. 1 &c. Tr.]

66. See *Martene's* Thesaurus Anecdotor. Tom. v. p. 629. *Histoire litteraire de la France*, Tome, vii. p. 527 &c. [*Humbert* was a monk of Toul, well skilled in Greek, whom pope *Leo IX.* took with him to Rome, AD. 1049, and there made him a cardinal. He was employed in several important commissions; but especially in a papal embassy to Constantinople, AD. 1054. He died after AD. 1064. His writings are all controversial; and chiefly against the Greeks. They are extant, partly in *Baronius' Annals*, and all of them in *Canisius, Lectiones Antiq.* Tom. vi. and in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xviii. Tr.]

(67) See the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. Tom. iii. p. 406. *Bayle*, Dictionaire, Tom. ii. p. 950. *Casim. Oudin*, Diss. in his Comment. de scriptor. eccles. Tom. ii. p. 686 &c. [*Peter Damian* was born of humble parentage at Ravenna, AD. 1007. Educated by his brother, he early became a monk, a teacher, a reformer of morals, an abbot of Ostia, and cardinal of the Romish church. But weary of public life, he resigned his bishoprick, and retired to his monastery. The pontiffs employed him as their legate, on several most difficult enterprises, in which he acquitted himself with great address and prudence. He was sent to Milan, AD. 1059, to suppress simony and clerical incontinence: and AD. 1062, was dispatched to *Clugni* in France, to reform that monastery, and settle its controversies: and in 1063, was legate to Florence, for settling a contest between the bp. and

rianus Scotus, whose *Chronicon*, and some other of his writings, are extant.(68) *Anselm*, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of great acumen, well versed in the dialectics of his age, and peculiarly well acquainted with theological subjects.(69) *Lanfranc*, also archbishop of Canterbury, well known for his exposition of the epistles of Paul, and his other writings; from which he must be acknowledged, not destitute of perspicuity, nor of learning, according to the standard of his age.(70) The two *Brunos*, the one of Monte Cassino,(71) and the other, the founder of the

the citizens: and 1069, he was sent into Germany, to dissuade king *Henry* from repudiating his queen *Bertha*: and lastly in 1072, he was papal legate to *Ravenna*, for reconciling that church to the papal dominions; and died on his return, in February, 1074, aged 66. He was a man of great learning, devout, honest, frank, and well acquainted with human nature. He wrote with ease and perspicuity. His numerous writings were collected in iii. vol. Fol. by *Cajetan*, Rome 1606; often reprinted since; but best at Venice, 1754, in iv. vol. Fol. They consist of viii. Books of letters; about 60 tracts, on various subjects of discipline, morals, and casuistry; Sermons for all sundays and festivals of the year; and the lives of several saints, viz. *St. Odilo*, *St. Maurus*, *St. Romuald*, *St. Rodolph*, *St. Flora*, and *St. Lucilla*; besides notices of many others. Tr.]

(68) [*Marianus Scotus* was born in Ireland, AD. 1028, became a monk, travelled into Germany in 1058, where he spent the remainder of his life, in the monasteries of Cologne, Fulda, and Mayence. He died AD. 1086, aged 58. His *Chronicon* extends from the creation to AD. 1083; and was continued by *Dodechin*, to AD. 1200. It is published among the *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, by *Struve* and others. His other writing are of little value. Tr.]

(69) See the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tome ix. p. 396. *Rapin Thoyras*, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, Tom. ii. p. 65, 166 &c. *Colonia*, *Histoire liter. de Lyon*, Tome ii. p. 210. [*Eadmer*, (*Anselm's* secretary,) de vita S. *Anselmi*, Lib. ii. in the *Acta Sanctor.* April, Tom. ii. p. 893. *Wharton's Anglia sacra*, P. ii. p. 179. and *Milner's Hist. of the church of Christ*. Cent. XI. ch. v.—*St. Anselm* was born at Aosta in Piedmont, AD. 1033. After acquiring an education, and traveling in France, he became a monk, at Bec in Normandy, at the age of 27. Here he taught with great reputation, succeeded *Lanfranc* in the abbacy, and was made abp. of Canterbury, next after *Lanfranc*, AD. 1093. In that office he spent an unquiet life, which ended AD. 1109. He was in continual collision with the kings of England, respecting investiture and encroachments upon clerical rights. Twice he left the kingdom, travelled to Italy, and resided at Rome and at Lyons. His works have been published frequently; the best edition is by *Gabr. Gerberon*, Paris 1675. iii. Tom. Fol. They comprise a large number of letters, many sermons, and meditations on practical and devotional subjects, and a considerable number of doctrinal and polemic treatises. Tr.]

(70) *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tome viii. p. 260. [And *Vita Beati Lanfranci*, by *Milo Crispin*, chantor in the monastery of Bec in the age next after *Lanfranc*; in *Jo. Mabillon's Acta Sanctor.* ord. Bened. Tom. ix. p. 630—660. *Lanfranc* was a native of Pavia, travelled into France very early in life, became a monk at Bec in Normandy, AD. 1041, taught there with very great applause, and drew pupils from afar; was made prior, and then Abbot, of his monastery, and counsellor to *William* the conqueror, and AD. 1070. abp. of Canterbury, in which office he died AD. 1088. He had contention with *Thomas*, abp. of York, about priority; went to Rome, on that and other subjects; and bore a conspicuous part in the civil transactions of England. His works which were collected and published by *Dachery*, Lucca 1648. Fol. comprise his Commentary on the epistles of St. Paul; about 60 letters; a tract on transubstantiation; and a few other small pieces. Tr.]

(71) [This *Bruno* was a native of Lombardy, educated in the monastery of Asti, became a canon in the cathedral of Sienna, Tuscany; disputed against *Berengarius*, in the council at Rome 1079; and was soon after, by the pope, created bp. of *Segni*, in the ecclesiastical states. Weary of public life, he fled to Monte Cassino, AD. 1104: but the pontiff ordered him back to his bishoprick. In 1107, he again went to Monte Cassino, and was there made abbot, with the

Carthusian order.(72) *Ivo* of Chartres, a very active restorer of ecclesiastical law and order.(73) *Hildebert* of le Mans, as a theologian, philosopher, and poet, not one of the best, nor one of the worst.(74) Lastly, *Gregory VII*, the most haughty of the Roman pontiffs, who undertook to elucidate some parts of the holy scriptures, and wrote some other things.(75)

consent of the pope. But in the year 1111, the pontiff required him to resign his abbacy, and resume his episcopal staff; which he held till his death, AD. 1125. His writings were published at Venice 1651. ii. vol. Fol. The first vol. contains his Commentaries, on the Pentateuch, Job, Psalms, Canticles, and the Apocalypse. The second vol. contains 145 homilies on the Gospel lessons, some letters and tracts, and a life of the pontiff *Leo IX*. Tr.]

(72) [For an account of *St. Bruno*, the founder of the Carthusians, see pa. 207 of this vol. and note (51) there.—After spending six years at Chartreuse, *Urban II*, who had been his pupil, summoned him to Rome, AD. 1092. that he might become his counsellor. But the scenes of public life were so disagreeable to him, that the pontiff, in 1095, gave him leave to retire. He travelled to the extreme part of Calabria, and there with a few of his monks, spent the remainder of his life. He died AD. 1101. To him have been ascribed most, or all, of the works written by *Bruno* of Segni, mentioned in the preceding note. But he wrote nothing, except two letters, during his residence in Calabria, and a confession of his faith, which is extant in *Mabillon's Analecta*, Tom. iv. p. 400. Tr.]

(73) [*Ivo*, or *Yvo*, was a native of Beauvais in France, educated under *Lanfranc*, at Bec, then abbot of St. Quentin, and at last bp. of Chartres, AD. 1092—1115. He was a very learned man; and a partizan of the Roman pontiffs, which involved him in some difficulties. His works were published, by *Jo. Bapt. Souchet*, Paris 1647. Fol. They comprise Decretorum Liber, in xvii. parts; Pannormia, or a summary of ecclesiastical law; 287 Epistles; 22 Sermons; and a short Chronicle of the kings of France, extending from *Pharamond* to *Philip I*. Tr.]

(74) all the works of this *Hildebert*, who was certainly a man of learning and ingenuity, were published by the Benedictine monks, with the explanatory notes of *Anton. Beaugendre*, Paris 1708. Fol. [They comprise about a hundred well written Epistles, and some sermons, tracts, and poems of an ordinary character.—*Hildebert* was born at Lavardin in the diocese of Mans, became a monk of Clugni, studied under the famous *Berengarius*, and was made bp. of Mans, about AD. 1098, and abp. of Tours, AD. 1125, where he died AD. 1132. Tr.]

(75) [The Epistles of *Gregory VII*, in number 370, are found in all the collections of councils; e. g. by *Harduin*, Tom. vi. P. i. p. 1195 &c. His other writings are few, and little worth. To him some attribute an exposition of the vii penitential Psalms, published as the work of *Gregory* the Great. His exposition of St. Matthew, exists in M. S. and some fragments of it have been published.

The following list embraces most of the Latin writers omitted by Dr. *Mosheim*. For a fuller account of them, see *Cave's Historia Litterar. Du Pin*, and others.

Aimoin of Aquitaine, a Benedictine monk of Fleury, AD. 1001. His *Historiae Francorum Libri* iv. to AD. 752, with an additional Book by another hand, is published among the *Scriptores Francicos*. He also wrote ii. Books recounting the miracles of St. Benedict; a life of *St. Abbo* of Fleury; and some other things.

Godehard, a monk, and bp. of Hildesheim, AD. 1002; has left us v. Epistles, published by *Mabillon*, *Analecta*, Tom. iv. p. 349.

Gozbert, abbot of Tegern in Bavaria, AD. 1002; has left us iv. Epistles, published also by *Mabillon*, *Analecta*, Tom. iv. p. 347.

Adelbold, a nobleman, counsellor and general under the emperor *Henry*; then a monk, and AD. 1008—1027, bp. of Utrecht. He is supposed to be the author of the *Libri* ii. de vita S. Henrici Imperat. published by *Canisius*, *Surius*, and *Gretser*.

Berno, a monk of St. Gall, abbot of Richenau near Constance, died AD. 1045. He wrote de officio missae, seu de rebus missae officium pertinentibus, Liber; (in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xviii.) and Lives of *St. Udalric*, and *St. Meginrad*.

Hugo, archdeacon of Tours, AD. 1020, wrote *Dialogus ad Fulbertum Carnotensem Episcopum*; published by *Mabillon*, *Analecta*, Tom. ii.

John, surnamed *Johannelinus*, from his diminutive stature, abbot Fiscamensis, AD. 1023—1078. He wrote many prayers and religious meditations, and some epistles; published by *Mabillon*, *Annalecta*, Tom. I.

Ademar, a monk of Limoges, AD. 1030. He wrote a Chronicle of the French monarchy, from its commencement, to AD. 1029; an account of some abbots of Limoges; and a supplement to the work of *Amalarius* de divinis officiis.

Hugo, de Britolio, a monk of Clugni, and bp. of Limoges, AD. 1030—1049, when he was deposed for simony. He retired to the monastery of Verdun; and wrote a tract against *Berengarius*, in favor of transubstantiation, which is in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xviii. p. 417.

Bruno, duke of Carinthia, and bishop of Würzburg, AD. 1033—1045. To instruct his clergy, he compiled from the fathers, Commentaries on the Psalms, and on all the devotional hymns of the scriptures, also on the Apostolic, Ambrosian, and Athanasian Creeds; published, Cologne, 1494; and in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xviii. p. 65.

Hermannus surnamed *Contractus*, because all his limbs were contracted by a paralytic affection. He was accounted a vast scholar, well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Arabic, and in theology, history, philosophy, and all the sciences of the age. Though of noble parentage, he became a monk of St. Gall, and of Richenau, till his death, AD. 1054. He wrote *Chronicon de sex mundi aetibus*, from the creation, to AD. 1054. published among the scriptores Germanicos; and in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xviii. p. 348.

Glaber Radulphus, a monk of St. Germain de Auxerre, and then of Clugni, AD. 1045. He wrote *Historiarum Libri v* extending from AD. 900, to AD. 1045; published among the *Scriptores Francicos*; also a life of St. Gulielmus, abbot of St. Benignus of Dijon.

Deoduin or *Theoduin*, bp. of Liege, AD. 1045—1075. He wrote a letter or tract, addressed to *Henry* king of France, against the doctrine of *Berengarius* and his followers; in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xviii. p. 419.

Hugo, abbot of Clugni, AD. 1048—1108. He was of noble French parentage, and became a monk at the age of 15. Some of his letters are extant in *Dachery*, *Spicilegium*, Tom. ii.

Leo IX, pope AD. 1048—1054. (see above p. 183.) He has left us xix Epistles, extant in the collections of the councils, (e. g. *Harduin's* Tom. vi. P. i. p. 927.) besides a number of homilies or sermons. His life written by Wibert, a contemporary, is in *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. ix. p. 49 &c.

Anselm, a canon of Liege, and dean of Namur, AD. 1050. He wrote a history of the bishops of Liege, from AD. 666, to about AD. 1048; published by *Jo. Chapeaville*, Liege 1612. 4to.

Stephen IX, pope, AD. 1057—1058. He has left ii. Epistles.

Albert, a monk and deacon of Monte Cassino, and a cardinal, AD. 1057—1079. He wrote many poems, and other tracts, devotional and polemic, and some lives of saints, all of which are said to exist still in manuscript. His life of *St. Dominic*, is the only work of his, published; extant in *Mabillon's* *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. viii. p. 35 &c.

Alphanus, abbot in the Benedictine monastery at Salerno, and then archbishop there AD. 1057—1086. He wrote numerous poems, devotional, and in praise of the saints; most of which were published by *Ughell*, annexed to his *Italia sacra*, Tom. ii.

Nicolaus II, pope AD. 1058—1061. He has left us viii Epistles; extant in the collections of the councils.

Gauferius, called also *Benedict*, a monk of Monte Cassino, AD. 1060. He wrote some sermons on the festivals, and some religious poems; which are in the library of Monte Cassino.

Alexander ii. pope, AD. 1061—1073. He has xlv. Epistles, in the collections of the councils.

Berthold, a German ecclesiastic, presbyter of Constance, and a warm partizan of *Gregory VII*, against *Henry IV*. He flourished from about AD. 1066, to 1100. His *Historia sui temporis*, ab anno 1053, usque ad ann. 1100; and his Appendix to *Hermann Contractus'* Chronicle, from AD. 1055—1066, are published among the *Scriptores rerum Germanicorum*. Some of his tracts also, in support of *Gregory's* measures, were published by *Gretser*.

Guilmund, a Benedictine monk of Normandy, and then archbishop of Aversa in Italy, died AD. 1080. He has left iii Books on the real presence in the Eucharist; a statement of the doctrine of the trinity &c. and an address to *William I*, king of England: all extant in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xviii.

Sigifrid, archbishop of Mayence, from about 1069, to 1084. In the year 1064, he led a band of 7,000 German pilgrims to the holy land. In 1074, he attempted to reclaim his clergy from simony and matrimony, without success. In 1076, *Gregory VII.*, excommunicated him, for adhering the cause of *Henry*; but the next year he revolted; and he it was crowned *Rodolph* the competitor for the German throne. Four of his epistles are in the collections of councils.

Durand, a monk of Normandy, AD. 1070, was one who wrote against *Beren-garius*. His tract is subjoined to *Lanfranci* Opp. ed. *Dachery*.

Gualdo, a monk of Corbey, AD. 1070; wrote a metrical life of *St. Ansgar*, bishop of Hamburg, and apostle of the North; which is in *Mabillon's Acta Sanctor.* ord. Bened. Tom. vi. p. 116.

St. Anselm, bishop of Lucca, AD. 1071—1086. He was a decided supporter of *Gregory VII.*; and wrote ii. Books in his defence, against *Guibert* the antipope; also a collection of sentences from the fathers, in support of *Gregory's* principles, respecting the independence of the clergy and the church, of all civil power; both which are extant in *Canisius*, Lectt. antiq. Tom. vi. and in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xviii. p. 602. and Tom. xxvii. p. 436. His life, written by one of his friends and pupils, is in *Mabillon's Acta Sanctor.* ord. Bened. Tom. ix. p. 460 &c.

Willemus, an abbot of Metz, AD. 1073. and friendly to *Gregory VII.* *Mabillon* has published vii of his Epistles and an oration, in his *Analecta*, Tom. i. p. 247.

Ingrulfus of Croyland, born in London AD. 1030, educated at Westminster, and Oxford. In 1051, he accompanied *William* duke of Normandy, to France, and became his private secretary. To escape envy, in 1064, he retired to Germany, and was one of the 7,000, who went as pilgrims to the holy land, under *Sigifrid* archbishop of Mayence. On his return he was made abbot of *Fontenelle*, and AD. 1076, *William*, now king of England, invited him thither, and made him abbot of Croyland, till his death, AD. 1109. He was very intimate with *Lanfranc*, archbishop of Canterbury. His *History of the monastery of Croyland*, from AD. 664, to about 1091, was published by *Saville*, among the v. *Scriptores Anglicos*, Lond. 1596, Fol. and still better among the *Rerum Anglicar. Scriptores*, Oxon. 1684. Fol.

Lambert of Schaafnaberg. He became a monk at Hirsfeld, AD. 1058; soon after travelled as a pilgrim to the holy land, and returning, resumed his monastic life at Hirsfeld. There he composed, AD. 1077, his *History*, which is a mere chronicle, from the creation to AD. 1050, and then a very diffuse history, down to AD. 1077. His style is commended very highly. The work is published among the *Scriptores Germanicos*.

Hugo, bishop of Die, in the year 1077, and archbishop of Lyons from AD. 1080, till after AD. 1099. He was much engaged in the public transactions of the times. Two of his Epistles to *Gregory VII.* are in the collections of the councils.

Micrologus, a fictitious name for the author of a Tract on the ceremonies of the mass, written in the latter part of this century, or perhaps in the next; which is extant, among the *Scriptores de divinis Officiis*, Paris 1610, Fol. and in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xviii. p. 469.

Adamus, surnamed *Magister*, a canon of Bremen from AD. 1077, and who flourished AD. 1080. He wrote *Historiae ecclesiasticae praesertim Bremensis Libri iv*; in which he describes, with much fidelity, the propagation of christianity in Hamburg, Bremen, Denmark, and throughout the North, from the times of *Charlemagne*, to those of *Henry IV*; to which he subjoined a geographical account of Denmark, and other northern countries: published by *Lindembrog*, Leyden 1595. 4to. and Helmstadt 1670. 4to.

Benno, a German ecclesiastic, who adhered to *Clement III.* or *Guibert*, the antipope; was made archpresbyter and cardinal of Rome, and took a very active part against *Gregory VII.* He flourished about AD. 1085; and wrote *de vita et rebus gestis Hildebrandi et Papae Libri ii*; published, Francf. 1581. and among the *Opuscula Anti-Gregoriana*, by *Goldast*, Hanover 1611. 4to. p. 1.

Victor III. pope AD. 1086—1087. He was born at Benevento, AD. 1027; bore the name of *Dauferius*, till he became a monk of Monte Cassino, when he assumed the name of *Desiderius*; became abbot there in 1056, was made a cardinal, and employed on important occasions by the pontiffs. But he was ever partial to a retired and monastic life. His *Dialogues on the miracles of St. Benedict*, and other monks of Monte Cassino, in iv Books, (a work stuffed with idle

tales,) has been frequently published; e. g. by *Mabillon*, in his *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Saecul. iv. P. ii.*

Urban II. pope, AD. 1087—1099. His former name was *Otho*, a native of Châtillon in the diocese of Rheims, a monk of Clugni, cardinal bishop of Ostia, and much employed by *Gregory VII.* While pope, he pursued the measures of *Gregory*. He has left us six Epistles, and ii harangues in favor of a crusade; extant in the collections of the councils. *Mabillon* gives some account of his life, *Acta Sanctor. ord. Benedict. Tom. ix. p. 902 &c.*

Lambert, bishop of Arras, from AD. 1094 onwards. Three of his Epistles are in the collections of the councils.

Raimund de Ageles, a canon of le Puy, France, and chaplain to the earl of Toulouse, (who was also bishop of le Puy,) whom he accompanied in his expedition to the holy land, AD. 1095. He saw the holy lance dug out of the earth, and carried it at the siege of Antioch. He wrote the *History of Jerusalem*, describing especially the achievements of the earl of Toulouse, during five years, from the time they entered Slavonia on their way to the East. The work is in the collection of *Bongars, de gestis Dei per Francos*, Tom. i. p. 139.

Gotselin, or *Goscelin*, a Benedictine monk of St. Bertin in Artois, and then of St. Augustine at Canterbury, who flourished AD. 1096. He wrote the life of *St. Augustine*, the apostle of England; which is extant in *Mabillon's Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. Tom. i. p. 498.*

Balderic, secretary to two successive bishops of Arras and Cambray, and then bishop of Nimeguen and Tournay, AD. 1097—1112. He wrote a history or chronicle of the churches of Cambray and Arras, in iii Books; published by *Geo. Colvener*, Douay, 1615.

Paschal II. pope, AD. 1099—1118. His former name was *Rainer* or *Raginger*; a Tuscan by birth, a monk of Clugni, a presbyter and cardinal of Rome, abbot of St. Laurence and St. Stephen, and at last pope. His wars and contests with *Henry V.* were very violent. One hundred and seven of his Epistles, are in the collections of councils; and some more in *Baluze*, *Miscellanies*. Tr.]

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. The state of religion.—§ 2, 3. Witnesses for the truth.—§ 4. Expositions of the scriptures.—§ 5, 6. Scholastic theology.—§ 7. Moral theology.—§ 8. Polemic theology.—§ 9, 10, 11. Controversies between the Greeks and Latins.—§ 12. New contest, respecting the holiness of images.—§ 13. Contentions in the Latin church. Controversy respecting the Lord's supper.—§ 14, 15, 16, 17. The pontiff's labor in vain to settle it.—§ 18. The result as to Berengarius, and his friends.—§ 19. Dispute in France, respecting Martial.

§ 1. It is not necessary to be minute in describing the state of the public religion of this age. For who can doubt, that it was debased and corrupt, when the guardians of it were alike destitute of sacred and secular knowledge, and void of virtue, and even the first men in the church exhibited examples of the grossest vices? The people at large were wholly absorbed in superstition; and concerned themselves with nothing but statues, and images, and relics, and the futile rites which the caprice of their priests enjoined upon them. The learned had not indeed wholly lost all knowledge of the truth; but they obscured and debased it with opinions and doctrines, which were, some of them, ludicrous and silly, others hurtful and pernicious, and others useless and uncertain. It is certain that there were, here and there, pious and good men, who would willingly have aided the suffering cause of piety. But they themselves needed protection, against the satellites of superstition and impiety.

§ 2. From the times of *Gregory VII*, however, pretty clear traces appear, in some countries of Europe, especially in Italy and France, of those persons whom the Protestants denominate *witnesses of the truth*; that is, of pious and good men, who deplored the imperfection and defects of the public religion, and of the whole clerical order, who opposed the lordly domination both of the Roman pontiffs and of the bishops, and who attempted, sometimes covertly, and sometimes openly, to effect a reformation in the church.(1) For rude as this age was, and ignorant in general of the true revealed religion; yet those few fragments, as it were, of christianity,(2) which were exhibited and explained to the people, were sufficient to shew, even to the illiterate and

(1) [Some have considered *Peter Damianus*, *Hilbert*, *Ivo*, *Waltham* bishop of Naumburg, and *Lambert* of Aschaffenburg, as examples of this class of persons. *von Einem*.—See *F. Spanheim's* *Introductio ad Historiam eccles. N. T. Saecul. xi. cap. vii. § 5. p. 313.* and the *Catalogus Testium veritatis*, *Lib. xii, xiii. Tr.*]

(2) [In some of the writers of this century, we meet with specimens of sound christian doctrine, as well as of devout breathings of a pious soul. The English reader may see, for an example, the life of *Anselm* of Canterbury, in *Milner's* history of the church, century xi. ch. v. *Tr.*]

the laboring classes, that the religion publicly inculcated, was not the true religion of *Christ*; that *Christ* required of his followers, things wholly different from those exhibited in the discourses, and in the lives and morals of the clergy; that the pontiffs and the bishops exceedingly misused their power and opulence; and that the favor of God and salvation were to be obtained, not by a round of ceremonies, nor by donations to the churches and priests, nor by erecting and endowing monasteries, but by holiness in the soul.

§ 3. Those however, who undertook the great work of reforming the church and religion, were for the most part incompetent to the task; and by their solicitude to avoid some faults, they ran into others. All indeed perceived the defects and the odiousness of the prevailing religion; but none, or at least very few of them, understood the nature and essential character of true religion. This will not appear strange, to one who is well acquainted with those unhappy times. Hence, these reformers often mixed much that was false, with a little that was true. As all saw, that most of the principal enormities and crimes of the bishops and clergy, were the consequence of their wealth and opulence; they placed too high an estimate on poverty and indigence, and looked upon voluntary poverty as the primary virtue of a good religious teacher. They all supposed the church of the primitive times, to be a model, after which all churches were ever after to be formed and regulated; and the practice of the apostles of Jesus Christ, they considered as an inviolable law for all priests. Many also, grieved to see the people place all their dependance for salvation on the ceremonies of religion and the external worship of God, contended that the whole of religion consisted in the internal emotions of the mind, and the contemplation of divine things; and they contemned and wished to abolish all external worship, and to have no houses of worship, no religious meetings, no public teachers, and no sacraments.

§ 4. A large number both of the Greeks and the Latins, applied themselves to the interpretation of the holy scriptures. Among the Latins, the two *Brunos* expounded the Psalms of David; *Lanfranc*, the Epistles of Paul; *Berengarius*, the Apocalypse of St. John; *Gregory VII.* the Gospel of St. Matthew; and others, other portions of the sacred volume. But all these follow the perverse custom of their age; that is, they either transcribe the works of former interpreters, or they apply the declarations of the sacred writers, so whimsically, to heavenly things and to the duties of life, that a wise man can scarcely restrain his indignation. The most eminent of the Greek interpreters, was *Theophylact* of Bulgaria; though he also drew most of his comments from the ancients, particularly from *Chrysostom*. (3) Af-

(3) For an account of *Theophylact*, see *Rich. Simon's Histoire critique des principaux Commentateurs du N. T.* cap. xxviii. p. 380; and his *Critique de la*

ter him we may place *Michael Psellus*, who attempted to explain the Psalms and the book of Canticles; the *Catena* on Job, by *Nicetas*; and some few others.

§ 5. Hitherto all the Latin theologians, except a few of the Irish, who threw obscurity on religious doctrines by their philosophical speculations, had illustrated, explained, and proved the doctrines of christianity, solely from the holy scriptures, or from them in connexion with the opinions and writings of the fathers. But in the middle of this century, some divines, among whom was *Berengarius*, well known by his controversy respecting the Lord's supper, ventured to apply the precepts of logic and metaphysics to the explanation of the scriptural doctrines, and the confirmation of their own opinions. Hence, the opposer and rival of *Berengarius*, *Lanfranc*, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, employed the same weapons against *Berengarius* and his followers; and in general, labored to impart light and confirmation to certain religious truths, by the aids of reason. His example was followed by *St. Anselm*, likewise an archbishop of Canterbury, and a man of great intellectual acumen; and to these succeeded many others. From these beginnings, gradually arose that species of philosophic theology, which, from the *schools*, in which it most prevailed, obtained afterwards the name of *scholastic theology*. (4) But there was far more sobriety, and good sense, in these reconcilers of faith and reason, than in their successors; for they used perspicuous language, had no fondness for vain and idle disputations; and for the most part, made use of the precepts of logic and philosophy, only in combatting their antagonists. (5)

Bibliothèque des Auteurs Eccles. par M. du Pin, Tome i. p. 310. where he also treats of *Nicetas* and *Oecumenius*.

(4) See *Christ. Aug. Heumann*, Praefat. ad *Tribechovii* librum de doctoribus scholasticis, p. xiv. The sentiments of the learned, respecting the first author or inventor of the scholastic theology, are collected by *Jo. Fran. Buddeus*, *Isagoge ad theologiam*, Tom. i. p. 358.

(5) That it may be seen, how much wiser the first scholastics were, than their disciples and followers, I will subjoin a passage from *Lanfranc*, whom many regard as the first author of the scholastic theology. In his tract de corpore et sanguine Domini, cap. viii. Opp. p. 236. ed. *Dachery*; he says: "God is my witness, and my own conscience, that, in treating sacred subjects, I do not wish to bring forward dialectical questions, and their solutions; nor to answer them, when brought forward by others. And if, at any time, the subject under discussion is such, that it can be most satisfactorily explained by the rules of this art; as far as I am able, I cover over the art, by citations of equivalent import; that I may not seem to place more reliance upon this art, than upon the truth, and the authority of the holy fathers." The concluding words in this quotation, indicate those sources, from which theologians, previously to this age, had derived all their arguments; namely, the holy scripture, which he denominates *the truth*, and the writings of the ancient fathers. To these two sources of proof, the theologians now suffered a *third* to be added, namely, *dialectics*. Yet they would have none recur to this, except *disputants*; whose business it is, to withstand opponents that wield dialectical weapons, and to solve the difficulties suggested by reason. But unhappily, in the following ages, the two former sources of proof were used but sparingly, and philosophical proof, alone, and that not very wisely stated, was deemed sufficient to substantiate every thing in a system of theology.

§ 6. Following these principles, the Latin theologians began to reduce all the truths of revealed religion into a connected system, and to subject them to the laws of the human sciences; a thing which no one before had attempted; if we except *Tajo* of Saragossa, a writer of the seventh century, and *Damascenus* among the Greeks, in the eighth century. For all the Latin writers, previously to this age, had only occasionally, and never in a formal manner, elucidated and explained the points of theology; nor had they thus explained them *all*, but only such as the occasions demanded. The first attempt at a *system of theology*, was by *Anselm*; (6) and the first who completed an entire system, or body of divinity, was *Hildebert*, bishop of le Mans, and afterwards archbishop of Tours, just at the close of the century. And all the subsequent, almost numberless, writers of *systems of theology*, (*Summarum Theologicarum*,) seem to have followed *Hildebert* as their model. (7) The method of *Hildebert* is, first to substantiate each doctrine, by passages of scripture, and by authorities from the fathers; which had been the common method hitherto: and then, to solve the difficulties and objections which may be raised, by the aid of reason and philosophy; which was something new and peculiar to this age. (8)

(6) [The principal treatise by *Anselm*, here referred to, is that entitled: *Cur Deus homo?* in two Books, (in his Opp. p. 74—96. ed. Paris 1721, Fol.) The work corresponds with its title, its object being to answer the question, *Why did God become incarnate?* He describes the fallen state of man, and his need of an almighty Savior, to atone for his sins, and raise him to a state of bliss after death; and he shows, that an incarnate God, and he only, could perform the office of a mediator. The views and speculations of *Anselm* on this whole subject, have prevailed very generally, quite down to the present times. Nor have *Grotius*, and *Edwards*, and the most elaborate modern writers, added much on the subject. Another tract of *Anselm*, on the same important subject, is entitled *de Conceptu Virginali et originali Peccato Liber*; (in his Opp. p. 97—106.) Besides these, he has four others, on important subjects. The first is a philosophical inquiry into the nature of truth, *de Veritate*; Opp. p. 109—115. The second is on free will, *de libero arbitrio*; Opp. p. 117—122. The third is on the fall of the sinning angels, *de casu Diaboli*; Opp. p. 62—73. The fourth is a philosophical explanation of the doctrine of the divine decrees, and its consistency with free and accountable action in creatures, *de concordia præscientiæ et prædestinationis, nec non gratiæ cum libero arbitrio*; Opp. p. 123—134. On all these subjects, *Anselm* thought intensely, and endeavored to meet every objection and difficulty, which could be urged. But he did not wander from his subject, and take up a whole system of divinity in one, or even all, of these his theological tracts. Tr.]

(7) This first system of theology among the Latins, or *Tractatus Theologicus*, as it is entitled, is among the Works of *Hildebert*, p. 1010, in the edition of *Anton. de Beaugendre*; who has shown, in his preface to the volume, that *Peter Lombard*, *Robert Pulleyn*, and the other writers of *Summaries*, trod in the footsteps of *Hildebert*. [This tract, occupies about 90 folio pages, and is divided into 40 chapters. It treats of the nature of faith, free will, and sin, the Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, original sin, and grace, predestination and preecence, and the sacraments. But it scarcely touches upon the doctrine of atonement by Jesus Christ, its value and efficacy, of faith in Christ, of regeneration and sanctification, and the promises of the gospel. Tr.]

(8) I will here subjoin an opinion of *Anselm* of Canterbury, taken from his treatise entitled: *Cur Deus homo*, Lib. i. c. 2. Opp. p. 75. an opinion, which the first philosophical theologians, or the *Scholastics*, among the Latins, seem to have received as a sacred and immutable law in theology: "As the right order of

§ 7. Those of this age, who undertook to give rules for a christian life and conduct, attempted a great object, without possessing in general adequate resources. This may be seen, by looking over the work of *Peter Damianus* on the virtues ; and the Moral Philosophy, and the Tract on the four virtues of a religious life, by *Hildebert* bishop of le Mans. Nor did the moralists usually add any thing to their precepts respecting the virtues, except what they called the *written law* : by which they intended the ten commandments of Moses. *Anselm* wrote some tracts, calculated to excite pious emotions, and a Book of meditations and prayers, in which many good thoughts occur. Nor did the *mystics*, as they are called, wholly abstain from writing. Among the Latins, *John Johannellus* composed a book expressly on *divine contemplations* : (9) and among the Greeks, *Simeon* junior wrote some tracts on the same subject : not to mention some others.

§ 8. Many of the polemics of this age, came forth, armed with dialectical arguments, and demonstrations ; yet few of them could use such arguments dexterously, and properly : and they aimed, not so much to confute their adversaries, as to confound them with their subtilities. Those who were destitute of such armor, contend so badly, that it is manifest they commenced writing, before they had considered why, and what, they were to write. *Damianus* defended christianity against the Jews, with good intentions, but with little effect. And there is extant, a tract of *Samuel*, a converted Jew, against his nation. *Anselm* of Canterbury assailed the despisers of all religion and of God, with acuteness, in his book, *against the fool* (*adversus insipientem*) ; but perhaps the subtilty of the reasoning exceeded the comprehension of those he aimed to convince.

§ 9. The public contests between the Greek and Latin churches, which though not settled, had now for a long time been suspended, were indiscreetly revived, and rendered more violent by new accusations, in the year 1053, by *Michael Cerularius*, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of a restless spirit. The pretence for renewing hostilities was, zeal for the truth, and for religion ; but the true cause was, the arrogance and ambition of the two patriarchs. The Latin patriarch endeavored, by various arts and projects, to bring the Greek patriarch under subjection, and to detach the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch from him, and to connect them with himself ; and the disturbed and unhappy condition of the Greek empire, was favorable to such machinations. For the friendship of the Roman pontiff seemed very im-

proceeding requires, that we believe the deep things of the christian faith, before we presume to discuss them by the aid of reason ; so, it appears to me, to be negligence, if, when we are confirmed in the faith, we do not study to understand what we believe :"—[which amounts to this, *that we must first believe without examination, but must afterwards endeavor to understand what we believe.* *Macl.*]

(9) See the *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tome viii. p. 48.

portant to the Greeks, who had to contend with the Normans in Italy, as well as with the Saracens. The Grecian patriarch, on the other hand, was solicitous to extend the limits of his jurisdiction, to concede nothing to the Roman pontiff, and to bring the oriental patriarchs entirely under his control. *Cerularius* therefore, in a letter, written in his own name, and in that of his chief counsellor, *Leo*, bishop of Achrida, and addressed to *John*, bishop of Trani in Apulia, publicly accused the Latins of various errors [in faith and practice]. *Leo IX*, who was then the pontiff of Rome, replied in a letter, drawn up in a very imperious style; and likewise, in a council at Rome, excommunicated the Greeks.(10)

§ 10. In order to stifle this controversy in its birth, the Greek emperor, *Constantine* surnamed Monomachus, requested the Roman pontiff to send legates to Constantinople, to negotiate a settlement. Accordingly three legates of the Latin pontiff repaired to Constantinople; namely, cardinal *Humbert*, a fiery man, *Peter*, archbishop of Amalfi, and *Frederic*, archdeacon and chancellor of the church of Rome; carrying with them letters from the pontiff, both to the emperor, and to the Greek patriarch. But the issue of the legation was lamentable, notwithstanding the emperor, for political reasons, favored the side of the Latins more than that of the Greeks. For the letter of *Leo IX*, which displayed great arrogance, alienated the mind of *Cerularius* from him; and the legates shewed, in various ways, that they were sent, not so much to restore harmony between the contending parties, as to establish Roman domination among the Greeks. All deliberation about a reconciliation being thus rendered fruitless, the Roman legates proceeded, in the most indiscreet, and most unsuitable manner possible, in the year 1054; for they excommunicated the Greek patriarch, with *Leo* of Achrida, and all that adhered to them, publicly, in the church of St. Sophia; left a copy of the inhuman anathema upon the great altar, and then shook off the dust from their feet, and departed. This most unrighteous procedure rendered the dissension incurable, though till this act, it seemed capable of a compromise. The Greek patriarch now returned the anathema, in a council, excommunicating the pontiffs' legates, and all their friends and supporters; and also directed the copy of the Latin decree of excommunication against the Greeks, to be burned by order of the emperor.(11) From

(10) These epistles are extant in *Baronius*, *Annales*, ad ann. 1053. Tom. xi. p. 210 &c. The epistle of *Cerularius* is also printed in *Canisius' Lectt. Antiq.* Tom. iii. p. 281, of the new edition; and that of *Leo*, in the *Concilia* &c. [e. g. in *Harduin's* collection, Tom. vi. P. i. p. 927. Tr.]

(11) Besides *Baronius*, and the common writers, none of whom are free from errors, see *John Mabillon*, *Annales Bened.* Tom. iv. Lib. ix. ad ann. 1053. and *Praef. ad Saecul. vi.* of his *Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* P. ii. p. i. &c. *Leo Allatius*, de *Libris Graecor. Ecclesiast.* Diss. ii. p. 160. ed. *Fabricius*; and, de *perpetua ecclesiae orient. et occident. consensione*, Lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 614. *Mich. le Quien*, *Oriens Christianus*, Tom. i. p. 260; and *Diss. Damascen. prima*, § xxxi.

this time, offensive and insulting writings were issued by both parties, which continually added fresh fuel to the fire.

§ 11. To the old charges advanced by *Photius*, new ones were added by *Cerularius*; of which the chief one was, that the Latins used unleavened bread in the eucharist: and on this point, the Greeks and Latins, contended more vehemently, perhaps, than on all other subjects; at least, they were as warm about this, as about the primacy of the Roman pontiff. The other things opprobriously objected to the Latins, by the Greek patriarch, betray rather his contentious disposition, and his ignorance of true religion, than his zeal for truth. For he was exceedingly offended, that the Latins did not abstain from things strangled and from blood; that their monks used lard, and allowed the brethren when sick to eat flesh; that the Latin bishops wore rings on their fingers, as if they were bridegrooms; that their priests wore no beards, but shaved them; and that in baptizing, the Latins dipped the subject but once into the water.(12) When we see the Greeks and Latins, not only standing aloof from each other and contending eagerly, but also fulminating anathemas and execrations against each other, for such things as these, we perceive the very lamentable state of religion in both churches; and we can be at no loss for the causes, that gave rise to so many sects of dissenters from the prevailing religion.

§ 12. Near the close of the century, under *Alexius Comnenus*, the Greeks were near to being involved in an internal controversy, in addition to this public controversy with the Latins. For in a time of great emergency of the nation, the emperor not only laid hold of the money in the churches, but caused the plates and images of gold and silver, to be taken from the doors of them, and to be converted into money. *Leo*, bishop of Chalcedon, a man of austere manners, severely censured this transaction, maintaining that it was sacrilege. To support his views, he published a tract, asserting, that in the images and emblems of *Jesus Christ* and the saints, there was a degree of sanctity, which entitled them to worship and adoration; so that worship was to be paid, not only to the *persons* represented by the statues, images, and emblems, but also to the statues themselves. To suppress the popular tumult which arose from this discussion, the emperor assembled a council at Constantinople, which decreed; that the images of *Christ* and of the saints, were to be

p. xvi &c. but especially, *Jo. Gottfr. Hermann*, *Historia concertationum de pane azymo et fermentato*, p. 59 &c. Lips. 1739. 8vo. and *Jo. Bapt. Cotelier*, *Monumenta ecclesiae Gr.* Tom. ii. p. 108 &c. [See also a full, yet dense, and well vouched account, in *J. E. C. Schmidt's Kirchenges.* vol. v. p. 316 &c. The account in *Bower's* lives of the Popes, vol. v, is less correct. *Tr.*]

(12) See the Epistle of *Cerularius* to John of Trani, in *Canasius' Lectiones Antiq.* Tom. iii. p. 281: where also we have *Humbert's* confutation of it. *Cerularius' Epistle to Peter* of Antioch, is in *Cotelier's Monumenta ecclesiae Graecae*, Tom. ii. p. 1038. Add *Martene's Thesaur. Anecdotor.* Tom. v. p. 847, where is a polemic tract of an unknown Latin writer against the Greeks.

worshipped only *relatively*; (13) that the *material* of a sacred image was not entitled to worship, but the *likeness* formed upon the material; that the images of Christ and the saints, had nothing of *their* nature, although they participated somewhat in the grace of God; and that the saints were to be invoked and honored, as the servants of *Christ*, and on his account. *Leo*, who had held different opinions, was deprived of his office, and sent into exile. (14)

§ 13. In the Latin church, about the middle of the century, controversy was revived respecting the manner, in which Christ's body and blood are present in the eucharist. Various opinions on this subject, had hitherto prevailed, with impunity; for it had not yet been decided by the councils, what men ought to believe respecting it. (15) Hence, in the beginning of the century, AD. 1004, *Leutheric*, archbishop of Sens, had taught, contrary to the more general opinion, that only the holy and worthy communicants receive the body of Christ: but *Robert*, king of France, and the advice of friends, prevented him from raising commotion among the people by the doctrine. (16) Much more indiscreet was *Berengarius*, a canon and master of the school at Tours, a man of a discriminating mind, learned, and venerable for the sanctity of his life; (17) for he publicly and resolutely maintained, in the year 1045, the opinion of *John Scotus*, respecting the eucharist, rejecting that of *Paschasius Radbert*, which better accorded with the unenlightened piety of the multitude. He taught, that the bread and wine are not converted into the body and blood of Christ, but are merely *emblematic* of his body and blood. (18) He was forthwith opposed by some, in France and Germany; and *Leo IX*, the Roman pontiff, in the year 1050, caused his opinion to be condemned in a council, first at Rome, and then at Vercelli; and ordered the work of *Scotus*, from which it was derived; to be committed to the flames. *Berengarius* was not present, at either of these councils. A council held at Paris, in

(13) Σχετικῶς προσκυνῶμεν, ἢ λατρευτικῶς εἰς εἰκόνας.

(14) This controversy is stated at large, by *Anna Comnena*, the emperor's daughter; *Alexiados* Lib. v. p. 104. Lib. vii. p. 158. ed. Venice. The Acts of the council, were drawn from the Coislinian Library, by *Bernh. de Montfaucon*, and published in his *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 103 &c.

(15) The various opinions of the age respecting the eucharist, are stated by *Martene*, from an ancient manuscript, in his *Voyage litteraire de deux Benedictins de la Congregation de S. Maur*, Tome. ii. p. 126.

(16) See *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. i. p. 354.

(17) For the life of *Berengarius*, see the works of *Hildebert* of le Mans, pa. 1324. *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tome viii. p. 197 &c. *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. i. p. 404. and those others mentioned by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Lat. medii aevi*, Tom. i. p. 570. I will just observe, that he is erroneously called *archiepiscopus*, instead of *archidiaconus*, in *William of Paris*, *Hist. Lib.* i. p. 10. ed. *Watts*. But I suppose it is a mistake of the printer and not of the historian. [For the life of *Berengarius*, see *Mabillon*, de *Berengario*, ejusque haereses ortu, progressu — ac multiplici condemnatione; in *Praefat. ad Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. ix. p. vii. &c. *Berengarius*, or *Announcement of an important work by him*, by *G. E. Lessing*, (in German,) 1770. *Schroeckh's Kirchengesch.* Tom. xxxiii. p. 507 &c. *Tr.*]

[(18) See, for the real opinion of *Berengarius*, note (23) in this chap. *Tr.*]

the same year, by *Henry* king of France, concurred in the decision of the pontiff; and issued very severe threats against *Berengarius*, who was absent, and against his adherents who were numerous. A part of these threatenings were felt by *Berengarius*; for the king deprived him of the income of his office. But neither threats, nor decrees, nor fines, could move him, to reject the opinion which he had embraced.

§ 14. This controversy now rested for some years; and *Berengarius*, who had many enemies, (among whom, his rival, *Lanfranc*, was the principal,) and also many patrons and friends, was restored to his former tranquility. But after the death of *Leo IX*, his adversaries, incited *Victor II*, the new pontiff, to order the cause to be tried again, before his legates, in two councils held at Tours in France, AD. 1054. In one of these councils, in which the celebrated *Hildebrand*, afterwards *Gregory VII*, was one of the papal legates, *Berengarius* was present; and being overcome by threats, undoubtedly, rather than by arguments, he not only gave up his opinion, but, (if we may believe his adversaries, who are the only witnesses we have,) abjured it, and was reconciled to the church. This docility however, was only feigned: for he soon after, went on teaching the same doctrine as before, though perhaps more cautiously. How much censure he deserves for this transaction, it is difficult to say, as we are not well informed of what was done in the council.

§ 15. *Nicolaus II*, being informed of this bad faith of *Berengarius*, in the year 1058, summoned him to Rome: and in a very full council, held there in the year 1059, he so terrified him, that *Berengarius* requested a formula of faith to be drawn up, which being accordingly done by *Humbert*, *Berengarius* subscribed to it, and confirmed it with an oath. In this formula, he declares that he believes, what *Nicolaus* and the council required to be believed, namely, "that the bread and wine, after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but also the real body and blood of *Christ*; and are sensibly, and not merely sacramentally, but really and truly, handled by the hands of the priests, broken, and masticated by the teeth of the faithful." This opinion however was too monstrous, to be really believed by such a man as *Berengarius*, who was a man of discernment and a philosopher. Therefore, when he returned to France, relying undoubtedly upon the protection of his patrons, he expressed his detestation, both orally and in his writings, of what he had professed at Rome, and defended his former sentiments. *Alexander II*, indeed, admonished him in a friendly letter, to reform; but he attempted nothing against him; probably because he perceived him to be upheld by powerful supporters. Of course the controversy was protracted, many years, in various publications, and the number of *Berengarius'* followers increased.

§ 16. When *Gregory VII*, was raised to the chair of *St. Peter*.
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ter, that pontiff, to whom no difficulty seemed insurmountable, undertook to settle this controversy also; and therefore summoned *Berengarius* to Rome, in the year 1078. This new judge of the affair, manifested an extraordinary, and considering his character, a wonderful degree of moderation and gentleness. He seems to have been attached to *Berengarius*, and to have yielded rather to the clamors of his adversaries, than to have followed his own inclinations. In the first place, in a council held near the close of the year, he allowed the accused to draw up a new formula of faith for himself, and to abandon the old formula drawn up by *Humbert*, though it had been sanctioned by *Nicolaus II.*, and by a council: for *Gregory*, being a man of discernment, undoubtedly saw the absurdity of that formula. (19) *Berengarius* therefore, now professed to believe, and swore that he would in future believe, only, "that the bread of the altar, after consecration, is the real body of Christ, which was born of the virgin, suffered on the cross, and is seated at the right hand of the Father; and that the wine of the altar, after consecration, is the real blood which flowed from Christ's side." But, what was satisfactory to the pontiff, did not satisfy the enemies of *Berengarius*; for they maintained that the formula was ambiguous, (and it really was so,) and therefore, they wished that one more definite might be prescribed for him; and also, that he might prove the sincerity of his belief, by touching red hot iron. The last of these, the pontiff, in his friendship for the accused, would not concede; to the first, the importunity of their demands obliged him to yield.

§ 17. The following year therefore, AD. 1079, in a council held again at Rome, *Berengarius* was required, to repeat, subscribe, and swear to a third formula, which was milder than the first, but harsher than the second. According to this, he professed to believe, "that the bread and wine, by the mysterious rite of the holy prayer and the words of our Redeemer, are changed in their substance into the real and proper and vivifying flesh and blood of Jesus Christ:" and he also added to what he had professed by the second formula, "that the bread and wine are," after consecration, "the real body and blood of Christ, not only by a sign and in virtue of a sacrament, but in their essential properties, and in the reality of their substance." When he had made this profession, the pontiff dismissed him to his own country, with many tokens of his good will. But he, as soon as he got home, discarded, and confuted by a book, what he had professed at Rome in the last council. Hence *Lanfranc*, *Guitmund*, and perhaps others, violently attacked him in written treatises: but *Gregory VII.*, neither punished his inconstancy, nor manifested displea-

(19) I wish the learned and candid to observe here, that *Gregory VII.*, than whom, none carried the prerogatives of the pontiffs farther, or defended them more strenuously, here tacitly acknowledges that a Roman pontiff and a council are capable of erring, and have in fact erred.

sure : which is evidence, that the pontiff was satisfied with the second formula, or that which *Berengarius* himself drew up, and disapproved of the zeal of his enemies, who obtruded upon him the third formula.(20)

§ 18. *Berengarius*, influenced undoubtedly by motives of prudence, returned no answer to his much excited opposers : but retiring from the world, he repaired to the island of St. Cosme, near Tours ; and there led a solitary life, in prayer, fasting, and other devotional exercises, till the year 1088, when he died ; leaving a high reputation for sanctity, and numerous followers.(21) In this retreat, he seems to have aimed to atone for the crime, of which he confessed and deeply lamented the commission before

(20) These statements are finely illustrated and supported, by a writing of *Berengarius* himself, which *Edm. Martene* has presented to the public in his *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* Tom. iv. p. 99—109. From this tract, it appears ; (I.) that *Gregory VII.* had great and sincere friendship for *Berengarius*. (II.) that in general, he believed with *Berengarius*, respecting the eucharist ; or at least, thought we ought to abide by the words of holy writ, and not too curiously enquire after and define the *mode* of Christ's presence. For thus *Gregory*, (p. 108.) addressed *Berengarius*, just before the last council : " I certainly have no doubt, that your views of the sacrifice of Christ are correct and agreeable to the scriptures : yet because it is my custom, to recur on import subjects &c.—I have enjoined upon a friend who is a religious man — to obtain from *St. Mary*, that through him, she would vouchsafe not to conceal from me, but expressly instruct me what course I should take in the business before me, relating to the sacrifice of Christ ; that I may persevere in it immoveably." *Gregory*, therefore, was inclined to the opinion of *Berengarius*, but yet had some doubts ; and therefore, he consulted *St. Mary*, through a friend, to know what judgment he ought to form respecting the eucharistical question. And what was her response ? His friend, (he says,) " learned from *St. Mary*,—and reported to me, that no enquiries were to be made, and nothing to be held, respecting the sacrifice of Christ, beyond what the authentic scriptures contain ; against which *Berengarius* held nothing. This I wished to state to you, that your confidence in us might be more secure, and your anticipations more pleasing." This therefore was *Gregory's* belief, and this he supposed or pretended, he had received, from the holy virgin herself, that we should simply hold what the sacred volume teaches, that the real body and blood of Christ are exhibited in the sacred supper, but should not dispute about the *manner* of it. (III.) It appears from this writing, that *Gregory* was forced, by the enemies of *Berengarius*, who pressed the thing beyond measure, to allow another formula to be prescribed to *Berengarius*, in another council. " He was constrained," says *Berengarius*, " by the importunity of the buffoon—not bishop—of Padua, and of the antichrist—not bishop of Pisa,—to permit the calumniators of the truth, in the last Quadregesimal council, to alter the writing sanctioned by them in the former council." (IV.) It is hence manifest, why *Gregory* attempted nothing further against *Berengarius*, notwithstanding he violated his faith publicly plighted in the latter council, and wrote against the formula which he had confirmed with an oath. For *Gregory* himself disagreed with the authors of this formula, and deemed it sufficient, if a person would confess with *Berengarius*, that the real body and blood of Christ were exhibited in the sacred supper. He therefore suffered his adversaries to murmur, to write, and to confute the man whom he esteemed and agreed with ; kept silence himself, and would not allow *Berengarius* to be further molested. Moreover, in the book from which I have made these extracts, *Berengarius* most humbly begs God to forgive the sin he committed at Rome ; and acknowledges, that through fear of death, he assented to the proposed formula, and accused himself of error, contrary to his real belief. " God Almighty," says he, " the fountain of all mercy, have compassion on one, who confesses so great a sacrilege."

(21) The canons of Tours still celebrate religiously his memory. For they annually, on the third day of Easter, repair to his tomb, on the island of St. Cosme, and there solemnly repeat certain prayers. See *Molem, Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 130.

the last council at Rome, when he professed, contrary to the dictates of his own conscience, what he regarded as erroneous doctrine.(22) As to his real opinions, learned men are not agreed : but whoever will candidly examine his writings that yet remain, will readily see, that he was one of those, who consider the bread and wine to be *signs* of the body and blood of Christ ; although he expressed himself variously, and concealed his views under ambiguous phraseology.(23) Nor have they any solid proof to urge, who contend, that he receded from this opinion before his death.(24)

(22) None will doubt this, after reading his tract published by *Edm. Martene*, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* Tom. vi. p. 109.

(23) Some writers in the Romish church, as *Mabilony* and others, and some also in our own, suppose, that *Berengarius* merely denied, what is called *transubstantiation* ; while he admitted the real presence of Christ's body and blood. And whoever inspects only the formula, which he approved in the first Roman council under *Gregory VII.*, and which he never after rejected, and does not compare his other writings with it, may be easily led to believe so. But the writers of the reformed church, *Jac. Basnage*, *Usher*, and nearly all others, maintain, that *Berengarius'* opinion was the same that *Calvin* afterwards held. With these, I have united, after carefully perusing his epistle to *Almannus*, in *Martene's* *Thesaurus*, Tom. iv. p. 109. "Constat," says he, "*verum Christi corpus in ipsa mensa proponi, sed spiritualiter interiori homini cœrum, in ea Christi corpus ab his duntaxat, qui Christi membra sunt, incorruptum, intaminatum inatritumque spiritualiter manducari.*" This is so clear that an objection can scarcely, if at all, be raised against it. Yet *Berengarius* often used ambiguous terms and phrases, in order to elude his enemies.—[Since *Dr. Mosheim's* death, the manuscript of *Berengarius'* reply to *Lanfranc*, has been discovered in the library of *Wolfenbuttle* ; and a large part of it has been presented to the public, in extracts, by *G. E. Lessing*, (*Gregorius Turonensis, oder Ankündigung eines wichtigen Werkes desselben*, &c. *Brunzw.* 1770. 4to.) From this work, it is said to appear, beyond all controversy, that *Berengarius* only denied *transubstantiation* or the *transmutation of the substance* of the bread and wine into the *substance* of Christ's body and blood ; while yet he admitted the *real presence* of Christ's body and blood, as being *superadded* to the bread and wine, in and by their consecration. See *Schroëckh*, *Kirchengesch.* Tom. xliii. p. 534 &c. And *Münscher's* *Elements of Dogmatic History*, § 243. p. 118. ed. N. Haven. 1830. And this accords exactly with the statement of *Guilmund*, one of *Berengarius'* antagonists, as quoted by *Mabilony*, (*de Berengario, ejusque hærescos ortu &c.* in his *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened.* Tom. ix. pa. xliii.) Speaking of the followers of *Berengarius*, *Guilmund* says : "All the *Berengarians* indeed agree in this, that the bread and wine are not changed in their essence : but I was able to draw from some of them, that they differ among themselves much ; for some of them say, that nothing whatever of the body and blood of the Lord, are in the sacraments, but that these are only shadows and figures [of the body and blood of Christ ;] but others, yielding to the solid arguments of the church, yet not receding from their folly, that they may seem to be with us in a sort, say, that the body and blood of the Lord, *are in reality, though covertly contained there*, (*re vera, sed latenter contineri*), and, in order that they may be received, they are, some how, so to speak, *impanated* (*impanari*). And this more subtle opinion, they say, is that of *Berengarius* himself."—*Berengarius*, therefore, was a *Lutheran*, or like *Luther*, he held the doctrine of *consubstantiation*.—It may be added, that the newly discovered manuscript of *Berengarius*, throws light on various parts of his history and of the proceedings against him. In particular, it shows that *Lanfranc* attacked him, and was answered by him, at a much earlier period, than *Dr. Mosheim* states in the text, § 17. Tr.]

(24) It is well known, that the historians of the Romish community, endeavor to persuade us, that *Berengarius*, before his death, gave up the doctrine which he had for so many years strenuously defended, and adopted that of the Romish church. But the only proofs that they have of the fact, are these. First ; in the council of Bourdeaux, AD. 1080, it is said, "he gave an account of his faith."

§ 19. In France, about the year 1023, a great contest arose about a little thing. The priests and monks of Limoges disputed, whether *Martial*, the first bishop of Limoges, ought, in the public prayers, to be classed among the *apostles*, or among the *confessors*. *Jordan*, the bishop of Limoges, would have him be denominated a *confessor*: but *Hugo*, abbot of the monastery of St. Martial, insisted on his being called an *apostle*; and he pronounced the adherents of the bishop to be *Ebionites*, that is, the worst of heretics. This controversy was first taken up in the council of

And further; some ancient writers speak favorably of his penitence, and say, that he died in the catholic faith. But these arguments amount to nothing. *Berengarius* adhered to that formula, which he adopted in the former council at Rome under *Gregory*, and which the pontiff judged to be sufficient: and they who heard it read, but did not examine its import, but looked only at the words, and their natural import, might easily believe, that between his opinion and the common belief of the church, there was no difference. And in this conclusion, they would be confirmed by the conduct of the pontiff; who, though he knew *Berengarius* to have renounced and opposed the formula, which he had approved in the latter Roman council, yet took no measures against him, and thus [apparently] absolved him from all error and blame. To these considerations, another of still greater weight may be added; namely, that the belief of the Romish church itself, respecting the sacred supper, was not in that age definitely established: as the three formulas of *Berengarius* evince, beyond all controversy; for they most manifestly disagree, not in words only, but in import. *Nicolaus II.*, and his council, decided, that the first formula, which cardinal *Humbert* drew up, was sound, and contained the true doctrine of the church. But this was rejected, and deemed too crude and erroneous, not only by *Gregory*, but also by his two councils that tried the cause. For if the pontiff and his councils had believed, that this formula expressed the true sense of the church, they would never have suffered another to be substituted for it. The pontiff himself, as we have seen, supposed, that the doctrine of the sacred supper was not to be explained too minutely, but that, dismissing all questions as to the mode of Christ's presence, the words of the sacred volume were simply to be adhered to: and as *Berengarius* had done this, in his formula, the pontiff pronounced him no offender. But the last council departed from the opinion of the pontiff; and the pontiff, though reluctant, suffered himself to be drawn over to the opinion of the council. Hence, the third formula disagreeing with both the former ones. We may here drop the passing remark, that in this controversy, a council was superior to the pontiff; and the resolute *Gregory* himself, who would yield to no one else, yielded to the council. *Berengarius* escaping from the hands of his enemies, adhered to his own formula, which had met the approbation of the pontiff; and publicly assailed and condemned the third formula, or that of the latter council. And he did this, with the pontiff's knowledge and silent consent. Now what could be inferred from all this, but that *Berengarius*, though he resisted the decree of the latter council, yet held to the opinion of the pontiff and the church?—In this history of the Berengarian controversy, so memorable for various reasons, I have examined the ancient documents of it that are extant, (for all of them are not extant), and have called in the aid of those learned men, who have treated most copiously and accurately of this contest. First, the very rare work of *Francis de Roze*, published at Angers, 1656, 4to. under the title: *Ad Can. ego Berengarius 41. de consecrat. distinct. 2. ubi vita, haeresis et poenitentia Berengarii Andegavensis Archidiaconi et ad Josephi locum de Christo*. Next, I have consulted *Jo. Mabillon*, *Præfat. ad Tom. ix. Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened. or Saecul. vi. P. ii. p. iv. &c.* and his *Diss. de multiplici damnatione, fidei professione et relapsu*; which is in his *Analecta veteris aevi*, Tom. ii. p. 456. *Caes. Egasse de Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. i. p. 404, &c.* *Franc. Pagi*, *Breviarium Romanor. Pontif. Tom. ii. p. 452.* Among the reformed divines, *Jac. Usher*, de successionem ecclesiar. Christianar. in Occidente, cap. vii. § 24. p. 195 &c. *Jac. Barnage*, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, Tom. i. p. 105, and *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Tom. ii. p. 1391. *Casim. Oudin*, *Diss. de doctrina et scriptis Berengarii*, in his *Comment. de scriptor. ecclesiast. Tom. ii. p. 624.* Partiality prevails, I fear, among them all, but especially among the writers of the Romish church.

Poitiers, and then AD. 1024, in that of Paris. Their decision was, that *Martial* was to be honored with the appellation of an *apostle*; and those who judged differently were to be compared with the Ebionites, who denied, that there were any more than twelve apostles. The Ebionites, it may be noted, in order to exclude *St. Paul* from the number of apostles, would not allow of but twelve apostles. But this decision of the council inflamed, rather than calmed, the feelings of the disputants; and the silly controversy spread over all France. The affair being carried before the pontiff, *John XIX*, he in a letter addressed to *Jordan* and the other bishops of France, decided in favor of the monks, and pronounced *Martial* deserving of the title and the honors of an apostle. Therefore, first in the council at Limoges AD. 1029, *Jordan* yielded to the pleasure of the pontiff; and next, AD. 1031, in a council of the whole province of Bourges, *Martial* was solemnly enrolled in the order of apostles; and lastly, in a very full council at Limoges, the same year, the controversy was terminated, and the prayers in honor of *Martial* the apostle, as consecrated by the pontiff, were publicly recited.⁽²⁵⁾ Those who contended for the apostleship of *Martial*, assumed, that he was one of the seventy disciples of Christ; and thence they inferred, that he was entitled to the rank of an apostle, upon the same ground as *Paul* and *Barnabas* were.

(25) See *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. i. p. 372, 401. *Jac. Longueval*, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, Tom. vii. p. 188, 189, 231 &c. The Benedictine monks, in their *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. ii. Append. documentor. p. 162, have published *Jordan's* letter to the pope, *Benedict VIII*. against the apostleship of *Martial*. The Acts of the councils of Bourges and Limoges, respecting this controversy, are published by *Phil. Labbé*, *Biblioth. nova Manuscriptor*. Tom. ii. p. 766 &c. Of the first author of this strife, *Ademar*, a monk of Chabanois, *Jo. Mabillon* gives an account, in his *Annales ord. S. Bened.* Tom. iv. p. 348 &c. and in the appendix to the volume, he subjoins the epistle of *Ademar*, in support of the apostleship of *Martial*. The Benedictine monks have also given an account of this man, in their *Histoire Littéraire de la France*. Tom. vii. p. 301.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF CEREMONIES AND RITES.

- § 1. Use of the Roman liturgy extended.—§ 2. Worship in a foreign tongue.—
§ 3. Rebuilding and adorning the churches.

§ 1. The forms of public worship used at Rome, had not yet been received in all the countries of Europe. In this age therefore, the pontiffs, who regarded all disagreement in rites as adverse to their authority, took great pains to have the Romish forms every where adopted, and all others excluded. In this affair, again, the diligence of *Gregory VII.*, as his letters shew, was very conspicuous. No people of Europe had more resolutely and perseveringly opposed the wishes of the pontiffs, in this matter, than the Spaniards; for no means could induce them to part with their ancient liturgy, which was called *Mozarabic* or *Gothic*,⁽¹⁾ and to adopt that of Rome. *Alexander II.*, indeed, in the year 1018, had prevailed with the people of Arragon, not to oppose the introduction of the Romish mode of worship :⁽²⁾ and the Catalonians no longer resisted. But the glory of having perfected this work, was reserved for *Gregory VII.* He did not cease to press the subject upon *Sanctius* and *Alphonso*, the kings of Arragon and Castile, till they consented, that the Gothic rites should be abolished, and the Roman be received. *Sanctius* first complied; *Alphonso* followed his example, in the year 1080. In Castile, the nobles thought this contest ought to be decided by the sword. Accordingly two champions were chosen, who were to contend in single combat, the one fighting for the Roman liturgy, and the other for the Gothic. The Gothic champion conquered. After this, they concluded to submit it to the decision by fire. Both liturgies, the Roman and the Gothic, were now thrown into a fire. The Roman was consumed in the flames: the Gothic remained uninjured. Yet this double victory could not save the Gothic liturgy; the authority of the pontiff, and the pleasure of *Constantia* the queen, who controlled *Alphonso* the king, had greater weight, and turned the scale.⁽³⁾

§ 2. This zeal of the Roman pontiffs may admit some kind of

(1) See *Jo. Mabillon*, de Liturgia Gallicana, Lib. i. cap. ii. p. 10. *Jo. Bona*, Rerum Liturgicar. Lib. i. cap. xi. Opp. p. 220. *Petr. le Brun*, explication des ceremonies de la Messe, Tom. ii. Diss. v. p. 272, [and Liturgia antiqua, Hispanica, Gothica, Isidoriana, Mozarabica, &c. Tom. i. Rome 1746. Fol. as also *Joh. Pinii* Tractatus historico-chronolog. de variis vicissitudinibus officii Mozarabici seculo xi. c. 6. *Schl.* Also *Aug. Krazer*, de Liturgiis, p. 70 &c. Augsb. 1786. 8vo. Tr.]

(2) *Peter de Marca*, Histoire de Bearn, Lib. ii. cap. ix.

(3) *Bona*, l. c. p. 216. *Le Brun*, l. c. p. 292, &c. *Jo. de Ferreras*, Histoire de l'Espagne, Tom. iii. p. 237, 241, 246. [*Krazer*, l. c. p. 76. Tr.]

apology; but not so their prohibiting each nation from worshipping God in its own vernacular tongue. While the Latin language was spoken among all the nations of the West, or at least, was understood by most people, little could be objected to the use of this language in the public assemblies for christian worship. But when the Roman language, with the Roman dominion, had been gradually subverted, and become extinct, it was most just and reasonable, that each nation should use its own language in their worship. But this privilege could not be obtained from the pontiffs, in this and the following centuries; for they decided, that the Latin language should be retained, though unknown to the people at large.(4) Different persons assign different reasons for this decision; and some have fabricated such as were quite far fetched. But the principal reason, doubtless was, an excessive veneration for the ancient forms. And the oriental christians have fallen into the same fault, of excessive love of antiquity; for public worship is still performed, by the Egyptians in the ancient Coptic, by the Jacobites and Nestorians in Syriac, and by the Abyssinians in the ancient Ethiopic; notwithstanding all these languages have long since become obsolete, and gone out of popular use.(5)

§ 3. Of the other things enjoined or voluntarily assumed in this age, under the name of religious acts, the rites added in the worship of the saints, relics, and images, the pilgrimages, and various other things of the kind, it would be tedious to go into detail. I will therefore only state here, that during nearly the whole of this century, all the nations of Europe were very much occupied in rebuilding, repairing, and adorning their churches.(6) Nor will this surprise us, if we recollect the panic dread of the impending final judgment, and of the end of all things, which spread throughout Europe in the preceding century. For this panic, among other effects, led to neglect the repair of the churches and sacred edifices, as being soon to become useless, and perish in the wreck of all things; so that they either actually fell to the ground, or became greatly decayed. But this panic being past, they every where set about rebuilding and repairing the churches, and vast sums were expended on this object.

(4) *Jac. Usher*, *Historia dogmatica de scripturis et sacris vernaculis*; published, with enlargement, by *Henry Wharton*, London 1690. 4to. [Yet we find in the canons of *Aelfric*, king of England, about A.D. 1050, (in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. vi. P. i. p. 982, Cau. 23,) that the priests were required on Sundays and other mass days, to explain the lessons from the gospels in the English language; and to teach the people to repeat memoriter, and to understand, the Lord's prayer and the apostles' creed in the same language. "*Presbyter etiam, seu missalis sacerdos, in diebus Solis, et Missalibus, evangelii ejus intellectum populo dicet Anglice, et ipsorum etiam Pater noster et Credo toties quoties poterit ad eos instruendos adhibere, et ut symbolum fidei memoriter discant, christianamque suam teneant confessionem.*" *Tr.*]

(5) See *Eusebius Renaudot*, *Diss. de Liturgiis oriental. origine et antiquitate*, cap. vi. p. xl. &c.

(6) *Glaber Rodolphus*, *Histor. Lib. iii. cap. iv. in Duchesne's Scriptores Francici*, Tom. iv. p. 217. "As the year 1003 approached, there was, almost the world over, but especially in Italy and France, a general repairing of the churches."

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE SECTS AND HERESIES.

§ 1. Ancient sects. The Manichæans.—§ 2. The Paulicians in Europe.—§ 3. The Manichæans of Orleans seem to have been mystics.—§ 4. So likewise others.—§ 5. The contest with Roscelin.

§ 1. The condition of the ancient sects, particularly the Nestorians and Monophysites, who were subject to the Muhammedans in Asia and Egypt, was very nearly the same as in the preceding century, not perfectly happy and exempt from all evils, nor absolutely wretched and miserable. But the Manichæans or Paulicians, whom the Greek emperors had transported from the provinces of the East to Bulgaria and Thrace, were in almost perpetual conflicts with the Greeks. The Greek writers throw all the blame on the Manichæans; whom they represent as turbulent, perfidious, always ready for war, and inimical to the empire.(1) But there are many reasons, which nearly compel us to believe, that the Greek bishops and priests, and by *their* instigation the emperors, gave much trouble and vexation to this people; and alienated their feelings by punishments, banishment, confiscation of their property, and other vexations. The emperor *Alexius Comnenus*, being a man of learning, and perceiving that the Manichæans could not easily be subdued by force, determined to try the effect of discussion and arguments; and therefore spent whole days at Philippopolis in disputing with them. Not a few of them gave up to this august disputant, and his associates; nor was this strange, for he employed not only arguments, but also rewards and punishments. Those who retracted their errors, and consented to embrace the religion of the Greeks, were rewarded with rich presents, honors, privileges, lands, and houses; but those who resisted, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.(2)

§ 2. From Bulgaria and Thrace, some of this sect, either from zeal to extend their religion, or from weariness of Grecian persecutions, removed, first into Italy, and then into other countries of Europe; and there they gradually collected numerous congregations, with which the Roman pontiffs afterwards waged bloody wars.(3) At what time the migration of the Paulicians into Eu-

(1) See *Anna Comnena*, Alexiados Lib. v. p. 105. Lib. vi. p. 124, 126, 145, and in other passages.

(2) *Anna Comnena* (Alexiad. Lib. xiv. p. 357, &c.) is very full in her account and eulogy of this holy war of her father, against the Paulicians.

(3) See *Lud. Ant. Muratori*, Antiqq. Ital. medii ævii, Tom. v. p. 38 &c. *Phil. Limborch*, Historia inquisitionis, p. 31. *Thom. Aug. Richini*, Diss. de Catharis;

rope commenced, it is difficult to ascertain. But this is well attested, that as early as the middle of this century, they were numerous in Lombardy and Insubria, and especially in Milan: nor is it less certain, that persons of this sect strolled about in France, Germany, and other countries, and by their great appearance of sanctity, captivated no small number of the common people. In Italy, they were called *Paterini*, and *Cathari*, or rather, *Gazarri*; the last of which names, altered so as to suit the genius of their language, was adopted by the Germans.(4) In France, they were called *Albigenses*, [*Albigensis*,] from the town *Albi*.(5) They were also called *Bulgarians*, particularly in France, because they came formerly from Bulgaria, where the patriarch of the sect resided; also *Publicani*, a corruption of *Pauliciani*; and *Boni Homines*, [*Bos Homos*, *Good Men*,] and by other appellations.(6)

prefixed to *Bernh. Monast. Summa contra Catharos*, p. xvii. xviii. and others: not to mention *Glaber Rodolphus*, *Historia*, Lib. iii. c. viii. *Matth. Paris*, and other ancient writers. Some of the Italians, among whom is *Richini*, wish to deny, that this sect was propagated from Italy into other parts of Europe; and would persuade us, rather, that the Paulicians came into Italy from France. For they would consider it a disgrace to their country, to have been the first in Europe that fostered so absurd and impious a sect. These are countenanced by *Peter de Marca*, a Frenchman, who supposes, (in his *Histoire de Bearn*, Liv. viii. cap. xiv. p. 728.) that when the French were returning from the crusades in Palestine, as they passed through Bulgaria, some Paulicians joined them, and thus first migrated to France. But *de Marca* brings no proof of his supposition; and on the contrary, it appears from the Records of the Inquisition of Toulouse, published by *Limborch*, and from other documents, that the Paulicians first settled in Sicily, Lombardy, Milan, and Liguria, and from thence sent their teachers and missionaries into France. See the *Codex Tolosanus*, p. 13, 14, 32, 68, 69, and in many other places. From the same *Codex Tolosanus*, we learn, that the Paulicians of Gaul had no bishops, who could consecrate their presbyters, whom they called *Anciani*: so that, such of the French, as wished to become presbyters, had to go into Italy to obtain regular consecration.

(4) Of the name *Paterini*, given to this sect in Italy, we have already spoken, note (23) p. 194. That the name *Cathari*, was the same as *Gazari*, I have shown in another work, *Historia Ord. Apostolor.* p. 367. The name *Gazaria* was given, in that age, to the country now called the *Lesser Tartary*, [or *Crim Tartary*, or the *Crimea*.—But the derivation of *Cathari* from *Gazaria*, a distant, and then little known region, is by many deemed less probable, than from the Greek *καθαρὸι*, *the Pure*. So also, the derivation of the German *Ketzer*, (Heretic,) from *Gazari* or *Chazari*, is by no means universally admitted. See *A. Neander's Heilige Bernhard*, p. 314 &c. and *Schroeckh's Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiii. p. 350 &c. Tr.]

(5) That the *Paulicians* in France, were called *Albigenses*, and are not to be confounded with the *Waldenses* and other heretics, is most manifest from the Records of the Inquisition at Toulouse. And they were called *Albigenses*, because they were condemned in a council held, A.D. 1176, at *Albi* (*Albiga*), a town of Aquitaine. See *Chatel, Memoires de l'Histoire de Languedoc*, p. 305 &c. They therefore misjudge, who suppose the *Albigenses* were certain heretics who either originated at *Albi*, or who resided there, or had their principal church there: they were rather, the heretics condemned there. Yet there did live in the region of *Albi*, some *Paulicians*, as well as many other classes of dissenters from the church of Rome; and the name of *Albigenses* is often applied to all the heretics in that tract of country. [See, for a fuller illustration, and confirmation, of what is asserted in this note, *Schroeckh's Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 569 &c. also *Histoire de Languedoc*, Tom. iii. note 13, p. 553 &c. and *Füsslin's Kichen-und Ketzer-historie der mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. Tr.]

(6) That these people were called *Bulgarians*, or as it was corruptly uttered

§ 3. The first congregation of this sect in Europe, is said to have been discovered at Orleans in France, AD. 1017, in the reign of king *Robert*. An Italian woman is stated to have been its founder and teacher. Its head men were ten canons of the church of the Holy Cross at Orleans, all eminent for their learning and piety, but especially two of them *Lisoius* and *Stephen*; the congregation was composed of numerous citizens, and not of the lowest rank and condition. The impious doctrines maintained by those canons being made known by *Heribert*, a priest, and *Arifastus*, a Norman nobleman, king *Robert* assembled a council at Orleans, and left no means untried to bring them to a better mind. But nothing could induce them to give up the opinions they had embraced. They were therefore burnt alive.(7) But the

Bougres, is fully shown by *Car. du Fresne*, Glossarium Latin. medii aevi, Tom. i. p.1338. And the same *du Fresne*, in his *Observationes ad Villeharduini historiam Constantinop.* p. 169, has shown by abundant proofs, that the name *popolici* or *Publicani*, given likewise to these Manichaeans, is merely the name *Pauliciani* corruptly pronounced. The Paulicians called themselves *Good Men*, or *Los Bos Homos*, as the French pronounced it. See the *Codex Inquisit. Tolosanae*, p. 22, 84, 95 &c. but especially p. 131 &c.

(7) The testimonies of the ancients respecting these heretics, are collected by *Boulay*, *Historia Acad.* Paris. Tom. i. p. 364 &c. *Car. Plessis d'Argentre*, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, Tom. i. p. 5. *Jo. Laurin*, *de scholis celebrioribus Caroli M.* cap. xxiv. p. 90. The proceedings of the council of Orleans, in which they were condemned, are given by *Lu. Dachery*, *Spicilegium veterum Scriptorum*. Tom. i. p. 604 &c. [Two principal accounts of these heretics of Orleans, have reached us. The one is, that of *Glaber Rodolphus*, (*Historia*, Lib. iii. cap. 8.) the other which some ascribe to one *Agano*, a monk, is an anonymous account, but more full, and apparently deserving of at least as much credit, published by *Dachery*, l. c. Both accounts are in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. vi. P. i. p. 821 &c. *Glaber* states, that in the year 1017, a very strange heresy was discovered at Orleans, said to have been introduced by an Italian woman, and which had long been spreading itself in secret. The leaders in this heresy were two clergymen of Orleans, respectable for their birth, education, and piety, named *Heribert* and *Lisoi*. Both were canons; and the latter was also master of the school in St. Peter's church, and enjoyed the friendship of the king and the court. These circumstances enabled them more easily to spread their errors at Orleans, and in the neighboring towns. They attempted to convert a presbyter of Rouen, and told him that the whole nation would soon be with them: but he divulged the subject to a nobleman of Rouen, and he again to king *Robert*. The monarch, equally distinguished for learning and piety, hastened away, full of solicitude, to Orleans; assembled there a number of bishops and abbots, and some pious laymen, and commenced an examination of the heretics. The two leading men among them, acknowledged, that they anticipated a general reception of their doctrines; that they considered all that was taught in the old testament and the new, by miracles or otherwise, concerning a trinity in the Godhead, as being absurd; that the visible heavens and earth had always existed, as they now are, without an original author; that all acts of christian virtue, instead of being meritorious, were superfluous: and like the Epicureans, they believed the crimes of the voluptuous would not meet with the recompense of punishment. Great efforts were made to convince them of their errors; but in vain: neither arguments nor threatenings could move them; for they expected a miraculous deliverance from death. Accordingly, when led out to the fire, which was kindled for them, they all, thirteen in number, went exulting and voluntarily leaped into it. But they no sooner felt the fire consuming them, than they cried out, that they had been deceived, and were about to perish forever. The by-standers, moved with pity, made efforts to draw them from the flames; but without effect. They were reduced to ashes. Such others of the sect as were afterwards detected, were in like manner put to death. And heresy being thus

case of these men is involved in obscurity and perplexity. For

destroyed, the catholic faith shone the more conspicuous. The other, and more full account, differs from that of *Glaber*, in several respects. It states, that a Norman nobleman, named *Arefast*, had a clergyman in his house, by the name of *Herbert*, who went to Orleans for the purpose of study. That two leaders among the heretics, *Stephen* and *Lisoi*, universally esteemed for their wisdom, their piety, and their beneficence, met with *Herbert*, and instilled into him the poison of their heresy. When *Herbert* returned to the family of *Arefast*, he labored to convert him. But *Arefast* was not to be seduced. He communicated the whole to count *Richard*, to be made known to the king; with a request that the king would take measures to suppress the heresy. King Robert, directed *Arefast* to repair with his clergyman *Herbert* to Orleans, and there insinuate himself among the heretics, promising to come there himself shortly. *Arefast* was instructed by an aged priest of Chartres, how to proceed. He was to receive the communion every day; and thus fortified, he was to go among the heretics, pretend to be captivated with their doctrines, and draw from them a full knowledge of their heresy, and then appear as a witness against them. He did so; and drew from them the following tenets; that Christ was not born of the virgin Mary, did not suffer for mankind, was not really laid in the tomb, and did not rise from the dead; that in baptism, there was no washing away of sins; nor were the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament consecrated by the priest; and that it was useless to pray to the saints and martyrs. *Arefast* wished to know then, on what he could rely for salvation. They promised to purify him from all sin, and to impart to him the Holy Spirit, by laying their hands upon him; and that he should eat heavenly food, and often see angels, and with them travel where he pleased, with ease and despatch. The account then describes the heavenly food, they talked of. At certain times, the heretics met together by night, each with a lighted candle, and invoked the devil, till he appeared to them. Then putting out their lights, they all debauched themselves, promiscuously. The fruits of these horrid scenes, when eight days old, were murdered, and burned to ashes; and the ashes so obtained constituted their heavenly food, and was so efficacious that whoever partook of it, at all, became an enthusiast of their sect, and could seldom ever after be recovered to a sound mind. While *Arefast*, was thus learning the whole heresy, king Robert and his queen *Constantia* arrived at Orleans; and the next day he called a council of bishops, and apprehending a whole assembly of the heretics, arraigned them for trial. Here *Arefast* stated all he had learned from them. *Stephen* and *Lisoi* admitted that they held such doctrines. A bishop stating, that Christ was born of the virgin, because he could be so, and that he died and rose again to assure us of a resurrection: they replied, that they were not present, and could not believe it was so. Being asked, how they could believe that they had a natural father, and were born in the usual way, not having been present as witnesses; they replied, that what was according to nature, they could believe, but not what was contrary to nature. They were then asked, if they did not believe, that God created all things from nothing by his Son. They replied, "such things may be believed by carnal men, who mind earthly things, and trust in the fictions of men, written upon parchment; but we, who have a law written upon the inward man, by the Holy Spirit, regard nothing but what we have learned from God the creator of all." They likewise asked the bps. to desist from questioning them, and to do with them what they saw fit; for they said, they already saw their king in the heavens, who would receive them to his right hand and to heavenly joys. After a nine hours trial, the prisoners were first degraded from the priesthood, and then led away to the stake. As they passed the church door, queen *Constantia* with a stick struck *Stephen*, who had been her confessor, and dashed out one of his eyes. Their bodies, together with the abominable ashes used by them, were consumed in the flames.—Such is the story, as told by their enemies. It is reasonable to give them all the credit, which their enemies allow to them; and to make abatements only from what is said to their disadvantage. The whole description of their infernal night meetings, and eating the ashes of murdered infants, is doubtless mere calumny. Their intelligence, and the spotless purity of their lives, are well attested. The account given of their doctrines is lame, and coming from those who were their inferiors in knowledge of the scriptures, and so hostile as to burn them at the stake, it is impossible to ascertain what their real sentiments were. Tr.]

they are extolled for their piety, by their very enemies; and at the same time, crimes are attributed to them, which are manifestly false; at least, the opinions for which they suffered death, were in general, quite distant from the tenets of the Manichæans.(8) So far as I can judge, these Manichæans of Orleans, were *mystics*, who despised the external worship of God, ascribed no efficacy to religious rites, not even to the sacraments, but supposed religion to consist in the internal contemplation of divine things and the elevation of the soul to God; and at the same time, philosophized respecting God, the three persons in the Godhead, and the soul of man, with more subtilty than the capacity of the age could comprehend. Persons of this description proceeded from Italy in the following centuries, and spread over nearly all Europe, and were called in Germany, *brethren of the free Spirit*, and in some other countries, *Beghards*.(9)

§ 4. Better characters perhaps than these, certainly honest and candid, though illiterate, were those men, whom *Gerhard*, bishop of Cambray and Arras, reconciled to the church, at the council of Arras, AD. 1030. These likewise received their doctrines from Italians, and particularly from one *Gundulf*. According to their own account, they supposed all religion to consist in pious exercises, and in actions conformable to the law of God, while they despised all external worship. In particular, (I) they rejected baptism, as a rite of no use, as regards salvation; and especially the baptism of infants. (II) The Lord's Supper, they discarded for the same reason. (III) They denied that churches are any more holy, than private houses. (IV) Altars, they pronounced to be heaps of stones; and therefore worthy of no reverence. (V) They disapproved of the use of incense and of holy oil, in religious transactions. (VI) The ringing of bells, or *signals*, as bp. *Gerhard* calls them, they would not tolerate. (VII) They denied that ministers of religion, bishops, presbyters and deacons, were of divine appointment; and maintained that the church could exist without an order of teachers. (VIII) They contended, that the funeral rites were invented by the priests, to gratify their avarice; and that it was of no consequence whether a person were buried in the church yard, or in some other place. (IX) Penance, as then practised, that is, punishments voluntarily endured for sins, they deemed of no use. (X) They denied, that the

(8) *Jac. Basnage*, in his *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, Tome i. Period iv. p. 97. and in his *Histor. Eccles.* Tom. ii. p. 1388 &c. defends the cause of these Manichæans of Orleans. But this otherwise excellent and discerning man seems to have been carried too far, by his zeal for augmenting the number of the *witnesses for the truth*.

(9) Of this class of people, we shall treat hereafter, in the 13th century: at which period, they were first drawn from their concealment into full view, and condemned in many councils, especially in Germany. Yet they had long before been working their way in secret. This sect held some opinions, in common with the Manichæans; whence the undiscerning theologians of those times might easily be led, to regard them as a branch of the Manichæans.

sins of the dead, who are in the world of torment, or in *purgatory*, can be expiated by *masses*, by gifts to the poor, and by *vicarious penance*; and doubtless, they rejected the idea of *purgatory* itself. (XI) They held marriage to be pernicious, and condemned it in all cases. (10) (XII) They allowed indeed some reverence to be paid to the apostles, and to the *martyrs*; but to *confessors*, (by whom they intended those denominated *saints*, and who had not suffered death for Christ's sake,) they would have no reverence paid; declaring that their corpses were no better than those of other persons. (XIII) The custom of chanting in churches and religious assemblies, they represented as superstitious, and unlawful. (XIV) They denied a cross to be more holy than other wood; and therefore denied it any honor. (XV) They would have the images of Christ and the saints removed from the churches, and receive no kind of adoration. (XVI.) Finally, they were displeased with the difference of rank, and of powers and prerogatives, existing among the clergy. (11) Whoever considers the defects in the prevailing religion and doctrines of that age, will not think it strange, that many persons, throughout Europe, possessing good understandings and pious feelings, should have fallen into such sentiments as these.

§ 5. Toward the close of this century, about the year 1089, a more subtle controversy was raised in France, by *Roscelin*, a canon of Compeigne, who was not the lowest of the dialecticians of the age, and a principal doctor in the sect of the *Nominalists*. He maintained, that it could not be conceived at all, how the Son of God could assume human nature, without the Father and the Holy Spirit's doing the same, unless we supposed the three persons in the Godhead to be three *things*, or separately existing natures, (such as three angels are, or three human souls,) though those three divine things might have one will and one power. Being told that this opinion would imply that there are three Gods, he boldly replied, that were it not for the harshness of the expression, it might be truly said, there are three Gods. (12) He was

(10) I cannot easily believe this was altogether so. I should rather suppose, that these people did not wholly condemn matrimony, but only judged celibacy to be more holy than the married state.

(11) See the *Synodus Atrebatensis*, in *Luc. Dachery's* *Spicilegium scriptor. veter.* Tom. i. p. 607—624. *Argentre's* *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, Tom. i. p. 7. [See also *Schroeckh's* *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiii. p. 324 &c. Tr.]

(12) Thus his sentiments are stated, by *John*, who accused him to *Anselm*, in an Epistle, which is published by *Baluze*, *Miscell.* Tom. iv. p. 478. also, by *Anselm* of Canterbury, in his book *de fide Trinitatis*, written against *Roscelin*; *Opp.* Tom. i. p. 41, 43. and in Tom. ii. p. 355. *Epist. Lib. ii. Ep. xxxv.* and lastly, by *Fulco* of Beauvais, in *Anselm's* *Opp.* p. 357, *Epist. Lib. ii. Ep. xli.* But all these were adversaries of *Roscelin*, who may be supposed, either to have perverted his meaning, or to have not understood it correctly. And *Anselm* himself leads me to have much hesitation and doubt; for while he regarded the *Nominalists*, of whom *Roscelin* was the head, with no little hatred, yet he concedes, in his book *de fide Trinitatis*, that the opinion of his opponent may be admissible, in a certain sense; and he frequently states, that he does not know certainly, what his views were; and even says, that he suspects, they were less

compelled to condemn this error, in the council of Soissons, AD. 1092: but as soon as the danger was past, he resumed it. He was now ordered to quit the country. While an exile in England, he raised new commotions: contentiously maintaining, among other things, that the sons of priests, and all born out of wedlock, should never be admitted to the rank of clergymen; which was a very odious doctrine in those times. Being expelled from England for these things, he returned to France, and residing at Paris, renewed the old contention. But being pressed and harrassed on all sides, by his adversaries, he at last went to Aquitain, and spent the remainder of his life devoutly and peacefully. (13)

exceptionable than his adversaries represented them. De fide Trinitatis, cap. iii. p. 44. He says: "But perhaps he (*Roscelin*) does not say, just as three human souls, or three angels are; but he who communicated his sentiments to me, might make this comparison, without authority for it; while he (*Roscelin*) only affirmed, that the three persons are three things, without adding any comparison." So in his forty-first Epist. Book ii. p. 357, being about to state *Roscelin's* opinion, he prefaces it thus: "Which, however, I cannot believe, without hesitation." The reader, I think, will clearly see, that *Anselm*, the determined enemy of the *Nominalists*, distrusted the candour and fairness of *Roscelin's* accusers in describing his opinions, and supposed him to be less erroneous than they represented. If I do not misjudge, this whole controversy originated from the hot disputes between the *Nominalists* and the *Realists*. The *Realists* seem to have drawn this inference from the principles of the *Nominalists*, of whom *Roscelin* was the head: If, as you suppose, universal subjects are mere words and names, and the whole science of dialectics is concerned only with names, then doubtless, the three persons in the Godhead will be, in your view, not three things, but only three names. By no means, answered *Roscelin*; the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are not mere names, but belong to the class of things. But while shunning Scylla, he ran upon Charybdis: for, his enemies thence inferred, that he taught the existence of three Gods. If any of *Roscelin's* own writings were now extant, a better estimate could be formed of this controversy.

(13) *Boulay's* Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. i. p. 485, 489. *Jo. Mabillon's* Annales Benedict. Tom. v. p. 262. Histoire litteraire de la France, Tome ix. p. 358 &c. *Ant. Pagi*, Critica in Baronium, ad ann. 1094. Tom. iv. p. 317 &c. *Jac. Longueval*, Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane, Tome iii. p. 59 &c.

CENTURY TWELFTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1, 2. Conversion of pagan nations.—§ 3. The Finns.—§ 4. The Livonians.—§ 5. The Slavonians.—§ 6. Estimate of these conversions.—§ 7. The Tartars and Presbyter John.—§ 8. Unfortunate issue of the expeditions to Palestine.—§ 9. Renewal of the crusades.—§ 10. Extinction of the kingdom of Jerusalem.—§ 11. The third crusade.—§ 12. Its result.—§ 13. Orders of knights militant. First, the order of St. John.—§ 14. Second, that of Templars.—§ 15. Third, that of Teutonic knights.

§ 1. A considerable part of the inhabitants of Europe, especially in its northern regions, were still ignorant of christianity, and devoted to the foolish superstitions of their ancestors. In the conversion of these, therefore, the zealous in religion occupied themselves in this century : yet not all of them with equal success, or equal discretion. *Boleslaus*, duke of Poland, after vanquishing the Pomeranians, concluded a peace with them, on the condition, that they should allow the christian religion to be freely preached and expounded to them. Accordingly, *Otto*, bishop of Bamberg, a man distinguished in this age for his zeal in propagating christianity, was sent among them for this purpose, in the year 1124. He baptized a considerable number, but was utterly unable to overcome the obstinacy of many. On his return to Germany, a large part of those baptized by him, relapsed into idolatry. He therefore took another journey into Pomerania, in the year 1126 ; and amidst many difficulties succeeded in strengthening and extending the feeble church there.(1) From this time

(1) See *Henry Canisius*, *Lectiones antiquae*, Tom. iii. P. ii. p. 34. where is a Life of *Otto* ; whom *Clement III.*, in the year 1189, enrolled in the catalogue of saints. See the *Acta Sanctor. mensis Julii*, Tom. i. p. 349 &c. *Dan. Cramer*, *Chronicle of the church of Pomerania*, Book i. written in German : *Christ. Schöigen's* German tract, on the conversion of the Pomeranians by *Otto* ; *Stargard*, 1724. 4to. *Jo. Mabillon's* *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 123, 146, 323. [Likewise *Jo. Bugenhagen's* *Pomerania*, published by *J. H. Balthasar*, *Greifswald* 1728. 4to. p. 38, 64, 78 &c. The precepts given by this apostle to his new converts, were designed chiefly to wean them from their superstitious practices. They did not go into the essentials of christianity. They must observe Sundays, and the feast days ; they must fast ; must bring their children to be baptized,

onward, christianity became so established among the Pomeranians, that *Adalbert* could be ordained as their first bishop.

§ 2. *Waldemar* I, king of Denmark, obtained very great fame by the many wars he undertook against the pagan nations, the Slaves, the Wends, the Vandals, and others. He fought not only for the interests of his subjects, but likewise for the extension of christianity; and wherever he was successful, he demolished the temples and images of the gods, the altars and groves, and commanded christian worship to be set up. In particular, he subdued in the year 1168, the whole island of Rugen, which lies near to Pomerania; and now he compelled its ferocious, savage, piratical inhabitants, who had been addicted to senseless superstitions, to hear christian preachers, and to embrace the christian worship. The king's designs were promoted and executed, by *Absalom*, archbishop of Lund, a man of talents, whom the king employed as his chief counsellor on all subjects.(2)

§ 3. The Finns, who infested Sweden with frequent inroads, were attacked by *Eric* IX, king of Sweden, called *St. Eric*, after his death; and by him subdued, after many bloody battles. As to the year when this took place, historians disagree.(3) The vanquished nation was commanded to follow the religion of the conqueror; which most of them did, with reluctance and disgust.(4) The shepherd and guardian assigned to this new church, was *Henry*, archbishop of Upsal, who had accompanied the king. But as he treated these new christians too rigorously, and attempted to punish severely a man of great influence who had committed murder, he was himself massacred; and the pontiff *Hadrian* IV, enrolled him among the saints.(5)

§ 4. Towards the close of the century, perhaps in the year 1186, some merchants of Bremen or of Lubec, trading to Livonia, took along with them *Mainhard*, a regular canon of St. Augustine in the monastery of Segeberg in Halsatia, to bring that warlike and uncivilized nation to the christian faith. But, as very few would listen to him, *Mainhard* consulted the Roman pontiff,

with certain formalities, at Whitsuntide; must not murder their daughters, as formerly; must refrain from polygamy; must not marry their god-mothers; and in general, must refrain from marrying kindred within the sixth and seventh degrees; they must not bury the bodies of christians among those of pagans; must build no idol temples; consult no soothsayer; eat nothing that is unclean; do penance often, &c. See the Chron. Ursperg. et Halberstad. ad ann. 1124. *Schl.*]

(2) *Sazo* Grammaticus, *Historia Danica*, Lib. xiv. p. 239. *Helmold*, Chron. Slavorum, Lib. ii. c. xii. p. 234, with the note there, of *Henry Bangert*. *Pontoppidan*, *Annales eccles. Danicæ*, Tom. i. p. 404 &c. [*Schroëckh's Kirchen-gesch.* vol. xxv. p. 245 &c. Tr.]

(3) Most of them, with *Baronius*, refer it to the year 1151. *Vastovius* places it in 1150, and *Oernheimius* AD. 1157.

(4) *Claud. Oernheimius*, *Historia Eccles. gentis Suecorum*, Lib. iv. cap. iv. § 13. *Jo. Locenius*, *Historia Suecica*, Lib. iii. p. 76. ed. Francf. *Isr. Erlandus*, *Vita Erici Sancti*, cap. vii. *Vastovius*, *Vitis Aquilonia*, p. 65 &c

(5) *Jo. Vastovius*, *Vitis Aquilonia*, seu vitæ Sanctor. regni Suegothici, p. 62. *Eric Benzlius*, *Monumenta ecclesiæ Suegothicæ*, Pt. i. p. 33 &c.

who created him the first bishop of the Livonians, and decreed, that war should be waged against the opposers.(6) This war, which was first waged with the Esthonians, was extended farther and more vigorously prosecuted, by *Berthold*, the second bishop of the Livonians, after the death of *Mainhard*; for this *Berthold*, formerly abbot of Lucca, marched with a strong army from Saxony, and recommended christianity, not by arguments, but by slaughter and battle.(7) Following his example, the third bishop *Albert*, previously a canon of Bremen, entered Livonia in the year 1198, well supported by a fresh army raised in Saxony, and fixing his camp at Riga, he instituted, by authority of *Innocent III*, the Roman pontiff, the military order of *knights sword-bearers*, who should compel the Livonians, by force of arms, to submit to baptism.(8) New forces were marched, from time to time, from Germany; by whose valor and that of the sword-bearers, the wretched people were subdued and exhausted, so that they at last substituted the images of Christ and the saints in place of their idols. The bishops and knights partitioned out among themselves the lands most unjustly wrested from the ancient possessors.(9)

§ 5. The subjugation and conversion of the Slavonians, who inhabited the shores of the Baltic, and were most inveterate enemies of the christians, gave employment to both civil and ecclesiastical rulers, during nearly the whole century. Among them, prince *Henry* the Lion was distinguished. Among other measures conducive to the renovation of the Slavonian character, he restored and liberally endowed three bishoprics, in Slavonia beyond the Elbe; namely Ratzeburg, Aldenburg, which was soon

(6) [The apostles of those times, according to the example of the successors of St. Peter in that age, made use of the double sword, first the spiritual, and, where this was ineffectual, the material sword. And this last, *Mainhard* knew well how to use. In the war against the Lettes or Lithuanians, he taught his Livonians the art of erecting fortified castles, and in general, a better method of carrying on war. His lieutenant was Dieterich, a Cistercian monk, who was afterwards bishop of Esthonia. He also was *Mainhard's* envoy to the pope, who proffered indulgencies to all that would assume the cross and march against the Livonians. *Schl.*]

(7) [*Berthold* was a Cistercian, and was appointed successor to *Mainhard*, in the year 1196, by the archbishop of Bremen, who wished to enlarge his province by the addition of Livonia. His first expedition to Livonia was unsuccessful. The Livonians believed, that he came among them only to enrich himself out of them; and he found it best to make his escape from them. When he returned with an armed force, in 1198, the Livonians killed him. But the army of crusaders so terrified the inhabitants, that they admitted clergymen among them; though these, they soon after chased out of the country. *Schl.*]

(8) See *Henry Leonh. Schurzfleisch*, *Historia ordinis Ensiferorum equitum*, Witteb. 1701. 8vo.

(9) See the *Origines Livoniae, seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*, published with copious notes, Francf. 1740. Fol. by *Jo. Dan. Gruber*; who in his notes, mentions and corrects all the other writers on the subject. [We have also three epistles of pope *Innocent III*, relating to the conversion of the Livonians. The first is addressed to all the christians in Saxony and Westphalia; the second, to the christians in the countries of the Slavonians; and the third, to the believers beyond the Elbe. In these the pope commands such as were under vows of pilgrimage to Rome, to substitute for them a crusade against the Livonians. *Raynald*, *Annales*, ad ann. 1199. No. 38, and Cod. Diplom. Polon. Tom. v. p. 1. *Schl.*]

after transferred to Lubec, and Schwerin.(10) Among the religious teachers who assailed the ignorance and stupidity of this barbarous nation, the most distinguished was *Wicelin* of Hameln, a man who had but few equals in that age, and who from presiding over the regular canons of St. Augustine at Faldern, was at length made bishop of Aldenburg. For nearly thirty years, from AD. 1124 to AD. 1154, the time of his death, he labored amidst innumerable difficulties, indefatigably, perseveringly, and successfully, in instructing the Slavonians, and alluring them to christianity. He also performed many other praiseworthy deeds, which have rendered his name immortal.(11)

§ 6. It is scarcely necessary to repeat here, what has several times been remarked already, that barbarous nations brought into the pale of the christian church in this manner, became disciples of Christ in name only, and not in reality. The religion taught

(10) See the *Origines Guelphicae*, Tom. iii. p. 16, 19, 34, 41, 55, 61, 63, 72, 82, and the valuable Preface of *Schcidius*, § xiv. p. 41. *Ludewig's Reliquiae Manuscriptorum*. Tom. vi. p. 230 &c. *Jo. Ern. de Westphalen's Monumenta. inedita rerum Cambricar. et Megapolens*, Tom. ii. p. 1998 &c. [According to *Helmold*, in his *Chronicon Slavor. Lib. i. c. 69*, it was *Hartwich* the archbishop of Hauburg, who re-established these bishoprics. The archduke *Henry* had previously made some campaigns into the territory of the Slavonians; but his object had not been to propagate christianity. (Nulla de christianitate, says *Helmold*, fuit mentio, sed tantum de pecunia.) *Otto* the Great had formerly established the bishopric of Aldenburg, which extended from that of Holstein, as far as the Peene and the town of Demmin: and under *Ezo*, the tenth bishop, this bishopric was divided, by *Adalbert* archbishop of Hamburg, into three bishoprics, those of Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg being created within it. But these bishoprics, after the extinction of christianity in the territories of the Slavonians, remained vacant eighty-four years, or till the times of *Hartwich*. This archbishop having in vain labored to re-annex the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish bishoprics to his archiepiscopal province, to which they had formerly belonged; that he might not be without suffragans, reestablished the old Slavonian bishoprics; and made *Wicelin* bishop of Aldenburg, and *Emmahard* bishop of Mecklenburg, without the knowledge of the archduke and count, who seized upon all the first year's tithes in the bishopric of Aldenburg. Yet the archduke listened to the complaints of the bishop, and promised to support him, provided he would receive the investiture from his hands. This however the bishop refused, because it was an innovation upon the general custom, which was for bishops to receive investiture only from emperors and kings; and the clergy of Bremen urged him to take this course. But a friend advised *Wicelin* to yield to the wishes of the archduke, for the sake of the good of the church, suggesting to him, that the protection of neither the archbishop nor the emperor would be of much service to him, unless he had the friendship of the archduke, the immediate lord of the country. He at length deemed it necessary to follow this advice; and received investiture by the staff from the archduke, who gave him the village of Buzoe (Butzow). From the same *Helmold*, from whom these statements are drawn, it appears, why the Slavonians so long opposed christianity. They were drained by oppressive contributions, and were refused the privileges enjoyed by Saxons. *Prbeslav*, a Pomeranian chief, said to the bishop that would convert him: "Dentur nobis jura Saxonum in prædiis et redditibus, et libenter erimus christiani, aedificabimus ecclesias, dabimus decimas," &c. *Schl.*]

(11) A particular account of *Wicelin* is given by *Jo. Möller*, in his *Cimbria litterata*, Tom. ii. p. 910 &c. and by *Peter Lambecius*, in his *Res Hamburg. Lib. ii. p. 12*, and by others. But the illustrious *Jo. Ern. de Westphalen* has exceeded all others in diligence, in his *Origines Neomonastr. et Bordesholmens. which are extant in the Monumenta inedita Cimbrica*, Tom. ii. p. 2344 &c. The preface of this volume also deserves to be consulted, p. 33 &c. An engraved likeness of *Wicelin* is found in this volume.

them was not the pure and simple doctrine, which Christ taught, but a method of appeasing God by ceremonies and external acts, which was in several respects very nearly allied to the religion, which they were required to abandon. Take out the history and the name of Christ, the sign of the cross, some prayers, and a disagreement in rites, and it will not be difficult to reconcile both to each other, to a great extent. Besides many practices were still tolerated among these nations, which were wholly inconsistent with the nature of christianity, and which betrayed very great impiety: for the priests, with but few exceptions, did not labor to remove the spiritual maladies of their minds, and to unite their souls to God, but to advance their own interests and those of the Roman pontiff, by extending and establishing their dominion.

§ 7. In Asiatic Tartary, near to Cathai, a great revolution took place, near the beginning of this century, and a revolution very favorable to the cause of christianity. For on the death of *Coirremchan*, or as others call him, *Kenchan*, a very powerful king of the eastern regions of Asia; at the close of the preceding century, a certain priest of the Nestorians inhabiting those countries, whose name was *John*, made so successful an attack upon the kingdom while destitute of a head, that he gained possession of it, and from a *presbyter* became the sovereign of a great empire. This was the famous *Prester John*, whose country was for a long time deemed by the Europeans the seat of all felicity and opulence. Because he had been a *presbyter*, before he gained the kingdom, most persons continued to call him *Prester John*, after he had acquired regal dignity. (12) His regal name was *Ungchan*. The

(12) The statements here made, respecting the famous *Prester John*, whom our ancestors from the 12th century onwards supposed to be the greatest and most prosperous of all kings, not only have the greatest appearance of probability among all the accounts that are given of him, but are also supported by the testimony of writers of candor, and the most worthy of credit; namely, *William* of Tripoli, (see *Carolus du Fresne*, notes to Joinville's life of St. Lewis p. 89.) the bishop of Gabul, in *Otto* of Frisingen's *Chronicon*, Lib. vii. c. 33. (This bishop had come to Rome to obtain the decision of an umpire of the controversies between the Armenian and Greek churches. On this occasion he related, that a few years before, one *John* who lived in the extremities of the east, beyond Persia and Armenia, and was both a king and a priest, had, with his people, become a Nestorian christian; that he had vanquished the Median and Persian kings, and attempted to march to the aid of the church at Jerusalem, but was obliged to desist from the enterprise, because he was unable to pass the Tigris. This king was descended from the Magians mentioned in the gospel, and was so rich that he had a sceptre of emerald. *Schl.*) *William Rubruquis*, voyage, c. xviii. p. 36, in the *Antiqua in Asiam Itinera*, collected by *P. Gerberon*; and *Alberic*, *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1165, and 1170; in *Leibnitz's Accessiones Historiæ*, Tom. ii. p. 345 and 355, and others. It is strange, that these testimonies should have been disregarded by learned men, and that so many opinions and disputes should have arisen, respecting *Prester John* and the region in which he lived, and should have continued down even to our times. But such is the human character, that what has most simplicity and plainness, is despised, and what is marvellous and obscure is preferred. *Peter Covillanus*, who was directed, in the 15th century, by *John II*, king of Portugal, to make inquiries respecting the kingdom of *Prester John*, when arrived in Abyssinia with his companions, on discovering many things in the emperor of the Abyssinians or Ethiopians analogous to what was then currently

exalted opinion of the power and riches of this *Prester John*, entertained by the Greeks and Latins, arose from this, that being elated with his prosperity and the success of his wars with the neighboring nations, he sent ambassadors and letters to the Roman emperor *Frederic I*, to the Greek emperor *Manuel*, and to other sovereigns, in which he extravagantly proclaimed his own majesty and wealth and power, exalting himself above all the kings of the earth: and this boasting of the vain-glorious man, the Nestorians labored with all their power to confirm. He was succeeded by his son or brother, whose proper name was *David*, but who was also generally called *Prester John*. This prince was vanquished and slain, near the close of the century, by that mighty Tartar emperor, *Ginghizkan*.

§ 8. The new kingdom of Jerusalem in Syria, established in the preceding century by the French, seemed at the beginning of this century to flourish and to stand firm. But this prosperity was soon succeeded by adversity. For most of the crusaders having returned home, and the christian generals and princes that remained in Palestine being more attentive to their private advantages than to the public good, the Muhammedans recovered from their sudden terror and consternation, and collecting troops

reported in Europe respecting *Prester John*, supposed that he had discovered that *John* whom he was ordered to inquire after. And he easily persuaded the Europeans, then scarcely emerged from barbarism, to fall in with his opinions. See *John Morin*, de sacris ecclesiae ordinationibus, P. ii. p. 367 &c. But in the 17th century, many writings having been brought to light which had been unknown, the learned in great numbers abandoned this Portuguese conjecture, and agreed that *Prester John* must have reigned in Asia; but they still disagreed as to the location of his kingdom and some other points. Yet there are some even in our times, and among the most learned men, who choose to give credit to the Portuguese, though supported by no proofs and authorities, that the Abyssinian emperor is that mighty *Prester John*, rather than follow the many contemporary and competent witnesses. See *Euseb. Renaudot*, Historia patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 223, 337. *Jos. Franc. Lafitau*, Histoire des decouvertes des Portugais, Tom. i. p. 58, and Tom. iii. p. 57. *Henr. le Grand*, Diss. de Johanni Presbyt. in Lobo's Voyage d' Abissinie, Tom. i. p. 295 &c. [See above, note (1) p. 123, and *Mosheim's* Historia Tartaror. eccles. p. 16 &c. *Baronius*, Annales, ad ann. 1177, § 55, gives us the title of an epistle written by pope *Alexander III*, to *Prester John*, which shows that he was an *Indian* prince, and a priest: "Alexander Episcopus servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio illustri et magnifico *Indorum* regi, sacerdotum sanctissimo, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem." Tr.—That the *Dalai Lama* was the *Prester John*, is denied by *Paulsen*, the real author of *Mosheim's* Hist. Tartaror. ecclesiastica. Yet more recently *Joh. Eberh. Fischer*, in his Introduction to the history of Siberia, p. 81, (in German,) has maintained this opinion; and endeavored to show, that the *Dalai Lonna* (*Lama*), and *Prester John*, are the same person; and that the latter name is a fictitious word, which the Europeans did not correctly understand. And whoever is sensible, how low a people may sink under the influence of superstition, will not deem the idolatry of the Thibetians full proof, that the Grand Lama and *Prester John* could not be the same person. At least, if reliance may be put upon the account of the Augustinian eremite *George*, (of which *Gatterer's* Algem. Hist. Bibl. contains an extract,) it was in the beginning of the 12th century, that the regal power in Thibet was first joined with that of the Grand Lama: which is a new argument in favor of *Fischer's* opinion. See the Hist. Bibl. vol. viii. p. 191. *Schl.*—But this hypothesis of *Fischer* seems to be fully subverted, by the arguments of *Mosheim*, and *Paulsen*, Hist. Tartaror. eccles. p. 137 &c. See *Schroeckh's* Kirchengesch. vol. xxv. p. 192. Tr.]

and resources on every side, attacked and harrassed the christians with perpetual wars. During many years, they opposed the enemy with valor : but when *Atabec Zenghi*,⁽¹³⁾ after a long seige, had taken the city of Edessa, and seemed disposed to attack Antioch, the courage of the christians began to fail. They therefore implored the succor of the christian kings of Europe, and with tears supplicated for new armies of crusaders. The Roman pontiffs favored these petitions, and left no means untried to persuade the emperor and the other sovereigns to undertake another expedition to Palestine.

§ 9. This new crusade was long a subject of debate, in some of the popular assemblies and in the councils. At length, under the pontiff *Eugene III*, the celebrated abbot of Clairval in France, *St. Bernard*, a man of immense influence, brought the question to an issue. For as he, in the year 1146, *preached the cross*, (as the phrase then was,) in both France and Germany, but especially in a public assembly of the French at Vezelay, and promised in the name of God, great victories, and a most prosperous issue of the enterprize, *Lewis VII*, king of the French, his queen, and a vast number of nobles who were present, devoted themselves to the sacred war. *Conrad III*, emperor of the Germans, at first resisted the admonitions of St. Bernard : but after some delay, he followed the example of the French king. Both therefore, proceeded towards Palestine, with very numerous armies, by different routes. But the greater part of both armies, perished miserably on the road, either by famine or by shipwreck, or by the sword of the Muhammedans ; to whom they were betrayed by the perfidious Greeks, who feared the Latins more than they did the Muhammedans. *Lewis VII*, left his country in the year 1147, and arrived at Antioch in the month of March in the following year, with a small army, and that exhausted by its sufferings. *Conrad* commenced his march in the month of May 1147, and in November of the same year joined *Lewis* at Nice, having lost the greater part of his troops by the way. Both proceeded to Jerusalem in the year 1148 ; and they led back to Europe the few soldiers that survived, in the year 1149. For these princes were unable to effect any thing, among other causes, on account of the disagreement between them. The only effect of this second crusade was, to drain Europe of a great portion of its wealth, and of a vast number of its inhabitants.⁽¹⁴⁾

(13) *Atabec* was an official title, given by the *Seljukian* emperors or *Sultans* to the lieutenants or viceroys, whom they placed over certain provinces. The Latin historians of the crusades, of whom a catalogue is collected by *Jac. Bongarsius*, call this *Atabec Zenghi*, Sanguinus. See *Barth. Herbelot*, *Biblioth. Orientale*, Article *Atabek*, p. 142.

(14) Besides the historians of the crusades mentioned by *Bongarsius*, see *Jo. Mabillon's Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 399, 404, 407, 417, 451 &c. *Jac. Gervais*, *Histoire de l'Abbé Suger*, Tom. iii. p. 104, 128, 173, 190, 239 &c. This *Suger*, a famous abbot of St. Denys, was left by *Lewis VII*, to govern his king-

§ 10. Yet the unhappy issue of this second crusade, did not render the christian cause in the East absolutely desperate. If the christian princes had attacked the enemy with their combined strength, and acted in harmony, they would have had little to fear. But all the Latins, and especially their chiefs, abandoning themselves without restraint to ambition, avarice, injustice, and other vices, weakened each other by their mutual contentions, jealousies, and broils. Hence a valiant general of the Muhammedans, *Salaheddin*, whom the Latins call *Saladin*, viceroy, or rather king, of Egypt and Syria, assailed the christians in the most successful manner, captured *Guy* of Lusignan, the king of Jerusalem, in the fatal battle of Tiberias, AD. 1187; and in the same year reduced Jerusalem under his power. (15) After this ruinous campaign, the hopes of the christians in the East, rested wholly on the aid to be derived from the kings of Europe. And this aid the Roman pontiff obtained for them, after much and repeated solicitations: yet the issue did not equal his designs, or his wishes and efforts.

§ 11. The third crusade was commenced by the emperor *Fre-*

dom during his absence. *Vertot*, Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte, Tome I. p. 86 &c. *Jo. Jac. Mascov*, de rebus imperii sub Conrado III. [The French army of crusaders consisted of rising 100,000 armed men, of whom 70,000 were mounted cuirassiers, and the rest infantry. The German army was of about the same number. The emperor moved first, pursuing a direct course through Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thrace, to Constantinople, where he was to wait for the arrival of the king. But the Greek emperor received him coldly; and by artifices induced him to cross the Dardanelles, and proceed towards Palestine. The Grecian guides assigned him, led him into defiles and dangerous positions, in Lycæonia, where the Muhammedans attacked and nearly destroyed his army. After the loss of all his baggage, he was obliged to turn back with but a handful of men. The French army proceeded from Metz, crossed the Rhine at Worms, and the Danube at Ratisbon, passed through Hungary, and arrived safely at Constantinople. There they were told, the German army had proceeded on, and were very successful against the infidels. *Lewis* now passed the straits, and was at Nice when *Conrad* returned with the remnant of his ruined army. The sovereigns continued together for a few days, and commenced their march southerly along the coast. But the emperor thinking it not honorable for him to attend a camp in which he had no command, returned to Constantinople, and afterwards embarked for the holy land. *Lewis* led his army through Asia Minor, bending his course into the interior to avoid passing the large rivers near their mouths. The Muhammedans hovered around him, cut off his supplies, and at length attacked him in the mountains of Laodicea, to great advantage, destroyed a large part of his army, and came near to capturing the king himself. At length, he arrived with the wreck of his army at Attalia, the capital of Pamphylia, where the Greeks drained them of their resources, and so embarrassed their proceeding by land, that the king, with part of his troops, was obliged to embark on board the few vessels he could obtain, leaving the remainder of his army to fight their way by land, if they could. Those he thus left, all perished. He and those with him arrived safe in Palestine. The emperor also rejoined him with a few troops. Their united forces formed but a small army; yet they would have been able to reduce Damascus, if the christian princes of the East had not disagreed, and thus embarrassed their operations. The siege was abandoned; the sovereigns visited Jerusalem as pilgrims, and at length returned to Europe, with less than a tenth part of the men that had enlisted in the crusade. *Tr.*]

(15) See the Arab *Bohadin's* Life of *Saladin*; which *Alb. Schultens* published in Arabic, with a Latin translation, Lugd. Bat. 1732, Fol. c. xxxiv. &c. p. 60 &c. Add *Herbelot*, Biblioth. Orientale, Artic. *Salaheddin*, p. 742 &c. and *Marigny*, Histoire des Arabes, Tom. iv. p. 289 &c.

deric I, surnamed *Barbarossa*; who with a large army of Germans, traversed the provinces of Greece, in the year 1189, and after surmounting numerous difficulties, in Asia Minor, and vanquishing the forces of a Muhammedan king resident at Iconium, penetrated into Syria. But the next year, while bathing in the river Saleph, which passes by Seleucia, he lost his life, in a manner unknown; and a great part of his soldiers returned to Europe. The others continued the war, under *Frederic*, the son of the deceased emperor: but the plague swept off very many of them, and at length, their general, the emperor's son, in the year 1191, when the rest dispersed, and very few of them returned to their own country. (16)

§ 12. The emperor *Frederic* was followed, in the year 1190, by *Philip Augustus* king of France, and *Richard*, surnamed the *Lion-hearted*, king of England. Both these went by sea, and reached Palestine, with selected troops, in the year 1191. Their first battle with the enemy was not unsuccessful: but in July of that year, after the reduction of the city of Acre, the king of France returned to Europe; leaving, however, a part of his troops in Palestine. After his departure, the king of England prosecuted the war with vigor, and not only vanquished *Saladin* in several battles, but also took Jaffa and Cesarea, cities of Palestine. But being deserted by the French and Italians, and moved also by other reasons of great weight, he in the year 1192 concluded a truce with *Saladin*, for three years, three months and three days; and soon after left Palestine with his troops. (17) Such was the issue of the third crusade; which drained Germany, England, and France, both of men and money, but afforded very little advantage to the christian cause in Asia.

§ 13. During these wars of the christians with the Muhammedans for the possession of the holy land, arose the three celebrated equestrian or military orders; whose business it was to clear the roads of robbers, to harrass the Muhammedans with perpetual warfare, to afford assistance to the poor and the sick among pilgrims to the holy places, and to perform any other services which the public exigences seemed to require. (18) The first of these orders, the *knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, derived their name from a hospital in the city of Jerusalem consecrated to *St. John the Baptist*, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were accustomed to relieve and afford relief to the needy and the sick visitants of Jerusalem. After the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem, this hospital gradually acquired, from the libe-

(16) These events are best illustrated by the celebrated count *Henry de Bünew*, in his life of *Frederic I*. written in German, p. 278, 293, 309, 333 &c.

(17) *Gabr. Daniel*, *Histoire de France*, Tome III. p. 426 &c. *Rapin Thoiras*, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, Tome II. p. 251 &c. [*Hume's Hist. of England*, ch. x. vol. I. p. 403 &c.] *Marigny*, *Histoire des Arabes*, Tome iv. p. 265 &c.

(18) The writers who treat of these three orders, though not all, are enumerated by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* p. 465 &c.

ality of pious persons, larger revenues than were requisite for the object of relieving the poor and the sick ; and its president or *master*, *Raymund du Puy*, about the year 1120, with his brethren, offered to the king of Jerusalem to make war upon the Muhammedans, at his own expense. The king approved the plan : and the Roman pontiffs confirmed it by their authority. Thus at once, and to the surprise of all, from being administerers to the poor and the sick, who were removed from all bustle and noise, they became military characters ; and the whole order was divided into three classes, *knights*, or soldiers who were of noble birth, and whose business it was to fight for religion, *priests*, who conducted the religious exercises of the order, and *serving brethren*, that is, soldiers of ignoble birth. This order exhibited the greatest feats of valor ; and thus procured immense wealth. After the loss of Palestine, the knights passed into the island of Cyprus : afterwards they occupied the island of Rhodes, and held it a long time : when expelled from Rhodes by the Turks, they obtained from *Charles V*, the possession of the island of Malta, where their grand master still resides.(19) [In the year 1798, the knights of Malta betrayed the island to the French fleet, then carrying *Buonaparte* to Egypt. The English immediately after commenced a blockade of the island, which lasted two years ; when the island fell into the hands of the English, who have held it ever since. The order lost the greater part of its revenues, during the French revolution ; and from the time Malta was surrendered to the French, has been sinking into insignificance ; and is now, AD. 1830, nearly, if not altogether, extinct. *Tr.*]

§ 14. The second order was wholly military ; that is, it did not embrace both soldiers and priests. It was called the order of *Templars*, from a house situated near the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, which *Balduin II*, the king of Jerusalem, gave to the knights, temporarily, for their first residence. The order commenced AD. 1118, at Jerusalem ; and had for its founders *Hugo de Paganis* (Hugues des Payens,) *Godfrey de S. Amore* (or St. Omer,) and seven others, whose names are not known. Its full establishment, and its rule, it obtained AD. 1128, from the council of Troyes in France.(20) These knights were required to

(19) The most recent and best history of this order, is that composed by *Renat. Aubert de Vertot*, by order of the knights, and published first at Paris, and afterwards at Amsterdam, 1732, 5 vol. 8vo. Add *Hipp. Helyot*, *histoires des Ordres*, Tome III. p. 72 &c.

(20) See *Jo. Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 159 &c. [*Mabillon* there says : " Their rule was taken almost verbatim from that of *St. Benedict*, and consisted of the same number of chapters, viz. 72. Many persons suppose that it was drawn up by *St. Bernard*." Their rule received modifications from time to time : but their earliest regulations were the following. The knights shall attend the entire religious services, by day and by night : and if any one is prevented from attending, by his military duties, he shall repeat 13 Pater noster, in place of matins, 9 in place of vespers, and 7 in place of each of the minor canonical hours. For each deceased brother, 100 Pater noster shall be said, daily, for seven days ; and his allotment of food and drink, (his rations) during forty days,

defend the christian religion by force of arms, to guard the high ways, and to protect the pilgrims to Palestine from the cruelties and robberies of the Muhammedans. By its valor, this order likewise acquired great fame, and vast wealth; but at the same time, by its pride, luxury, cruelty, and other vices, incurred peculiar odium; which rose so high at last, that the order was wholly suppressed, by a decree of the pontiff and of the council of Vienne. (21)

§ The third order, that of the *Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem*, was similar to the first, by requiring care of the poor and the sick, as well as warfare. It originated AD. 1190, at the siege of Acre or Ptolemais: yet some place its obscure beginnings somewhat earlier, and at Jerusalem. During this siege, some pious and benevolent Germans undertook to provide accommodations for sick and wounded soldiers; and the undertaking so pleased the German princes who were present, that they concluded to establish an association for that object, to be composed of German knights. The Roman pontiff, *Coelestine III*, afterwards approved of the society, and confirmed it by formal enactments. None were to be admitted into this order, except Germans of noble birth; and those admitted, were to devote themselves to the defence of the christian religion and the holy land, and to the care of the poor and the sick. At first, the austerity of the order was very great, clothing and bread and water being the only recompense of the soldiers for the labors they endured. But this rigor soon ceased, as the wealth of the society increased. When the order retired from Palestine, it occupied Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Semigallia; and though it lost those provinces at the Reformation, yet it retained a part of its estates in Germany. (22)

shall be given to some poor person. The knights may eat flesh, thrice a week, on the Lord's day, Tuesdays, and Thursdays; the other four days, they must abstain from flesh; and on Fridays must be content with quadragesimal fare. Each knight may have three horses, and one squire. No one may either hawk or hunt. See *Fleury's Histoire de l'Eglise*, Liv. lxvii. cap. 55. Tr.]

(21) See *Matth. Paris*, *Historia major*, p. 56 &c. for an account of the origin of the order. *Peter de Puy*, *Histoire de l'Ordre militaire des Templiers*, which was republished, with many additional documents, Brussels 1751, 4to. *Nic. Girdler*, *Historia Templariorum militum*, Amstel. 1691, 8vo. [For a list of more recent writers, see *Winer's Handb. d. theologischen Literatur*, Leips. 1826, p. 184. Tr.]

(22) In addition to *Raymund Duell's Historia Ordinis Teutonici*, Vindob. 1727, Fol. see *Peter von Dusburg's Chronicon Prusie*, edited with the notes of *Christopher Hartknoch*, Jena 1679, 4to. *Hipp. Helyot*, *Histoire des Ordres*, Tome iii. p. 140 &c. The *Chronicon Ordinis Teutonici*, in *Ant. Matthæi Analecta veteris ævi*, Tom. v. p. 621, 658, ed. nova. The *Privilegia Ordinis Teutonici*, in *Jo. Peter Von Ludwig's Reliquia Manuscript*, Tom. vii. p. 43.

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Adverse events in the West.—§ 2. In the East.—§ 3. Prester John slain.

§ 1. Neither the Jews, nor the polytheists, could give the christians of the West so much trouble as formerly. The former were accused by the christians of various crimes, pretended or real ; so that their efforts were directed, not so much to make opposition to the christians, as to defend themselves, in the best manner they could, against their attacks. Such of the polytheists as remained in the North of Europe,—and they were considerably numerous in several places,—frequently made great slaughter among the christians.⁽¹⁾ But the christian kings and princes, who were in their vicinity, gradually brought their rage under restraints ; and they did not cease from waging war upon them, till they had deprived them both of their independence and of their religious freedom.

§ 2. The writers of that age, are full of their complaints of the cruelty and rage of the Saracens, against the christians in the East. Nor is there any reason, to question their veracity. But most of them have omitted, to state the great causes of this cruelty ; which were, for the most part, on the side of the christians. In the first place, the Saracens had a right, according to the laws of war, to repel violence by violence : nor is it easy to see, with what face the christians could require of this nation, which they attacked with large armies, and slaughtered, that it should patiently receive blows, and not return them. Besides, the christians in the East, committed abominable crimes, and did not hesitate to inflict the most exquisite sufferings and distress upon the Saracens. And can any think it strange, that they should deem it right to retaliate ? Lastly, is it a new and surprising thing, that a nation, not distinguished for mildness and gentleness of temper, when provoked by the calamities of what was pronounced a holy war, should be severe upon their subjects, who were united with their enemies in religion ?

§ 3. A vast change in the state of the christians, in northern Asia, took place near the close of this century, in consequence of the victories of the great *Genghiskan*, commander of the Tartars. For this descendant of the Mongles or Moguls, a hero who has had few equals in any age, attacked *David* or *Ungchan*, the broth-

(1) *Helmold*, Chronicon Slavor. Lib. i. c. xxxiv. p. 88. c. xxxv. p. 89. c. xl. p. 99. *Lindenbrog*, Scriptor. Septentrion. p. 195, 196, 201. *Pater Lambecius*, Res Hamburg. Lib. i. p. 23.

er, or son, or at least the successor of the celebrated *Prester John*, and himself called by that name, and having conquered him in battle slew him : (2) then assailing the other princes, who ruled over the Turks, the Indians, and the inhabitants of Cathai, he either slew them, or made them tributary : and after this, invading Persia, India, and Arabia, he overturned the Saracenic empire, and established that of the Tartars in those countries. (3) From this time, the reputation of the christian religion was greatly diminished, in the countries which had been subject to *Prester John*, and his successor *David* ; nor did it cease to sink, and to decline gradually, till it was wholly prostrated by either Muhammedan errors or the fables of paganism. Yet the posterity of *John*, for a long time after this, held, in the kingdom of Tangut, in which his original sect was, some degree of power, though much restricted, and not independent ; and these continued to adhere to the christian religion. (4)

(2) Respecting the year, in which *Genghiskan* invaded and conquered *Prester John*, the Greek, Latin, and oriental writers disagree very much. Most of the Latin writers fix on the year 1202; and thus refer the event to the thirteenth century. But *Marco Paulo*, the Venetian, de regionibus Oriental. Lib. i. c. 51, 52, 53, and others, state that it took place, in the year 1187; and their authority, I choose to follow. *Demetrius Cantimir*, prince of Moldavia, deviates from both; and in his preface to the History of the Ottoman empire, p. xlv. Tom. i. French ed. states, on the authority of the Arabians, that *Genghiskan* did not invade the territories of his neighbors, till the year 1214.

(3) *Petit de la Croix*, Histoire de Genghiz Can, Paris 1711. 12mo. pa. 120, 121. *Barthol. Herbelot*, Biblioth. Orientale, Artic. Genghizkhan, p. 378. *Jos. Sim. Asseman*, Bibliotheca Oriental. Vaticana, Tom. iii. P. i. p. 101 and 295 &c. *Jean du Plan Carpin*, Voyage en Tartarie, cap. v. in the Recueil des Voyages au Nord, Tome vii. p. 350.

(4) *Asseman*, Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana, Tom. iii. P. ii. p. 500 &c. [*Mosheim*, Historia Tartaror. Eccles. cap. ii. p. 29 &c. Tr.]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LEARNING AND SCIENCE.

§ 1, 2. State of learning and science among the Greeks.—§ 3, 4. Among the Latins.—§ 5. Study of the civil law.—§ 6. Canon law.—§ 7. Philosophy among the Latins.—§ 8. Disagreements among the philosophers.—§ 9. Contents of the dialecticians. The realists and nominalists.

§ 1. Among the Greeks, though the times were calamitous, and revolutions and intestine wars were very frequent, the study of literature and the liberal arts was highly honored. This was attributable to the patronage and the literary zeal of the emperors, especially the *Comneni*; and likewise to the vigilance of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs, who feared, lest the Greek church would lack defenders against the Latins, if her priests should neglect learning. The learned and luminous commentaries of *Eustathius*, bishop of Thessalonica, upon *Homer* and *Dionysius* [*Periegetes*], shew, that men of the best talents applied themselves diligently to the study of classic literature and antiquities. (1) And the many respectable historians of the events of their own times, *John Cinnamus*, (2) *Michael Glycas*, (3) *John Zonaras*, (4) *Nice-*

(1) [*Eustathius* was archbishop of Thessalonica, in the year 1185, when his eloquence saved that city from demolition by its Sicilian conquerors. He was alive in 1194. His excellent commentary on *Homer*, was published, Rome 1550. 4 vol. Fol. and Basil 1560. 3 vol. Fol. He also wrote a good commentary on the geographical poem of *Dionysius Periegetes*, Gr. Paris 1577. Fol. He wrote nothing on theology, so far as is known. Tr.]

(2) [*John Cinnamon* was secretary to *Manuel Comnenes*, a Grammarian and a soldier, who flourished AD. 1160, and was alive AD. 1183. He wrote the history of the two *Comneni*, *John* and *Manuel*, comprising events from AD. 1118, to AD. 1176. The first part is very concise; the latter a full history; and both are written with fidelity, and in a good style. The best edition, is that of *Car. de Fresne*, in six Books, Paris 1670. Fol. Tr.]

(3) [*Michael Glycas* was a native of Sicily, and flourished AD. 1120. His *Annales Quadripartiti*, is a work not only historical, but also philosophical, and theological. Part i. describes the creation of the world in six days; Part ii. extends from the creation to the birth of Christ; Part iii. to Constantine the Great; and Part iv. to the death of Alexius Comnenus AD. 1118. It was published Gr. and Lat. with notes, by Labbé, Paris 1660. Fol. *Glycas* also wrote *Disputationunculae* ii; and likewise many epistles, of which fragments are preserved. Tr.]

(4) [*John Zonaras*, who flourished about AD. 1118, was a native of Constantinople, and for many years in public civil life; but being bereft of his wife and children, he retired to a monastery, and solaced himself by writing for posterity. His *Annals* or *Compendious History*, is in three Parts: the first treats of the *Jews*, from the creation, to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; the second gives the Roman history, from the founding of Rome, to Constantine the Great,

phorus Bryennius, (5) and others, (6) are proof, that neither the disposition to benefit succeeding ages, nor the ability to write with skill, were wanting to many among the Greeks. (7)

§ 2. No one took more pains to excite and cherish the love of philosophy, than *Michael Anchialus*, patriarch of Constantinople. (8) The philosophy to which he was attached, appears to have been that of *Aristotle*: for the cultivators of philosophy among the Greeks, were chiefly employed in expounding and im-

abridged chiefly from *Dion Cassius*; the third part brings the history of the Greek empire down to the death of *Alexius Comnenus*, AD. 1118. The best edition is, that of *Car. du Fresne*, Gr. and Lat. Paris 1686. 2 vol. Fol. *Zonaras* also wrote commentaries on the apostolic canons, on some canonical epistles of the Greek fathers, and on the canons of the councils; all of which were published Gr. and Lat. Paris 1618, and with *Beveridge's* notes, in his *Pandectæ Canonum*, Oxon. 1672. Fol. Some tracts and epistles of *Zonaras*, have likewise been published. Tr.]

(5) [*Nicephorus Bryennius* was the husband of the celebrated female historian, *Anna Comnena*, and of course son-in-law to the emperor *Alexius Comnenus*, who raised him to the rank of Caesar. He was much concerned in the public transactions, from AD. 1096, till AD. 1137, the probable year of his death. He wrote the Byzantine history, in four Books, from AD. 1057, to AD. 1081. published Gr. and Lat. with notes by *Peter Poussin*, Paris 1661. Fol. and by *Car du Fresne*, subjoined to the history of *John Cinnamon*, Paris 1670. Fol. Tr.]

(6) [*Anna Comnena*, the daughter of the emperor *Alexius Comnenus*, a woman of superior talents and learning, was born AD. 1083, lost her mother in 1118, and her husband in 1137. After this, she commenced writing her history of her father's reign, from AD. 1069, to 1118, which is properly a continuation of her husband's history. She completed it AD. 1148, and called it *Alexias*, or *de rebus ab Alexio patre gestis*, Libri xv. It is a well written history; and important, as giving a minute account of the first crusaders, with whom she had personal knowledge. The best edition, is that of *Poussin*, Gr. and Lat. with a Glossary, Paris 1651. Fol. or rather its reprint by *du Fresne*, subjoined to *Cinnamon*, Paris 1670. Fol.]

Constantinus Manasses, about AD. 1150, wrote a compendious history, or Chronicon, in verse, from the creation to AD. 1081, which he addressed to *Irene*, the sister of the emperor *Manuel Comnenus*: published Gr. and Lat. Leyden 1616, 4to. and Paris 1655, Fol.]

Neophytus, a Greek presbyter and monk, who flourished AD. 1190, composed a narrative of the calamities of Cyprus, when taken by the English crusaders, AD. 1191; published Gr. and Lat. by *Cotelier*, *Monumenta eccles. Græcæ*, Tom. ii. p. 457.]

The preceding list contains the most noted Greek Historians of this century. Tr.]

(7) [If the term be taken in its greatest latitude, including not merely the historians of the Greek empire, and in the Greek language, but also historians of the Greek church; then it must include the monk *Nestor*, the father of Russian history; who flourished at Kiow, in the latter part of the eleventh century, and first part of the twelfth, and whose annals have procured reputation to professor *Schösser*. See his *Probe Russischer Annalen*, Bremen and Gotting. 1768. 8vo. Schl.]

(8) *Theodoros Balsamon*, *Praefat. ad Photii Nomocanonem*; in *Henry Justell's Bibliotheca Juris Canon. veteris*, Tom. ii. p. 814.—[*Michael Anchialus* was patriarch of Constantinople, from AD. 1167, to AD. 1185. According to *Balsamon*, he was a consummate philosopher: and it is certain, that he was a fierce antagonist of the Latins. He has left us five synodal decrees; published Gr. and Lat. in the *Jus Gr. Rom.* Lib. iii. p. 227. He also composed a Dialogue, which he had with the emperor *Manuel Comnenus*, upon occasion of the arrival at Constantinople of legates from the Roman pontiff; some extracts from which are published by *Leo Allatius*, de *Consensu &c.* Lib. ii. c. 3. § 2. c. 5. § 2. and c. 9. § 3. Tr.]

proving this; as appears, among other specimens, from *Eustratius'* exposition of Aristotle's Ethics and Analytics.(9) Yet the Platonic philosophy was not wholly neglected. On the contrary, it appears, that many, and especially those who embraced the principles of the mystics, much preferred this philosophy before the peripatetic; and they considered *Plato* as suited to men of piety and candor, while *Aristotle* was suited to wranglers and the vain-glorious. And their disagreement soon after, gave rise to the noted controversy among the Greeks, respecting the comparative merits of the Platonic and the Aristotelian philosophy.

§ 3. In a great part of the western world, extraordinary zeal was awakened, in this age, for the prosecution of literature, and the cultivation of every branch of learning: to which some of the pontiffs, and the kings and princes, who could see the utility of learning in improving and establishing society, contributed by their authority and their munificence. Hence associations of learned men were formed, in many places, for teaching the various branches of human knowledge; and as the youth resorted to them in great numbers, eager for instruction, those higher schools, which the next age called *Universities*, were now created. Paris exceeded all the other cities of Europe, in the number of its learned men, and of its schools of various kinds, as well as in the concourse of its students. Hence, in this city, about the middle of the century, arose a literary institution similar to ours of the higher order, though rude and imperfect as yet, and which time gradually moulded into form and brought to perfection.(10) Nearly at the same time, a distinguished school for the various sciences, was founded at Angers, by the efforts and care of *Ulger*, the bishop; though here, jurisprudence appears to have held the first rank.(11) There was already, at Montpellier, a very celebrated school for the civil law, and for medical science.(12) In Italy, the school of Bologna, which had its commencement anterior to this century, now possessed high renown. It was chiefly resorted to by the students of the Roman law, both civil and ecclesiastical; and especially after the emperor *Lotharius II.* reinstated it, and conferred on it new privileges.(13) In the same country, the medical school of Salerno,

(9) [*Eustratius* was metropolitain of Nice, about AD. 1110; and was reputed a learned man, as well as a distinguished theologian. His comments on Aristotle's Ethics, and on the latter part of his Analytics, have been published. His tract against *Chrysolanus*, de processione Sp. Sancti, still exists in MS. besides (as is said) some other tracts on the same subject. Tr.]

(10) *Caes. Egasse de Boulay*, Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. ii. p. 463 &c. *Steph. Pasquier*, Recherches de la France, Livr. iii. c. xxix. *Peter Lambecius*, Historia Biblioth. Vindob. Lib. ii. c. v. p. 260. Histoire littéraire de la France, Tome ix. p. 60—88.

(11) *Boulay*, Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. ii. p. 215. *Poquet de la Livoniere*, Diss. sur l' Antiquité de l' Université d' Angers, p. 21 &c. Angers 1736. 4to.

(12) Histoire generale de Languedoc, par les Benedictins, Tome ii. p. 517 &c.

(13) The inhabitants of Bologna tell us, their university was founded as early as the fifth century, by *Theodosius II.* and they show the diploma of that empe-

which had before been very celebrated, now allured an immense number of students. While so many schools were rising up in Europe, the sovereign pontiff *Alexander III.*, enacted a special law, in the council of Rome, AD. 1179, requiring schools to be every where set up, or to be reinstated, if they had before existed, in the monasteries, and in the cathedral churches: for those which had formerly flourished in these situations, through the negligence of the monks and the bishops, were either wholly prostrate, or much decayed.(14) But the daily increasing fame and glory of the higher schools or universities, rendered this law of little effect: for the majority flocking to those new seats of learning, the monastic and cathedral schools gradually declined and came to nothing.

§ 4. Among the benefits derived from these many literary associations, at their very commencement, was this, that not only were the boundaries of human knowledge extended, but a new division of the branches of it took place. Hitherto all learning had been confined to what were called the *seven liberal arts*; three of which, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, comprised what was called the *Trivium*; and the other four, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, were called the *Quadrivium*. Most persons were contented with the *Trivium*; but those who wished to be thought learned men of the first rank, ascended to the *Quadrivium*. To these [seven liberal] arts, were now added, besides the study of languages, (for which few had much taste,) *theology*,—not however, the old and simple theology, which was destitute of system and connexion, and rested solely on texts of scripture, and sentences from the ancient fathers, but *philosophical or scholastic* theology; also, *jurisprudence*, or civil and canon law; and lastly, *medicine*, or *physic*, as it was then called.(15) For, as peculiar schools were now devoted to these sciences, they were of course placed in the list of studies which merited the attention of men of erudition. And when this was done, the common distribution of the sciences was to be changed. Hence the seven liberal arts were gradually included under the term *philosophy*; to which were added, *theology*, *jurisprudence*, and *medicine*.

ror, by which he enriched their city with such an ornament. But most writers contend, that this diploma is a fabrication; and they adduce strong proofs, that the school of Bologna was not more ancient than the *eleventh* century, and that its principal enlargement was in the *twelfth* century, particularly in the time of *Lothair II.* See *Car. Sigonius*, *Historia Bononiensis*; as published with notes among his Works: *Lud. Aut. Muratori*, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, Tom. iii. p. 23, 884, 898. and especially, the very learned *God. Ge. Keufel's* elegant History of the University of Bologna, written in German, Helmst. 1750. 8vo. Compare *Just. Henr. Böhmer's* *Praef. ad Corpus juris canonici*, p. 9 &c.

(14) See *Boehmer's Jus eccles. Protestantium*, Tom. iv. p. 705.

(15) ["The word *physica*, though, according to its etymology, it denotes the study of natural philosophy in general, was, in the 12th century, applied particularly to medicinal studies, and it has also preserved that limited sense in the English language."] *Macl.*]

And thus these four *Faculties*, as they are called, were in the next century, formed in the *universities*.

§ 5. In Italy, the reputation and authority of the old Roman law revived, and it caused all other systems of law then in use, to go into desuetude; after the discovery, at the capture of Amalphi, AD. 1137, by the emperor *Lotharius II*, of the celebrated copy of the *Pandects*, or *Digest*, of which there had been very little knowledge for many centuries, and which the emperor now presented to the city of Pisa. From this time, the learned began to study the Roman law, with more eagerness; schools also were opened for the study of this law, in the university of Bologna; and afterwards likewise in other cities of Italy, and also beyond Italy. The consequence was, that whereas men had previously lived under various laws, and every gentleman had been at liberty to choose which he would obey, whether the Salic laws, or those of the Lombards, or of the Burgundians, &c. the Roman laws gradually obtained the ascendancy, through the greater part of Europe, and excluded all others. It is an old opinion, that *Lotharius II*, at the instigation of *Irnerius*, or Guarnerus, the first teacher of the Roman law in the university of Bologna, published a decree, that all should thenceforth obey the Roman law only, the others being abrogated. But learned men have shewn, that this opinion is supported by no solid evidence. (16)

§ 6. The civil law being placed among the sciences to be taught in the schools, the Roman pontiffs and their friends deemed it, not only useful, but necessary, that the *canon law*, or that which regulates the affairs of the church, should have the same privilege. There existed indeed, some collections of *canons* or ecclesiastical laws; but there was not one among them, that was complete, and fit to be expounded in the schools; in consequence both of their want of arrangement, and their deficiency in copiousness of matter. Hence *Gratian*, a Benedictine monk, born at Chiusi, and now residing at Bologna, in the monastery of St. Felix and Nabor, about the year 1130, compiled from the writings of the ancient doctors, the epistles of the pontiffs, and the decrees of councils, an *epitome of canon law*, suitable for the instruction of youth in the schools. (17) The Roman pontiff, *Eugene III*, was

(16) See *Herm. Conringius*, de origine juris Germanici, cap. xxii. *Guido Grandus*, Epist. de Pandectis, p. 21, 69. ed. Florence 1737. 4to. *Henr. Brencmann*, Historia Pandectar. p. 41 &c. *Lud. Ant. Muratori*, Præf. ad leges Longobardas; in his *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* Tom. i. P. ii. p. 4 &c. and in his *Antiquit. Ital. medii ævi*, Tom. ii. p. 285 &c. On this subject, *George Calixtus* had a warm controversy with *Barth. Nikusius*, who adhered to the common opinion respecting *Irnerius* and *Lotharius*. The history of this controversy is given by *Jo. Möllerus*, *Cimbria Litterata*, Tom. iii. p. 142 &c.

(17) [Of *Gratian* himself, nothing more is known, than is stated in the text. He completed his *Decretum* about AD. 1151. It is divided into three parts. The first part is subdivided into one hundred and one *Distinctiones*; in which he treats of law in general, and canon law in particular, in the first twenty *Distinctiones*; and then proceeds to treat of the different orders of the clergy, their qualifications, ordination, duties, and powers. The second part is subdivided

highly pleased with the work: and the doctors of Bologna received it with applause, and immediately adopted it as their guide in teaching; and their example was followed, first, by the university of Paris, and then by the other universities. The most learned men of the Romish church acknowledge, that *Gratian's Decretum*, as it is commonly called, or his *Concordia discordantium Canonum*, as the author himself called it, is full of numberless faults and mistakes.(18) Yet, as it admirably strengthens and supports the power of the Roman pontiffs, it has become in a measure sacred, and still retains that high authority, which it unreasonably acquired in that illiterate and barbarous age.(19)

§ 7. All the Latins, who wished to rank among learned men, eagerly studied philosophy. Most people, by the middle of the century, divided *philosophy*, taking the word in its broadest sense, into *theoretical*, *practical*, *mechanical*, and *logical*. Under the *theoretical* philosophy, was comprehended *theology*, in that form, in which it is pursued under the guidance of reason, that is, natural theology; also, *mathematics* and *physics*. To *practical* philosophy, belonged *ethics*, *economics*, and *politics*. *Mechanical* philosophy embraced the seven arts of common life, including navigation, agriculture, and hunting. *Logic*, they divided into *gram-*

into *thirty-six Causes*, each embracing several Questions, which are treated of in one or more chapters. This part properly contains the rules and principles of proceeding in the ecclesiastical courts, in all the varieties of causes that occur. The third part is much shorter than either of the preceding. It is divided into *five Distinctiones*; and treats of the consecration of churches, worship, the sacraments, fasts and festivals, images, &c.—This work, (which, with the *Decretals of Gregory IX.* in five Books, the *Liber sextus Decretalium of Boniface VIII.*, the *Constitutions of Clement V.* and the *Extravagantes of John XXII.* and others, constitutes the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and forms more than one half of the whole,) is a compilation from genuine and spurious canons, decrees, and decisions, without much discrimination; and is so carelessly made, that the authors are frequently confounded, and one cited for another. It is therefore no great authority; nor is it regarded as such, by modern canonists. Though favorable to the pretensions of the Roman pontiffs, in the main, yet it is against their claims, in several particulars; and this may have tended, to sink its credit with both Catholics and Protestants. After all, it was a noble work, for the age in which it was compiled, and justly entitles its author to the appellation of the father of canon law. *Tr.*]

(18) See, among others, *Anton. Augustinus*, de emendatione Gratiani, cum observationibus *Steph. Baluze*, and *Gerh. van Mastricht*, Arnheim 1678. 8vo. [Numerous errors and mistakes having been discovered in the *Decretum of Gratian*, on which *Augustinus* wrote a treatise, it was subjected to a careful revision, by order of the court of Rome, and then published with all the corrections that could be ascertained, by authority of *Gregory XIII.* AD. 1580. *Tr.*]

(19) See *Gerh. van Mastricht*, Historia Juris ecclesiastici, § 293, p. 325. and *Just. Henn. Böhmer*, Jus eccles. Protestant. Tom. i. p. 100 &c. and especially, his Preface to his new edition of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Halle 1747. 4to. *Alexand. Machiavel*, Observationes ad Sigonii Histor. Bononiensem, Tom. iii. Opp. Sigonii, p. 128 &c. He here adduces many new things, respecting *Gratian* and his labors, from a very ancient *Kalendarium Archigymnasii Bononiensis*: but these statements are much questioned. Nor has that famous *Kalendarium* yet been published, of which the Bolognians tell us so much, and of which they have repeatedly promised to give the world a copy, and thus end controversy respecting it. This fact increases suspicion. And, if I do not misjudge, the fragments of the *Kalendarium*, which have been published, bear manifest marks of pious fraud.

mar, and the art of reasoning: and the latter, they subdivided into *rhetoric*, *dialectics*, and *sophistics*. Under the head of *dialectics*, they included that branch of metaphysics, which treats of general ideas. This distribution of the sciences was generally approved; yet some wished to separate *mechanics* and *grammar* from philosophy: but others opposed this, because they would have all science to be included under the name of philosophy.(20)

§ 8. But the teachers of these several branches of philosophy, were split into various parties or sects, which had fierce contests with each other.(21) In the first place, there was a threefold method of teaching philosophy. (I) The *old and simple* method, which did not go beyond *Porphyry*, and the *Dialectics* ascribed to St. Augustine; and which advised, that few persons should study philosophy, lest divine wisdom should become adulterated with human subtilties. (II) The *Aristotelian*, which explained and elucidated the works of *Aristotle*. For Latin translations of some of the books of Aristotle, were now in the hands of the learned;(22) though these translations were rude, obscure, and ambiguous, so that those who used them in teaching, often fell into strange incongruities and absurdities. (III) The *free* method, by which men attempted to investigate latent truth, by their own ingenuity, aided however by the precepts of *Aristotle* and *Plato*. But those who pursued this method, commendable as it may be in itself, for the most part, misemployed their ingenuity, and wearied themselves and their disciples with idle questions and distinctions.(23) These various opinions, contests, and defects of the philosophizers, induced many to hold all philosophy in contempt, and to wish to banish it from the schools.

§ 9. But none disputed more subtly, or contended more fiercely, than the *dialecticians*; who, being occupied exclusively with *universals*, as they were called, or general ideas, confined their whole science to this one subject, and explained it in dif-

(20) These statements, we have derived from several sources; but especially from *Hugo* of St. Victor, *Didascal.* Lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 7 &c. *Opp.* Tom. i. and from the *Metalogic* of *John* of Salisbury, in various passages.

(21) See *Godofr. de S. Victore*, Poem on the sects of philosophers in this age; published by *William le Beuf*, *Diss. sur l'histoire eccles. et civile de Paris*, Tom. ii. p. 254 &c. *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. ii. p. 562 &c. *Ant. Wood*, *Antiquitates Oxonienses*, Tom. i. p. 51. *John* of Salisbury, *Metalogic*, and *Policraticon*, passim.

(22) *Robert de Monte*, Appendix ad *Sigebert.* Gemblacensem; published by *Luc. Dachery*, subjoined to the *Opp.* Guiberti de Novigento, ad ann. 1128, p. 753. *Jacobus Clericus* de Venecia transtulit de Graeco in Latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis et commentatus est, scilicet *Topica*, *Analyt. priores* et *posteriores* et *Elenchos*. Quamvis antiquior translatio super eodem libris haberetur. *Thomas Becket*, *Epistolar.* Lib. ii. Ep. xciii. p. 454, ed. Bruzell. 1682. 4to. Itero preces, quatenus libros Aristotelis, quos habetis, mihi faciatis exscribi.—Precor etiam iterata supplicatione, quatenus in Operibus Aristotelis, ubi difficiliora fuerint, notulas faciatis, eo quod interpretem aliquatenus suspectum habeo, quia licet eloquens fuerit alias, ut saepe audiui, minus tamen fuit in Grammatica institutus.

(23) See *John* of Salisbury, *Policraticon*, p. 434 &c. and *Metalogic*, p. 814 &c. and passim.

ferent ways.(24) There were at this time, two principal sects among them, *Realists* and *Nominalists*; each of which was subdivided into several minor parties. The *Nominalists* of this age were, indeed, inferior in numbers, and in authority, to the *Realists*; yet they were not without followers. To these was added a third sect, that of the *Formalists*; which took, in a sense, middle ground between the disputants. But they really did no good, for they cast no light on the subject, and therefore, only furnished new matter for controversy.(25) Those devoted to the study of the medical art, astronomy, mathematics, and the kindred sciences, continued to repair to the schools of the Saracens in Spain: and many books of the Arabians were translated into Latin.(26) For the high reputation of the Arabic learning, joined with zeal for the conversion of the Spanish Saracens to christianity, induced many to apply themselves to the study of the Arabic language and literature.

(24) *John* of Salisbury, an elegant writer of this century, pleasantly says, in his *Policraticon*, seu de nugis curialium, Lib. vii. p. 451. "He (the philosopher) is prepared to solve the old question about genera and species; and while he is laboring upon it, the universe grows old: more time is consumed upon it, than the Cæsars spent in conquering and subduing the world: more money is expended, than all the wealth which Cæsus ever possessed. For this single subject has occupied many, so long, that after consuming their whole lives upon it, they have not understood either that or any thing else."

(25) *John* of Salisbury, *Policrat.* Lib. vii. p. 451, 452. "Some, (the Formalists,) with the mathematicians, abstract the *forms* of things; and to them refer whatever is said about universals. Others (the Realists) examine men's sensations of objects; and maintain, that these go by the name of universals. There were also some, (the Nominalists,) who held that *words* constitute the genera and species; but their opinion is now exploded, and with the authors of it, has disappeared. Yet there are still, some treading in their steps, (though they blush to own their master and his opinions,) and adhering *only to names*, what they take away from things and from sensations, they attribute to words."—The sect of *Formalists*, therefore, is more ancient than *John Duns Scotus*, whom the learned have accounted the father of the Formalists. See also *John* of Salisbury's *Metalogicum*, Lib. ii. c. xvii. p. 814 &c. where he recounts the contents of these sects. Alius (says he, among other things,) consistit in *vocibus*, licet hæc opinio cum Roscelino suo fere jam evanuerit; alius *sermones* intuetur; alius versatur *intellectibus*, &c.

(26) *Gerhard* of Cremona, a celebrated Italian astronomer and physician, removed to Toledo in Spain, and there translated many Arabic books into Latin. See *Muratori*, *Antiq. Italicae medii ævi*, Tom. iii. p. 936, 937. *Peter Mirmet*, a French monk, went among the Saracens in Spain and Africa, to learn geography. See *Lu. Dachery*, *Spicileg. veter. scriptor.* Tom ix. p. 443. old ed. *Dan. Morley* or *Morlack*, an Englishman, fond of mathematics, went to Toledo in Spain, and thence brought away to his own country many Arabic books. See *Ant. Wood's* *Antiq. Oxonienses*, Tom. i. p. 56 &c. *Peter*, the venerable, abbot of Clugni, went into Spain, and having learned the Arabian language, translated into Latin the Koran, and a life of Muhammed. See *Jo. Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. Lib. lxxvii. p. 345. And this *Peter*, (as he himself tells us, *Biblioth. Cluniacens.* p. 1109,) found in Spain, on the Ebro, *Robert Retenensis*, an Englishman, and *Herman*, a Dalmatian, as well as others, pursuing the study of astrology. Many other examples of the kind may be collected from the records of this century.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Lives of the clergy.—§ 2. Efforts of the pontiffs to aggrandize themselves. The contest respecting investitures.—§ 3, 4, 5. Its progress.—§ 6. Compromise between the pontiff and the emperor.—§ 7. Two popes: Anacletus and Innocent.—§ 8. The other pontiffs of this century.—§ 9. Renewal of the contest under Hadrian IV. and Frederic Barbarossa.—§ 10, 11. Contests in the election of pontiffs.—§ 12. Contest of Alexander III. with Henry II.—§ 13. Alexander advances the Roman see, by various arts.—§ 14. His successors.—§ 15, 16. The rest of the clergy and their vices.—§ 17. Contentions between the Cistercians and Cluniacensians.—§ 18. Lives of the canons.—§ 19. New monastic orders.—§ 20. Praemonstratensians.—§ 21. Carmelites.—§ 22. The Greek writers.—§ 23. The Latin writers.

§ 1. Wherever we turn our eyes, we discover the traces of dishonesty, ignorance, luxury, and other vices; with which both the church and the state were contaminated, by those who wished to be regarded as presiding over and taking the lead in all religious matters. If we except a few individuals, who were of a better character, and who lamented the profligacy and vices of their order; all of them, disregarding the salvation of the people, were intent on following their base propensities, increasing their wealth and honors, encroaching and trampling upon the rights of sovereigns and magistrates, and living in luxury and splendor. Such as wish to investigate this subject, may consult *Bernhard's* five Books of *Méditations* addressed to the pontiff *Eugene*, and his *Apology* addressed to the abbot William; in the first of which works, he censures and deplors the shameful conduct of the pontiffs and bishops, and in the last, the base lives of the monks.(1)

(1) *Gerhohus*, de corrupto ecclesiae statu; in *Baluze*, Miscellanea Tom. v. p. 63 &c. Gallia christiana, Tom. i. p. 6. Append. Tom. ii. p. 265, 273 &c. *Boulay*, Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. ii. p. 490, 690 &c. where he treats at large of the morals of the ecclesiastics and coenobites. [*Hume*, (History of Eng. ch. x. AD. 1189,) says of *Richard I*, king of England, when about to enter on his crusade to Palestine, that he "carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his conduct, that *Fulk*, curate of Neuilly, a zealous preacher of the crusade, who from that merit had acquired the privilege of speaking the boldest truths, advised him to rid himself of his notorious sins, particularly his *pride*, *avarice*, and *volutuousness*, which he called the king's three favorite daughters. You counsel well, replied *Richard*, and I hereby dispose of the first to the *Templars*, of the second to the *Benedictines*, and of the third to my prelates." Such a sarcasm from a monarch, shews the notoriety of clerical vice, as well as the peculiar direction it took in the principal classes of clerical persons. In the preceding chapter, AD. 1189, Mr. *Hume* says: "We are told by *Giraldus Cambrensis* (cap. 5. in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii.) that the monks and prior of St. Swithun threw themselves, one day, prostrate on the ground and in the mire, before *Henry II*, complaining, with many tears and much doleful lamentation, that the bishop of Winchester, who was also their abbot, had cut off three dishes from their table. How many has he left you? said the king. Ten only, replied the disconsolate monks. I myself, exclaimed the king, never have more than three; and I enjoin your bishop to reduce you to the same number." Tr.]

§ 2. The Roman pontiffs, who were at the head of the Latin church, labored during the whole century, though not all with equal success, to retain the possessions and authority they had acquired, and likewise to extend them still farther; while on the contrary, the emperors and kings exerted themselves to the utmost, to diminish their opulence and their power. Hence arose perpetual jarring and warfare, between the *empire* and the *priesthood*, (as it was then expressed,) which were a source of great public calamity. *Pascal II*, who was created pontiff at the close of the preceding century, reigned securely at the commencement of this; nor was the opposing faction, that sided with the emperors, sufficiently powerful to fix an imperial pontiff in the chair of the deceased *Guibert*.(2) *Pascal* therefore, in a council at Rome, AD. 1102, renewed the decrees of his predecessors against *investitures*, excommunicated *Henry IV*, anew, and stirred up enemies against him wherever he could. *Henry* resolutely withstood these menaces and machinations: but two years after, AD. 1104, his own son, *Henry V*, took up arms against his father, under pretence of religion; and now all was over. For after an unsuccessful campaign, he was compelled by his son to abdicate the throne, and died friendless and forsaken, at Liege, AD. 1106. Whether the son was induced to engage in this war with his father, by his ambition of reigning, or by the instigation of the pontiff, does not appear. But it is certain, that *Pascal* absolved the son from his oath of obedience to his father, and very zealously supported and defended his cause.(3)

§ 3. But this political revolution was far from answering the expectations of *Pascal*. For *Henry V*, could by no means be induced to give up the right of investing bishops and abbots, although he conceded to the colleges of *canons* and *monks* the power of electing them. Hence the pontiff, in the councils of Guastalla in Italy and Troyes in France, AD. 1107, renewed the decrees which had been enacted against *investitures*. The controversy was now suspended for a few years; because *Henry* was so occupied with his wars, that he had no leisure to pursue it. But when his wars were closed, AD. 1110, he marched with a large army into Italy, to settle this protracted and pernicious contro-

(2) [On the death of *Guibert* or *Clement III*, the antipope, AD. 1100, his friends chose one *Albert* for his successor. But he was taken, the very day of his election, and confined by *Pascal* in the monastery of St. Lawrence. *Theodoric* was next chosen in his place; who also fell into *Pascal's* hands, 105 days after his election, and was shut up in the monastery of Cava. The friends of *Guibert* then chose *Magrinulph*, or *Sylvester IV*, for pope; but he was obliged to leave Rome, and died shortly after. Thus *Pascal* was soon left in quiet possession of St. Peter's chair. See *Bower's* Lives of the Popes, vol. v. p. 350. ed. Lond. 1761. Tr.]

(3) We have here consulted, in addition to the original sources, those excellent historians, whom we mentioned in the preceding century. [See note (7) p. 182.—*Hermann de Tournay*, (Narratio &c. in *Dachery's* Spicileg. Tom. ii. p. 914.) states, that the pontiff wrote a letter to young *Henry*, criminating his father, and exhorting him to aid the church against him. Tr.]

sy at Rome. As he advanced slowly towards Rome, the pontiff finding himself destitute of all succor, offered to compromise with him, on these conditions; that the king should relinquish the investiture with the staff and the ring, and the bishops and abbots should restore to the emperor the *royal* benefices, (*beneficia regalia*,) which they had received since the times of *Charlemagne*, namely the power of levying tribute, holding lordships, coining money, and the like. *Henry V*, acceded to these terms, in the year 1111: but the bishops, both of Italy and Germany, vigorously opposed them. A violent conflict having taken place, in the very church of St. Peter, at Rome, *Henry* caused the pontiff to be seized, and conducted as a prisoner to the castle of Viterbo. When he had lain there some time, a new convention was formed, as was unavoidable, in which the pontiff conceded to the king, the right of giving investiture to bishops and abbots, with the staff and ring. Thus peace being concluded, the pontiff placed the imperial diadem upon the head of *Henry*.(4)

§ 4. This peace, which was extorted by force and arms, was followed by greater commotions, and more painful conflicts. In the first place, at Rome, violent tumults were raised against the pontiff; who was accused of betraying the interests of the church, and of basely shrinking from his duty. To quiet these tumults, *Pascal* assembled a council in the Lateran palace, AD. 1112; and before that council, humbly confessed his fault, in forming such a convention with the emperor, and submitted the matter to the pleasure of the council. The council rescinded the compact formed with the emperor.(5) After this, in various synods and councils, both of France and Germany, *Henry* was excluded from communion; and was even classed among the *heretics*; than which, nothing at that day was more to be dreaded.(6) The princes of Germany, likewise, made war upon him, in several places, in behalf of the church. To bring these many and great evils to a termination, *Henry* again marched an army into Italy, in the year 1116, and held a convention at Rome AD. 1117, the pontiff having escaped by flight to Benevento. But the Normans came to the aid of the pontiff, and *Pascal* boldly prepared for war against the emperor, and made preparations for an assault upon the city Rome. Important events were now anticipated, when the pontiff closed his life in the year 1118.

§ 5. A few days after the death of *Pascal*, *John Cajetan*,

(4) Besides the writers already mentioned, *Jo. Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. v. p. 681, and Tom. vi. p. 1, deserves to be consulted, and on each of the years of these and the subsequent transactions.

(5) Here again, this pontiff, like *Gregory VII*, in the Berengarian controversy, placed his authority in subordination to the decisions of a council, and acknowledged a council to be his superior. The council also disapproved of the acts of the pontiff.

(6) See *Jac. Gervaise*, *Diss. sur l' heresie des Investitures*; which is the fourth of those he has prefixed to the *History of the Abbot Sugar*, p. lix.

another Benedictine monk from the monastery of Monte Cassino, and chancellor of the Romish church, was created pontiff, and assumed the name of *Gelasius II.* In opposition to him, *Henry* set up another pontiff, *Maurice Burdin*, archbishop of Braga in Spain, who chose the name of *Gregory VIII.*(7) *Gelasius* therefore, finding himself not safe at Rome, or in Italy, retired into France; and soon after died there, at Clugni. The cardinals, who had accompanied him, as soon as he was dead, elected *Guido*, archbishop of Vienne, count of Burgundy, and a relative of the emperor, for sovereign pontiff, and he took the name of *Calixtus II.* It was fortunate both for the church and the state, that this man was made head of the church. A man of noble birth, and of elevated views, he prosecuted the contest with the emperor, with no less vigor than success, both by decrees of councils and by other means; reduced Rome under his power; took the emperor's pontiff prisoner, and cast him into prison; and fomented civil wars in Germany. At the same time, possessing more liberal views than his predecessors in the papal chair, and having no obstinacy of character, he did not reject moderate counsels, and could relax something of the demands of his predecessors, for the sake of restoring peace now so ardently desired.(8)

§ 6. Thus, after multiplied efforts, contests, excommunications, and threats, peace was ratified between the pontiff's legates and the emperor, in the diet of Worms, AD. 1122, on the following conditions: that, hereafter, bishops and abbots should be freely chosen by those whose right it was to elect; but in the presence of the emperor or of his representative:(9) that if the electors disagreed among themselves, the emperor should interpose, and using bishops as his counsellors should end the contest: that the person elected should take the oath of loyalty to the emperor, receive, what were called the *regalia*, from his hand, and perform the duties due to him on account of them; and that the emperor should use a different mode of conferring the *regalia*, from that before practised, and should no longer confer human prerogatives by the *staff* and the *ring*, which were the emblems of sacred or divine power, but by a sceptre.(10) This *Concordat*, as it is

(7) See *Steph. Butuze*, Vita Mauriti Burdini: in his Miscellanea, Tom. iii. p. 471 &c.

(8) If I do not greatly misjudge, this unhappy contest between the emperors and the pontiffs, respecting the investiture of bishops and abbots, would not have been carried on with so much asperity, nor have been protracted so long, if men of liberal views and education had been at the head of the church. But during half a century, five monks had governed the church—men born in obscurity, of coarse manners, and incapable of yielding at all, that is, possessing the characteristic fault of monks, an inflexible obstinacy and pertinacity. But as soon as a man of a better character and of a liberal mind ascended the chair of St. Peter, things assumed a different aspect, and there was a prospect of peace.

(9) From this time, therefore, the people in Germany have been excluded from the election of bishops. See *Peter de Marca*, de Concordia sacerdotii et imperii, Lib. vi. c. ii. § 9. p. 783. ed. *Boehmeri*.

(10) See *Muratori*, Antiq. Ital. medii ævi, Tom. vi. p. 76. *Jo. Schilterus*, de

commonly called, was solemnly confirmed, the next year, in the Lateran council; and it continues in force to our times, although there has been some dispute between the pontiffs and the emperors, respecting its true import.(11)

§ 7. *Calixtus* did not long survive this pacification; for he died AD. 1124. His place was filled by *Lambert*, bishop of Ostia, known among the pontiffs by the name of *Honorius II*. Nothing memorable was done by him. At his death, AD. 1130, there was a schism in the church of Rome; for a part of the cardinals chose *Gregory*, the cardinal of St. Angelo, whose pontifical name was *Innocent II*; but another part of them created *Peter de Leon* pontiff, who was called *Anacletus II*. The party of *Innocent* was the weaker one, at Rome and in Italy; he therefore fled into France, and remained there two years. But he had the strongest party out of Italy; for, besides the emperor *Lotharius*, the kings of France, England, and Spain, and some others, induced especially by the influence of *St. Bernard*, the particular friend of *Innocent*, joined themselves to his party; while *Anacletus* had for supporters only the kings of Sicily and Scotland. The schism was terminated by the death of *Anacletus*, AD. 1138: after which *Innocent* reigned alone, till the year 1143, and celebrated several councils, among which was the second Lateran, AD. 1139.(12)

§ 8. After the death of *Innocent*, *Guido*, cardinal of St. Mark, under the name of *Coelestine II*, reigned during five months, in peace. His successor, *Lucius II*, who formerly was *Gerhard*, a regular canon, governed the church during eleven months; but not prosperously. For he was disturbed in various ways, by the tumultuous Romans; and in attempting to quell one of their insurrections, he was killed by the stroke of a stone. His successor, *Eugenius III*, formerly *Bernhard*, a Cistercian monk, and a very distinguished disciple of the celebrated *St. Bernhard*, abbot of Clairval, came to the government of the church AD. 1145, and during nine years, encountered similar troubles and dangers, until his death 1152. For he was repeatedly driven from Rome, and at one time passed a long exile in France.(13) *Anastatius IV*.

libertate eccles. German. Lib. iv. c. iv. p. 545 &c. *Caes. Rasponus*, de Basilica Lateranensi, Lib. iv. p. 295 &c.

(11) It was contested among other things, whether the consecration should precede, or follow, the collation of the *regalia*. See *Jo. Hil. Hoffmann*, ad Concordatum Henrici V. et Callisti II. Wittemb. 1739. 4to.

(12) In addition to the common Historians of the popes, see *Jo. de Lannes*, Histoire du Pontificat du Pape Innocent II. Paris 1741. 8vo.

(13) [These tumults at Rome originated from a strong party of citizens, who adopted the principles of *Arnold* of Brixen, (see cap. v. § 10. below,) and wished to shake off the yoke of priestly government, and restore the ancient form of the Roman empire. After an unsuccessful application to the emperor of Germany, to make Rome his residence, and to there exercise the same powers, as the old Roman emperors had done, they determined to restore the ancient Roman republic, and to reinstate the Roman senate in all its ancient grandeur. Such being their object, all their movements were of course sedition against the pontiffs as temporal sovereigns. See *G. J. Planck's* Geschichte d. christl. kirchl. Gesell-

previously *Conrad*, bishop of Sabino, had a more tranquil reign ; but it was of short duration ; for he died AD. 1154, after filling the chair one year and four months.

§ 9. Under his successor, *Hadrian IV*, who was an Englishman, and a regular canon, and whose true name was *Nicolas Breakspear*, the contentions between the emperors and the Roman pontiffs, which were apparently settled in the times of *Calixtus II*, broke out anew. *Frederick I*, surnamed *Barbarossa*, [Red-Beard,] as soon as he was chosen emperor, AD. 1152, explicitly declared his intention, to maintain the imperitorial authority and prerogatives, throughout the empire, and especially in Italy ; and set bounds to the immense power and wealth of the pontiffs and of the clergy at large. *Hadrian* in view of this emergency, concluded it to be his duty, to defend the authority and majesty of the church. Hence, when the emperor was to be crowned, AD. 1155, first, a contest arose respecting the functions of a groom, [holding the pope's stirrups, when he mounted or dismounted his horse,] which the pontiff would have *Frederick* perform. Then followed other disputes and controversies between them, in relation to public matters, which were fiercely agitated by letters. These contests being in a measure settled, others followed, of equal magnitude and difficulty, in the year 1158, when the emperor, in order to set bounds to the daily increasing wealth of the pontiff, the bishops, and the monks, made a law, that no *fiefs* should be transferred to another person, without the knowledge and consent of the lord of whom they were held ;(14) and also exerted all his powers to reduce the minor states of Italy under his authority. An open rupture seemed about to take place, when the pontiff was removed by death, on the first of September, AD. 1159.(15)

§ 10. When a new pontiff was to be elected, the *cardinals* were divided into two factions. The one, which was the more numerous, created *Roland* of Sienna, pontiff ; the other, the less numerous, elected *Octavianus*, cardinal of St. Caecilia. *Roland* assumed the name of *Alexander III* : his competitor, that of *Victor IV*. The emperor, who for various reasons disliked *Alexander*, gave his support to *Victor*. The council of Pavia, summoned by the emperor, AD. 1160, decided according to the emperor's pleasure. *Victor* therefore, prevailed in Germany and Italy ; and *Alexander* had to quit Rome, and Italy, and to retire to France. In the midst of the commotion and strife, *Victor* died at Lucca, AD. 1164. But another pontiff was immediately

schaftsverfassung, vol. iv. p. 324 &c. and the authors referred to in note (17) chap. v. of this century. Tr.]

(14) See *Muratori*, *Antiquitates Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. vi. p. 239 &c. where he shows, that by this and other laws, *Frederic* first opposed a barrier to the power of the clergy.

(15) These events are carefully investigated by the illustrious count *Bünau*, *History of Frederic I.* written in German, p. 45, 49, 73 &c. 99, 105 &c.

elected, by order of the emperor; namely, *Guido*, cardinal of St. Calixtus, who assumed the name of *Pascal* III, and who was acknowledged by the princes of Germany, in the diet of Wurtzburg, AD. 1165. *Alexander*, however, returned from France to Italy, prosecuted his cause with some success, and in the Lateran council at Rome, AD. 1167, deposed the emperor, whom he had before repeatedly excommunicated, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. But not long after, Rome was taken by the emperor, and *Alexander* was obliged to flee to Benevento and leave the chair of St. Peter in the hands of *Pascal*.

§ 11. The prospects of *Alexander* seemed to brighten up, when the emperor, after losing the greater part of his army by a pestilential disease, was obliged against his inclinations to retire from Italy, and when *Pascal* was removed by death, AD. 1168. But his expectations were soon disappointed. For the opposite faction elected *John*, abbot of Struma, pontiff, with the title of *Calixtus* III, and the emperor, though absent in Germany, and occupied with various wars and contests, supported the new pontiff as far as he was able. And after settling a degree of peace in Germany, the emperor, AD. 1174, marched again into Italy, with a fine army; intending to chastise the cities and republics which had revolted from him. If success had attended this expedition of the emperor, he would doubtless have compelled *Alexander* to give place to *Calixtus*. But he met with disappointments and reverses; and after several years spent in alternate defeats and partial victories, being discouraged by adversities and difficulties, he concluded a peace with *Alexander* III, and a truce with his other enemies, at Venice, in the year 1177.(16) Some tell us, that the pontiff, placing his foot upon the neck of the suppliant emperor, repeated the words of David, Ps. xci. 13. [*"Thou shalt tread upon the lion, and the adder:"* &c.] But most of the moderns consider the report as entirely unsupported.(17)

§ 12. *Alexander* III, whose conflict with *Frederic* I, procured him fame, had also considerable contest with *Henry* II, king of England, in the case of *Thomas Becket*, archbishop of Canterbury. In the council of Clarendon, AD. 1164, several regulations were enacted, by which the extent of the regal power in res-

(16) These transactions are well illustrated, by count *Bünau*, in his *Historia Frederici I.* p. 115—242. To which add, *Fortunatus Olmi*, *istoria della venuta a Venetia occultamente nel an. 1177, di Papa Alessandro III.* Venice 1629. 4to. and *Lud. Ant. Muratori*, *Antiq. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. iv. p. 249 &c. *Origines Guelphicae*, Tom. ii. p. 379 &c. *Acta Sanctor.* Tom. i. April. p. 46, in the Life of *Hugo*, abbot of Bonneval; and Tom. ii. April. p. 596, in the Life of *Galdinus* of Milan; which two ecclesiastics acted as arbiters and legates, in negotiating this peace.

(17) See *Bünau's* Life of *Frederic* I. p. 242. *Char. Aug. Heumann*, *Poeciles*, Tom. iii. Lib. i. p. 145. *Biblioth. Italique*, Tom. vi. p. 5, 16: and the writers mentioned by *Casp. Sagittarius*, *Introd. in Historiam Eccles.* Tom. i. p. 630. Tom. ii. p. 600.

pect to the clergy was more accurately defined, and the prerogatives of the bishops and clergy were circumscribed within narrower limits.(18) *Thomas* refused to submit to these regulations; be-

(18) See *Matth. Paris*, *Historia major*. p. 82, 83, 101, 102, 104. *Dac. Wilkins*, *Concilia magnæ Britanniae*, Tom. i. p. 434 &c. [These articles of Clarendon, or *constitutions*, as they are called, were drawn up by the king, and ratified in a full assembly of the great lords, barons, and prelates of the nation. The civilians yielded a ready assent to them; and most of the prelates were disposed to do the same. But *Becket* long refused, and at last, very reluctantly, subscribed to them. And of this compliance he afterwards repented, and obtained absolution from the pontiff; who, at the same time, disapproved most of the articles, and pronounced them null and void. The articles, as exhibited in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. vi. P. ii. p. 1607 &c. with the papal approbation or disapprobation subjoined to each, are as follows.

1. If any controversy respecting an advowson and right of presentation to churches, shall arise between laymen, or between clergymen and laymen, or between clergymen only, it shall be tried and determined in the court of our lord the king. *Condemned by the pontiff.*

2. Churches belonging to a fief of our lord the king, cannot be conferred in perpetuity, without his consent and approbation. *Tolerated by the pontiff.*

3. Clergymen cited and accused of any matter, on notification by the king's justiciary, must appear in his court, and answer there, to whatever the king's court shall require him to answer. So also whatever the king's justiciary shall send in to the court of the holy church, to see how it is there treated. And if a clergyman shall be convicted or shall confess guilt, the church must no longer protect him. *Condemned.*

4. It shall not be lawful for archbishops, bishops, or parsons, to go out of the kingdom, without license from our lord the king. And if they go out, and our lord the king see fit, they shall give security, that they will not, while going, while absent, or while returning, bring any evil or damage to our lord the king, or to the realm. *Condemned.*

5. Excommunicated persons ought not to give bonds to remain [where they are], nor to promise by oath [to do so], but only to give bonds or a pledge to abide by the decision of the church, that they may be absolved. *Condemned.*

6. Laymen ought not to be accused, except by certain and legal accusers and witnesses in presence of the bishop: (yet so that the archdeacon may not lose his right, nor any thing accruing to him thereby.) And if the characters inculpated are such that no one dares, or is willing, to accuse them; the sheriff, at the bishop's instance, shall cause twelve lawful men of the vicinage or the village, to swear before the bishop, that they will discover the truth, according to their conscience. *Tolerated.*

7. No one who holds of the king in capite, nor any one of the barons his servants, shall be excommunicated, nor the lands of any one of them be laid under an interdict, till application has been made to our lord the king, if he is within the realm, or to his justiciary, if he be out of it, that he may see justice done: and so that, what belongs to the king's court, may be there decided, and whatever belongs to the ecclesiastical court, may be remitted to it for decision. *Condemned.*

8. Appeals, should they be made, ought to be from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop; and if the archbishop should fail to do justice, recurrence should be had, lastly, to our lord the king, that so the controversy may be terminated in the archbishop's court, by a precept from the king, and so that it go no farther, without the king's consent.—*Condemned.*

9. If a challenge arise between a clerk and a layman, or vice versa, concerning any tenement, which the clergyman would have to be an eleemosynary, and the layman a lay fee, it shall be determined by the award of twelve lawful men, before the king's justiciary, whether the tenement be an eleemosynary, or a lay fee. If the award be, that it is eleemosynary, the plea shall be in the ecclesiastical court: but, if a lay fee, then, unless both claim tenure under the same bishop or baron, the plea shall be in the king's court; but if both claim to hold of the same bishop or baron, the plea shall be in his court; but so, that the party which before had seisin, shall not lose his seisin on account of the award made. *Condemned.*

10. Whoever belongs to any royal city, castle, burrough, or manor of the king, if cited by the archdeacon or bishop for any crime, for which he is amenable to

cause, in his opinion they were prejudicial to the divine rights, both of the church at large, and of the Roman pontiffs. Hostility now took place between the king and the archbishop; and the latter fled into France, to *Alexander III*, who was then an exile there. The pontiff and the king of France procured a sort of reconciliation, and *Thomas* returned to England. But, as no means could induce him to yield to the wishes of the king, four of the courtiers, doubtless with the king's privity, assassinated him in the church, before the altar, in the year 1170.(19) The

them, if he will not make satisfaction upon their summons, they may indeed place him under an interdict; but they may not proceed to excommunicate him, till application has been made to the king's chief officer of the village, that he may, by law, bring him to make satisfaction. And if the king's officer fail in his duty, he shall lie at the king's mercy, and thenceforward the bishop may coerce the accused according to ecclesiastical law.—*Condemned*.

11. Archbishops, bishops, and all parsons of the realm, who hold of the king in capite, are to look on their possessions as baronies from the king; and therefore are to be responsible to the king's justiciaries and officers, and are to follow and perform all the customs and duties prescribed by the king; and, like other barons, they ought to be present as other barons are, at the trials in the king's court, till the proceedings come to relate to deprivation of life or of limbs.—*Tolerated*.

12. When an archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, or priory, of the king's demesnes, becomes vacant, it ought to be in his hands; and he shall receive all its rents and issues, just as of his demesnes: and when the church is to be provided for, the king is to send his mandate to the chief parsons of the church, and the election is to be made, in his chapel, with his assent, and by advice of the king's parsons, whom he shall call together for that purpose. And the person elected, before he is consecrated, shall there do homage and fealty to the king, as to his liege lord, for his life and limbs and earthly honor, saving however the honor of his order.—*Condemned*.

13. If any one of the great men of the kingdom shall refuse justice to an archbishop, a bishop, or an archdeacon, in regard to himself or those that belong to him, the king is to enforce justice. And if it should happen, that any one wrongs the king of his rights, the archbishops, or bishops, and archdeacons ought to enforce justice, [by their ecclesiastical decisions,] so that satisfaction may be made to the lord the king.—*Tolerated*.

14. The chattels of those found guilty of high crimes in the king's courts, (*qui sunt in regia forisfacto*), are not to be retained in any church, or churchyard, to the obstruction of justice to the king; because those chattels belong to the king, whether they are found in churches or out of them.—*Tolerated*.

15. Pleas of debt are to be made in the king's court, whether due upon contract, or not.—*Condemned*.

16. The sons of tenants in villinage, are not to be ordained, without the consent of the lord, on whose manor they are found to have been born.—*Tolerated*.

See *Guthrie's* General History of England, Vol. i. p. 509. and *Harduin's* Concilia, Tom. vi. P. ii. p. 1607 &c. Tr.]

(19) *Guil. Stephanides*, *Historia Thomae Cantuariensis*, in *Tho. Spark's* Scriptores rerum Anglicar. London 1723. Fol. p. 4. *Christ. Lupus*, *Epistolae et Vita Thomae Cantuar.* *Epistolae item Alexandri III, Ludovici VII, Henrici II*, in hac causa, ex MS. Vaticano, Bruxellis 1682. 2 vol. 4to. and in the Works of *Lupus. Natalis Alexander*, *Selecta Historiae eccles. capita*, Saec. xii. Diss. x. p. 833 &c. *Thomas Stapleton*, *Tres Thomae, seu res gestae Thomae Apostoli*, S. Thomae Cantuariensis, et Thomae Mori, Colon. 1612. 8vo.—[*Thomas* was the son of a London merchant, and educated at Oxford and Paris. Having entered into the service of *Theobald*, archbishop of Canterbury, he was sent to Bologna, to study canon law. On his return, he was made archdeacon of Canterbury; and not long after, the king called him to court, and made him lord chancellor of England. On the death of *Theobald*, AD. 1162, the king made him archbishop of Canterbury. While chancellor, he had served the king with great ability, and lived in great splendor. But he now assumed an austere mode of life, and be-

king, after various altercations, had to make such expiations for this crime, as the pontiff dictated; and the assassinated *Thomas* was, in the year 1173, enrolled among the martyrs, or the glorified saints of the highest order. (20)

§ 13. *Alexander III*, employed not only arms, but also art, and the influence of councils and laws, to establish the independence of the church, and especially to confirm the power of the Roman pontiffs. For (1.) in a council at Rome, AD. 1179, called the third Lateran council, in order to avoid the commotion so often produced by the election of a new pontiff, he ordained that the right of voting should belong exclusively to the *cardinals*; and that the person who had the votes of two thirds of the college of cardinals, should be considered the legitimate pontiff. This constitution has continued to the present time. Thus, from that period, the election of pontiffs assumed the forms which it still retains; and not only the people, but also the clergy of Rome,

came a strenuous defender of the pretended rights of the church, and a rigid disciplinarian. To restrain the usurpations of the clergy, the king caused the constitutions of Clarendon to be enacted. Against these and all other attempts of the king to reform abuses, *Thomas* made strenuous opposition; and exerting his high powers, as primate of all England, and possessing great and shining talents, and at the same time, supported by the pope and by the king of France, he was able to thwart all the plans of king *Henry*. The king therefore caused him to be prosecuted for malconduct while chancellor. He was also arraigned for contempt of the king, and condemned, in a grand council of the nation, at Northampton, AD. 1164. *Becket* now appealed to the pope, contrary to the laws of the realm; and soon after fled to France. Protected by the pontiff and the king of France, he treated *Henry* with insolence; and at length, through the mediation of the pontiff and the king of France, *Henry* and *Becket* were so far reconciled, that the latter was permitted to return to his see. But he now carried matters with a high hand, dealt out his anathemas and censures, and resisted all attempts of the king to restrain the exorbitant power of the clergy. The king was now in Normandy. The archbishop of York, and several noblemen, whom *Becket* had excommunicated, repaired to the king, complaining of the treatment they received from *Becket*. The archbishop remarked to him, that, so long as *Becket* lived, the king could never expect to enjoy peace and tranquillity. The king, being violently agitated, burst forth into an exclamation against his servants, whose want of zeal, he said, had so long left him exposed to the machinations of that ungrateful and imperious prelate. Four gentlemen of his household, overhearing the exclamation, immediately formed the resolution to assassinate *Becket*. They asked leave to go to England, and set out forthwith, without apprising the king of their designs. Soon after they were gone, the king conjectured, from some circumstances and remarks of the men, what they intended to do; and he sent messengers after them, commanding them not to lay hands on the primate. But the messengers arrived too late; the deed was done. The king was now greatly distressed, and took every possible means to clear himself of suspicion, and to pacify the pope. The assassins fled to Rome, did penance, and obtained absolution from the pope, on condition of perpetual exile. The king also made his submission to the pope; and with much difficulty, obtained absolution, some years after.—See *Hume's History of England*, ch. viii. vol. i. p. 322—361. ed. Philad. 1810. *Rapin Thoiras*, Hist. of Eng. and *Collier's Eccles. Hist.* of Eng. vol. i. p. 370.—The works of *Becket* consist of his correspondence, or Letters, in six Books, collected by *John* of Salisbury, and edited by *Christian Lupus*, Brussels 1682. 4to. with a *Quadrilogus*, or the fourfold life of *Becket*, by *Heribert* his chaplain, *William* of Canterbury, *Alan* abbot of Decche, and *John* of Salisbury. 7r.]

(20) *Boulay*, Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. ii. p. 328 &c. and for his festival, p. 397. *Dom. Colonia*, Histoire litter. de la ville de Lyon, Tom. ii. p. 249 &c.

were wholly excluded from any participation in it. (II.) He was the first of all the pontiffs, who, in the same council, sanctioned a crusade against *heretics*, who were then troubling the church at large, and especially certain provinces of France.(21) (III.) He took from bishops and councils the right of designating the persons, who might be worshipped as *saints*; and placed *canonization*, as it is called, among the *greater causes*; that is, such as are to be decided solely by the pontiff.(22) (IV.) Omitting some things of minor importance, we add this only, that he actually put in operation the power, claimed by the pontiffs since the time of *Gregory VII*, namely, that of creating kings. For in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king on *Alphonsus I*, duke of Portugal, who had previously, under *Lucius II*, made his territory tributary to the church of Rome.(23)

§ 14. *Lucius III*, who was previously *Ubal*d, bishop of Ostia, was the first pontiff elected solely by the *cardinals*, according to the regulations of *Alexander III*. His reign, which commenced AD. 1181, was a turbulent one: for he was twice driven from Rome by the citizens; who, doubtless, would not bear with a pontiff, elected contrary to the ancient custom, or without the concurrence of the *clergy* and people. He therefore died an exile, at Verona, AD. 1185. His successor, *Hubert Crivelli*, bishop of Milan, known among the pontiffs by the name of *Urban III*, died of grief, on account of the conquest of Jerusalem by *Saladin*, AD. 1187, after performing nothing of much importance.(24) The next pontiff, *Gregory VIII*, previously *Albert* of Benevento, and chancellor of the church of Rome, died in the second month of his pontificate. After him, *Clement III*, previously, *Paul*, bishop of Palestrina, [Præneste, near Rome,] reigned longer; for he continued to the fourth year, and died AD. 1191: yet few of his deeds are worth the notice of posterity.(25) More famous was

(21) See *Natalis Alexander*, *Selecta Hist. eccles. capita*, Sæcul. xii. Diss. ix. p. 819. where he treats at large of this council: also *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. vi. P. ii. p. 1671 &c. [*Dr. Maclaine* is stumbled, that *Mosheim* and others should call this the *third* Lateran council; when it appears, there had been six or eight councils previously held there. But there was no mistake made by *Mosheim*. This was the *third general* council of the Lateran; all the preceding, except two, having been *provincial* councils. Tr.]

(22) The subjects of pontifical elections and *canonization*, were discussed under the eleventh century, p. 184, and notes (12) (13).

(23) *Baronius*, *Annales*, ad. ann. 1179. *Innocent III*. *Epistolæ*, Lib. i. Ep. 49. Tom. i. p. 54. ed. *Baluze*. [It should be remembered, that *Alexander III*, only *confirmed* the title of king to *Alphonsus*; it having long before been applied to him, by his army, and by some neighboring princes. See *Pagi*, *Critica in Baron.* ad ann. 1139. § 23. Tr.]

(24) [He was the personal enemy of the emperor *Frederic I*. and quarrelled with him till the day of his death. But he could not coerce him, because the German bishops adhered to the emperor. He once resolved to excommunicate *Frederic*; but the people of Verona where he resided, would not allow of such a transaction in their city. See *Schmidt's Kirchengeschichte*, vol. vi. p. 249 &c. Tr.]

(25) [The most important of his acts, was his compromise with the citizens of Rome, by which he gave the city a new form of government, yet retained

Coelestine III, who was, before his election, *Hyacinth* of Rome, and cardinal deacon : for in the year 1194, he laid under an interdiction, the emperor *Henry VI*, and *Leopold* duke of Austria, for having imprisoned king *Richard* of England, on his return from the holy land ; and also, *Alphonso X*, king of Galicia and Leon, on account of an incestuous marriage : and he commanded, though without effect, *Philip Augustus* the king of France, to receive back his repudiated wife *Ingelburg*.(26) But this pontiff, and nearly all the others of the present century, were outdone and eclipsed, by the pontiff elected near the end of the century, AD. 1198, namely, *Lothair*, count of Signi, a cardinal deacon, who assumed the pontifical name of *Innocent III*. But his reign will properly be described under the following century.

§ 15. Of the flagitious conduct, the frauds, the ignorance, and the corruption of the inferior bishops, the priests, and the deacons, the whole history of these times, and the laws of the ecclesiastical councils afford ample testimony.(27) It is not strange, therefore, that the monks were in higher repute than the secular clergy ; for being bound by their vows and by their respective rules of life, they had fewer opportunities of committing crimes. And yet these monks, who claimed preeminence in the church, and despised and inveighed against both the *secular clergy* and the *regular canons*,(28) had in most places departed entirely from their

the supreme power in his own hands. He therefore made Rome the place of his residence ; whereas his three immediate predecessors had been unable to reside there. See *Baronius*, *Annales*, ad ann. 1183. No. 23. Tr.]

(26) [Though the king did not retreat, when the interdiction was laid on him, yet as the pope, and the king of Denmark, who was brother to *Ingelburga*, continued to prosecute the matter, *Philip* concluded to end the contest by restoring his queen. See *Daniel's* Hist. of France, in Eng. vol. i. p. 426 &c. Tr.]

(27) ["The ecclesiastics of that age had renounced all immediate subordination to the magistrate: they openly pretended to an exemption in criminal accusations from a trial before courts of justice; and were gradually introducing a like exemption in civil causes. *Spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences*: and as the clergy had extremely multiplied in England, and many of them were consequently of very low characters, *crimes of the deepest dye, murders, robberies, adulteries, rapes, were daily committed with impunity by the ecclesiastics*. It had been found for instance, on enquiry, that no less than a hundred murders had, since the king's accession," [AD. 1154—1163.] "been perpetrated by men of that profession, who had never been called to account for those offences; (Neubr. p. 394.) and holy orders were become a full protection for all enormities. A clerk in Worcestershire, having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had at this time proceeded to murder the father; and the general indignation against this crime, moved the king to attempt the remedy of an abuse which was become so palpable, and to require that the clerk should be delivered up, and receive condign punishment from the magistrate. (Fitz-Steph. p. 33. Hist. Quad. p. 32.) *Becket* insisted on the privileges of the church; and confined the criminal in the bishop's prison, lest he should be seized by the king's officers; maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted on him, than degradation. And when the king demanded, that immediately after he was degraded, he should be tried by the civil power; the primate asserted, that it was iniquitous to try a man twice upon the same accusation, and for the same offence." *Hume's* Hist. of Eng. vol. i. chap. viii. reign of Henry II. p. 333, 334. Tr.]

(28) See the Epistle of *Rupert* Tuitiensis, in *Edm. Martene's* *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* Tom. i. p. 285 &c. who places the monks before the apostles themselves.

institutions and rules, and exhibited to the public, patterns of vice and wickedness, rather than of virtue.(29) The *Cluniacensians* were for a long time the best and most devout among the Benedictines: but under their abbot *Pontius*, being loaded with wealth and riches by the liberality of the pious, they entirely laid aside their former strictness, and copied after the base lives of the other Benedictines. And, although some of the succeeding abbots endeavored to cure the evil, their efforts fell far below their wishes and their expectations; nor could the primitive sanctity of Clugni ever be restored.(30)

§ 16. Among the *Cistercians*, who were neither so old nor so rich an order as the *Cluniacensians*, there was far more appearance of innocence and sanctity. Hence a large share of the respectability, which the Cluniacensians had enjoyed, was transferred to the Cistercians; and they increased daily in numbers, wealth, and power. No man in this age, contributed more to the advancement of this order, than the celebrated abbot of Clairval, *St. Bernard*; a man of immense influence throughout christian Europe; one who could effect whatever he pleased, often merely by his word or nod, and could dictate even to kings, what they must do. He is therefore justly called the second parent and founder of the Cistercian order: and this order, both in France and in Germany, was called from him, the *Bernardine* order.(31) A hundred and sixty monasteries owed their origin or their regulations to him; and when he died, he left seven hundred monks in his monastery of Clairval. Among his disciples there were many who became archbishops and bishops, besides one sovereign pontiff, *Eugene III.*

§ 17. But this prosperity of the *Cistercians*, excited the envy of the *Cluniacensians*; and produced, first strong dislike, and afterwards open quarrels, between these two opulent and powerful orders. Each of them followed the rule of *St. Benedict*; but they differed in dress, and in the regulations superadded to the rule. The *Cluniacensians* accused the *Cistercians* of too great austerity; and on the other hand, the *Cistercians* taxed the *Cluniacensians* with having abandoned their former sanctity and regular discipline; which was strictly true. *St. Bernard*, the

(29) See *Nigel Wireker*, an English poet of much wit, who lived about the middle of this century, in his *Speculum Stultorum*, or *Brunellus*; a poem often published, and in which he severely lashes the several orders of monks of his age, sparing almost none except the Carthusians. [This poem, among other editions, was published at Frankf. 1602, and at Wolfenbuttle, 1662. 8vo. In it, an ass is represented as wishing to exchange his short tail for a long one; indicative of a monk, aspiring after an abbacy. *Schl.*] Also, *Bernhard's* Considerationes ad Eugenium, Lib. iii. c. 4.

(30) See, besides many others, *Edm. Martene's* Amplissima collectio monumentorum veterum, Tom. ix. p. 1119.

(31) See *Jo. Mabillon's*, Annales Ordinis Benedicti. Tom. vi. passim; and in his life of *St. Bernard*, prefixed to his edition of *Bernard's Works*. *Angelus Mariquez*, Annales Cistercienses; nearly throughout the second vol. and in a part of the third.

oracle and guardian of the Cistercians, in the year 1127, first attacked the Cluniacensians in writing. *St. Peter Maurice*, abbot of Clugni, replied to him with much modesty. The controversy was now propagated farther, and extended over other countries of Europe.(32) To this contest, another of greater warmth was added, respecting tithes. In the year 1132, *Innocent II*, among other new privileges conferred on the Cistercians, exempted them from the payment of tithes on their lands: and as many of these lands had paid tithes to the Cluniacensians, they were greatly offended at this indulgence of the pontiff, and entered into warm controversy, both with the Cistercians, and with the pontiff himself. In the year 1155, this controversy was in some way adjuſted; but how, does not clearly appear.(33)

§ 18. Of the *regular canons*, whose origin was in the preceding century, many spent their time much better, than the crowd of monks did; and they were not unserviceable to the church, by keeping schools, here and there, and by performing other offices.(34) And as the pious and the good therefore treated them with much kindness, and as they were often put in possession of the goods of the vicious monks, the latter loaded them with abuse. The *canons*, on the contrary, assailed the monks both orally and in writings; and maintained, that they ought to be excluded from sacred offices and honors, and to live in their cloisters, secluded from the intercourse of men. Hence a long and bitter controversy arose between the monks and the canons, respecting their comparative merits and rank; in which both parties went to extremes.(35) On the side of the monks, among others, the following eminent men, in particular, engaged ardently in the contest, namely, *Peter Abelard*, *Hugo* of Amiens, and *Rupert* of Duytz: the cause of the canons was defended among others, by *Philip Harveng*, abbot of Good Hope.(36) The relics of this old controversy are visible at the present day.

§ 19. To the Benedictine order, a new sect was added, near the commencement of this century; namely, the *order of Fontevraud* [Fontis Ebraldi,] so named from the place where its first

(32) *St. Bernhardi* Apologia, (for so his book is entitled,) among his Opera, Tom. i. p. 523—533. The reply of *Peter Cluniacensis*, surnamed *Venerabilis*, is extant among his epistles, Lib. i. Ep. 28, in the Biblioth. Cluniacens. Tom. i. p. 657—685. Add the Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem; published by *Edm. Martene*, Thesaur. Anecdotor. Tom. v. p. 1573—1613. Compare *Mabilony*, Annales Bened. Tom. vi. p. 80 &c. and *Manriquez*, Annales Cisterciens. Tom. i. p. 28 &c. [*Fleury*, Histoire ecclesiast. Liv. lxvii. § 49, 50. Tr.]

(33) See *Angel. Manriquez*, Annales Cisterciens. Tom. i. p. 232 &c. *Mabilloy*, Annales Benedict. Tom. vi. p. 212, 479. and his Preface to the Opp. *S. Bernhardi*. *Jo. de Lannes*, Histoire du Pontificat d' *Innocent II*. p. 68 &c. 79 &c. *Jo. Nic. Hertius*, de Exemptione Cisterc. a decimis.

(34) See the Histoire litteraire de la France, Tom. ix. p. 112 &c.

(35) See *Lamberti* Epistola; in *Martene's* Thesaurus Anecdotor. Tom. i. p. 329 &c.

(36) *Abaelardi* Opp. p. 228. ed. Paris 1616. 4to. *Martene's* Thesaurus Anecdotor. Tom. v. p. 970, 975, 1614 &c. and his Amplissima collectio, Tom. ix. p. 971, 972. *Phil. Harvengii* Opera, p. 385, Duaci 1621. Fol.

monastery was erected, on the confines of Angers and Tours, then a wild spot beset with thorns. Its founder was *Robert* of Arbricelles, first an eremite, and then a monk; who prescribed for his followers, of both sexes, the rule of *St. Benedict*; but with the addition of some singular and very austere regulations. Among these regulations, one very noticeable and altogether peculiar, was, that he united the monasteries for the two sexes, and subjected both the men and women to the government of a female; professedly in accordance with the example of *Christ*, who commended *St. John* to the care of his mother, and would have him to obey her as a mother. (37) *Robert* was equally successful with the other founders of new [monastic] sects, in those times: for the novelty of the institution, and the singularity of its form, allured great numbers to embrace it. But he fell under strong suspicion of having too great, and unlawful, familiarity with females; from which his modern disciples use all the means in their power, to vindicate his character. (38)

§ 20. *Norbert*, a German, and subsequently archbishop of Magdeburg, attempted to restore the discipline of the *regular canons*, which was now sinking in many places, and wholly prostrate in others. For this purpose, in the year 1121, he established a new sect, at *Premontré* in Champagne; (39) which recom-

(37) *Peter Abelard*, Opera p. 38, whose testimony is confirmed by the form still retained by the order, and is placed beyond all doubt; notwithstanding *Jo. Mabillon*, from his zeal for the Benedictine fraternity, labors after a sort to invalidate it; in his *Annales Benedict.* Tom. v. p. 423. Concerning this *Robert*, and his order, see the *Acta Sanctor.* Tom. iii. Februar. p. 593 &c. *Dion. Sammarthanus*, Gallia Christiana, Tom. ii. p. 1311 &c. *Peter Bayle*, Dictionaire, Tom. ii. art. *Fontevraud*, p. 1187 &c. *Hipp. Helyot*, Histoire des Ordres, Tom. vi. p. 83. On the present state of *Fontevraud*, see *Moleon*, Voyages Liturgiques, p. 108 &c. and *Martene's Voyage litteraire de deux Benedictins*, P. ii. p. 1 &c.

(38) The *Épistles* of *Godfrey* of Vendome, and of *Marbod*, in which *Robert* is severely censured, are well known. In what manner these accusations are answered by the monks of *Fontevraud*, may be learned from *Jo. de la Mainferme*, Clypeus nascentis Ordinis Fontebaldensis, Paris 1684. 8vo. and his *Dissertationes* in Epistolam contra Robertum de Arbrissello, Salmurii 1682. 8vo. There was a dispute on this subject with *Peter Bayle*. See the *Dissertation apologetique pour le Bienheureux Rob. d' Arbrisselles sur ce qu' en a dit M. Bayle*; Anvers 1701. 8vo. not to mention *Mabillon*, *Annales Bened.* Tom. v. and vi. p. 9, 10, and many others.—[“In the year 1177, some nuns of this order were brought into England, at the desire of *Henry II.* who gave them the monastery of *Ambresbury* in Wiltshire. They had two other houses here; the one at *Eaton*, and the other at *Westwood* in *Worcestershire*.” *Mad.*—The founder of this order, *Robert*, or *Rodbert*, was born about AD. 1047, at *Arbrissel*, seven leagues from *Rennes*; became doctor of divinity at *Paris* in 1074; assisted the bishop of *Rennes*; was made archpresbyter in 1085; formed a college of regular canons in 1094, became famous as a preacher; resigned an abbacy in 1098, to travel and preach; set up the monastery of *Fontevraud* in 1100; and employed several succeeding years in travelling about France, and establishing monasteries, till his death in the year 1117. His order was confirmed by the pontiff in 1113; and *Bertrade*, (formerly queen of France,) was the first lady abbess. She died in 1115. About AD. 1700, the order was divided into four provinces, those of France, Aquitaine, Auvergne, and Bretagne; which collectively contained 57 priories. See *Bayle*, Dictionaire, art. *Fontevraud*. Ty.]

(39) [*Premontré*, the original seat of this order, is placed by *Dr. Mosheim* and

mending itself by sobriety of life and manners, and cultivating literature and the useful arts, at once extended itself throughout Europe, and in a little time acquired immense riches.(40) But this prosperity of the order soon extinguished their primitive zeal, and plunged the *Praemonstratensians* into all kinds of vice. They follow the rule, which is called *St. Augustine's*, but with some slight alterations, and the addition of certain severe laws, whose authority however, and influence did not long survive their author.(41)

§ 21. About the middle of the century, one *Berthold*, a Calabrian, with a few companions, migrated to mount *Carmel* [in Palestine], and in the place where the prophet *Elias* of old is said to have hid himself, built a humble cottage, with a chapel, in which he and his associates led a laborious and solitary life. As others continued to unite themselves with these residents on mount Carmel, *Albert*, the patriarch of Jerusalem, near the commencement of the next century, prescribed for them a *rule* of life; which the pontiffs afterwards sanctioned by their authority, and also changed in various respects, and when it was found too rigorous and burdensome, mitigated considerably.(42) Such was

by *Helyot*, in Champagne; by Dr. *Macdaine*, in Picardy; and by some maps, in the Isle of France. It is situated indeed near the borders of all three; but according to *Busching's* Geography, (vol. ii. p. 373. ed. 5. Hamb. 1764.) the last mentioned, is the true location; for Premontre belongs to the *Laannois*, a dependance of the government of the Isle of France. *von Einem*.]

(40) ["The religious of this order were at first so poor, that they had nothing they could call their own, but a single ass, which served to carry the wood they cut down every morning and sent to *Laon* in order to purchase bread. But in a short time they received so many donations, and built so many monasteries, that, thirty years after the foundation of this order, they had above an hundred abbeys in France and Germany. In process of time, the order increased so prodigiously, that it had monasteries in all parts of christendom, amounting to 1000 abbeys, 300 provostships, a vast number of priories, and 500 nunneries. But this number is now greatly diminished. Besides what they lost in protestant countries, of 65 abbeys, that they had in Italy, there is not one now remaining." *Macd.*]

(41) See *Hipp. Helyot*, Histoire des Ordres, Tom. ii. p. 156. and the writers cited by him. *Chrysostom van der Sterre*, Vita S. Norberti Praemonstratensium patriarchae, Antw. 1656. 8vo. *Ludov. Hugo*, Vie de S. Norbert; Luxemb. 1704. 4to. Add *Jo. Lannoy*, (though sometimes uncandid.) Inquisition in privilegia Ordinis Praemonstrat. cap. 1, 2. in his Opp. Tom. iii. P. i. p. 448 &c. On the present state of the place and the monastery of Premontre, see *Martene's* Voyage littéraire de deux Benedictins, Tom. ii. p. 49 &c. ["The *Praemonstratenses*, or monks of *Premontre*, vulgarly called *White Canons*, came first into England, AD. 1146. Their first monastery, called *New-House*, was built in Lincolnshire, by *Peter de Saulia*, and dedicated to St. Martial. In the reign of *Edward I*, the order in question had 27 monasteries in England." *Macd.*]

(42) I have here followed, principally, *Dan. Papebroch*, an accurate writer on this subject, and well supported by authorities; in the Acta Sancto. Antwerp. mense Aprili Tom. iii. p. 774—802. It is well known, that the Carmelites moved a great contest with this learned Jesuit, at the court of Rome, for disparaging the dignity and antiquity of their order. The history of this long contest is given by *Hipp. Helyot*, Histoire des Ordres, Tom. i. p. 282 &c. It was terminated in the year 1698, by *Innocent XII*, who imposed silence on both parties. [The Carmelites accused *Papebroch* before the pontiff, *Innocent XII*, alleging that the volumes of the Acta Sancto. which bore his name, were full of errors. The pontiff referred the case to the Congregation of the Index. The Carmelites, being in high repute in Spain, brought these books before the Inquisition of that country, in the

the origin of the celebrated order of *Carmelites*, or as it is commonly called, the order of *St. Mary of mount Carmel*: which subsequently passed from Syria into Europe, and became one of the principal *mendicant* orders. The *Carmelites* themselves reject with disdain this account of their origin, and most strenuously contend, that the holy prophet *Elias*, of the Old Testament, was the parent and founder of their society.(43) But they are able to persuade very few, (or rather none, out of their society,) that their origin was so ancient and illustrious; and many, even in the Romish communion, treat their pretensions with great severity.(44)

§ 22. We will now mention the principal writers, both Greeks and Latins. Among the former, the most noted in after times were, *Philip Solitarius*, whose *Dioptra*, or dispute between the soul and the body, is sufficiently known.(45) *Eustratius*, who defended the cause of the Greeks against the Latins, and explained some books of Aristotle.(46) *Euthymius Zigabenus*, who, on account of his *Panoply against all heretics*, and his expositions of the scriptures, may be ranked among the principal wri-

year 1691: and by that tribunal, the 14 volumes for March, April, and May, were condemned, AD. 1695. *Papebrock* and his friends, however, obtained liberty to offer to the Inquisition a vindication of the volumes; but all their controversial writings with the Carmelites, were in the year 1697, proscribed by the Inquisition. The next year, the pope interposed, commanding both parties to be silent, and to drop the whole controversy. Tr.]

(43) Of the many Carmelite writers, who have treated upon this subject, the most concise and neat is *Thomas Aquinas*, a French Carmelite; in his *Dissertatio Histor. Theol. in qua Patriarchatus ordinis Carmelitarum Prophetæ Eliæ vindicatur*; Paris 1632. 8vo. The modern writers on this controversy with *Papebrock*, are far more tedious.

(44) See *Jo. Harduin's* Opp. posthuma, p. 642 &c. *Jo. Baptist Labat*, *Voyage en Espagne et Italie*, Tome iii. p. 87. *Courayer*, *Examen des défauts théologiques*, Tome i. p. 455 &c. [The pretensions of the *Carmelites* to an antiquity reaching back to the times of *Elijah*, are ridiculous in the extreme; and it is astonishing, that they should dare hazard their reputation, by advancing such pretensions. The rule prescribed to them by *Albert*, AD. 1206, consisted of 16 articles: and it required them to confine themselves to their cells, except when at work, and to spend their time in prayer; to possess no individual property; to fast from the feast of the holy cross till Easter, except on Sundays; to abstain from eating flesh, altogether; to labor with their hands; and to observe total silence from vespers till the tierce of the next day. This rule was mitigated considerably by Innocent IV. On the conclusion of peace with the Saracens, AD. 1229, the Carmelites left Syria. Some of them went to Cyprus; others to Sicily; and others to France. They came to England in 1240; and had about 40 houses in that country. In the 16th century, *St. Theresa*, a Spanish lady, undertook to reform the order. This divided them into two classes. The *Carmelites of the ancient observance*, were called the *mitigated*, or *moderate*; the reformed, or those of the *strict observance*, were called *bare-footed Carmelites*, because they went *bare-footed*. The former were distributed into 40 provinces, subject to one general. The latter quarrelled among themselves; and became divided into the *congregation of Spain*, containing six provinces; and the *congregation of Italy*, embracing all the rest. Tr.]

(45) [Little is known of this Grecian monk, who flourished about AD. 1105. His *Dioptra*, or Dialogue between the soul and the body, on the principles which should regulate man's life, is extant only in the Latin translation of *Pontanus*, Ingoldstadt 1604. 4to. and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxi. Tr.]

(46) [See note (9) p. 255. Tr.]

ters of the age.(47) *John Zonaras*, whose *Annals*, with some other works, are still preserved.(48) *Michael Glycas*, who also devoted himself to history and to some other species of writing.(49) *Constantine Harmenopolis*, a respectable writer on both civil and canon law.(50) *Andronicus Camaterus*, a strenuous polemic against the Latins, and the Armenians, who were opposed to the Greeks.(51) *Eustathius* of Thessalonica, the most learned Greek of his times, and the well known commentator on Homer.(52) *Theodorus Balsamon*, who expended much labor in expounding and digesting the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Greeks.(53)

(47) See *Richard Simon's Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccles. par M. Du Pin*, Tom. i. p. 318, 324. [*Euthymius* was a monk, highly esteemed by *Alexius Comnenus*, for his erudition; and flourished about AD. 1116. The *Panoplia dogmatica orthodoxae fidei adversus omnes Haereses*, is a compilation from the Fathers, made by order of the emperor, and with the aid of several assistants, in defence of the doctrine of the Greek church, against all its opposers. It is divided into two parts, and 24 tituli, or chapters; published, (but not entire,) by *Gregoras*, at Tergovist in Wallachia, 1710, Fol. His commentaries on the Psalms, and on the four Gospels, were published together in Gr. Verona 1530, and the latter, by *Matthai*, Lips. 1792, 8vo. All his works, ever published, are extant in Latin, in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xix. Tr.]

(48) [See note (4) p. 253. Tr.]

(49) Some have placed *Glycas*, as late as the 15th century. See *Jo. Lami*, Diss. de Glyca; prefixed to his *Deliciae virorum eruditor.* Tom. i. [See a notice of him, in note (3) p. 253. Tr.]

(50) [*Constantine Harmenopolis* was a learned civilian and judge, at Thessalonica. *Cave* and others suppose he flourished AD. 1150; but some place him two centuries later, or about AD. 1380. His best work is his *Πρόχειρον νόμων*, or manual of civil law, edited, Gr. and Lat. with notes, Geneva 1587, 4to. His *Epitome divinorum sacrorumque Canonum*, Gr. and Lat. is in *Leunclav's Jus Gr.* Tom. i. So also his *Liber de Sectis Haereticis*, and some other tracts. Tr.]

(51) [*Andronicus Camaterus* was prefect at Constantinople, and filled other high offices under *Manuel Comnenus*, AD. 1156, and was distinguished for his erudition and eloquence. He wrote adversus Latinos Liber, or a Dialogue between *Manuel* and the Roman cardinals then at Constantinople, respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit; also a dispute of the emperor with *Peter* an Armenian doctor; and a Tract on the two natures of Christ, and other subjects. Tr.]

(52) [See note (1) p. 253. Tr.]

(53) For a fuller account of all these writers, see *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Bibliotheca Graeca*. [*Theodorus Balsamon* was deacon, nomophylax, chartophylax, and librarian of the great church at Constantinople; and afterwards patriarch of Antioch, though he never took possession of his see, it being in the hands of the Latins. He flourished AD. 1180, and lived till AD. 1203, or longer. He was the most learned Greek of his times, and a powerful adversary against the Latin church. His works are commentaries on the apostolic canons, the councils and canonical epistles of the fathers: (edited, Gr. and Lat. by *Justell*, and still better by *Beveridge*, Oxon. 1672. Fol.)—Commentaries on the *Nomocanon* of *Photius*, (edited, Gr. and Lat. by *Justell*, 1615, 4to. and in the Biblioth. Juris Canon. Tom. ii.) A collection of ecclesiastical constitutions; (in the Biblioth. Juris Canon. Tom. ii.) and several other treatises on particular points and questions in ecclesiastical law; which were published by *Leunclav* and *Cotelier*.

The other Greek writers of this century, were the following.

Nicetas Seidus, an antagonist of the Latins, AD. 1110; from whom *Leo Allatius* has made some extracts; de Consensu &c. Lib. i. c. 14 &c.

Nicetas Bizantinus, a philosopher, i. e. a monk, AD. 1120; who wrote a Defence of the synod of Chalcedon against the prince of Armenia; which is quoted by *Leo Allat.* ubi supra, and published entire, Gr. and Lat. in the Gr. Orthod. Tom. i.

§ 23. The following may be considered as the principal Latin writers.—*Bernard*, abbot of Clairval, from whom the Cistercian monks took the name of *Bernardins*. He was a man of genius and taste, and of correct views in many respects; yet superstitious, and lacking in judgment; one who was able to conceal a great thirst for dominion under the garb of extraordinary piety, and who did not scruple to load with false accusations such as happened to incur his displeasure. (54) *Innocent III*, the Roman

Georgius, metropolitan of Corcyra, AD. 1136, distinguished himself as a writer and negociator in the controversy with the Latins.

Antonius Melissa, a Gr. monk, AD. 1140; author of *Libri ii*, *locorum communium*, de virtutibus et vitiis; compiled from the fathers; edited Gr. and Lat. by *Gesner*, Tiguri 1546. Fol. and Geneva 1609. Fol.

Isaac, patriarch of the greater Armenia, flourished, perhaps, AD. 1150; author of two *Invectives* against the Armenians; Gr. and Lat. in *Auctuar. nov. Tom. ii*.

Lucas Chrysoberges, a monk, and patriarch of Constantinople, AD. 1155 (alii, 1148) to 1167; author of some Synodal decrees, at Constantinople, AD. 1166; published by *Leunclav*, Jus Gr. Rom. Lib. iii.

Basil Achridenus, metropolitan of Thessalonica, AD. 1155; author of an epistle to pope *Hadrian IV*; who solicited him to renounce the Greek church, and connect himself with the Latin; extant, Gr. and Lat. in the Jus Gr. Rom. Lib. v.

Michael, a rhetorician and protecdicus of the great church of Thessalonica, AD. 1160; who fell into the heresy of the Bogomils, and afterwards renounced it. A short confession of his faith, is published by *Leo Allat.* de Consensu &c. Lib. ii. c. 12.

Alexius Aristenus, Nomophylax and Oeconomus of the great church of Constantinople, AD. 1166. A Synopsis Canonum, with the scholia of this ecclesiastic, is in *Beverige's* *Pandectæ Canonum*, Oxon. 1672 Fol.

Theorianus, a Greek theologian, sent by the emperor *Munuel Comnenus*, AD. 1117, to bring the Armenians to the Greek faith. His successful discussion with *Nauseus*, the Armenian patriarch, put into the form of a dialogue, was published Gr. and Lat. by *Leunclav*. 1578. 8vo. and then in *Ducaeus*, *Auctuarium*, Paris 1624. Tom. i.

Simeon, *Magister* and *Logotheta*, about AD. 1170. To him some ascribe the Synopsis canonum, on which *Alexius Aristenus* wrote scholia; but the work, probably was written before their day.

John Phocas, a native of Crete, first a soldier, and then a monk, and a married presbyter. In the year 1185, he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the holy places; and on his return, wrote a concise and accurate account of what he saw, entitled *Compendiaria descriptio locorum ab urbe Antiochia usque ad Hierosolymam, nec non Syriæ et Phœnicia; edited Gr. and Lat. by Leo Allat.* Symmict. P. i. p. 1. Colon. 1653. 8vo.

George Xiphilinus, patriarch of Constantinople, AD. 1193—1199; was author of *Decretum de iuribus territoriorum*; extant, Gr. and Lat. in the Jus Gr. et Rom. Lib. i. p. 283.

John Camaterus, patriarch of Constantinople, AD. 1199—1206. His *Decretum de nuptiis consobrinorum*, was published, Gr. and Lat. by *Leunclav*. in the Jus Gr. et Rom. Lib. iv. p. 285. Tr.]

(54) The works of *St. Bernard* have been splendidly edited by *Jo. Mabillon*, with learned prefaces to his treatises, containing much valuable information; and an appendix containing the ancient biographies of him: [printed at Paris, 1666, 2 vol. Fol. and 8 vol. 8vo. and AD. 1690, 6 vol.—*St. Bernard* was born of honorable parentage, at Fontaine, near Dijon, AD. 1091, and educated at Châtillon, where he distinguished himself much as a scholar. At the age of 22, he renounced the world and became a Cistercian monk. In the year 1115, he was created abbot of the newly erected monastery of *Clairval*, or *Clairvaux*, in the territory of Langres, where he spent the remainder of his life, and acquired an influence almost unbounded throughout Europe. He was remarkably austere in his mode of living, and wholly absorbed in practical religion. His eloquence

pontiff, whose epistles and other productions contribute to illustrate the religion and discipline of the age.(55) *Anselm* of Laon, (56) a man of acuteness and a skilful dialectician. By him was educated *Abelard*, famous in that age, for the acuteness and elegance of his genius, the extent of his erudition, his dexterity as a disputant, and the misfortunes which befel him.(57) *God-*

was bold, thrilling, and irresistible ; for, his conceptions were vivid, his language clear and strong, and his zeal determined and unyielding. In the year 1127, he attended the council of Trois, and did much to procure the establishment of the order of knights Templars. From the year 1130, he espoused the cause of *Innocent II.*, against his competitors ; and for ten years supported that pontiff, and at last procured him a complete triumph. In the year 1140, he assailed *Abelard*, and contributed much to destroy his reputation and influence, and to reduce him to a state of wretchedness. In 1146, he set himself to rouse Europe to a new crusade, and actually persuaded the king of France, and the emperor of Germany, to march large armies to the holy land. The complete failure of the crusade, contrary to his predictions, much lowered his reputation. But he defended himself, by ascribing the failure to the sins of the crusaders. In 1147, he procured the condemnation of the heresy of *Gilbert*, bishop of Poitiers. The same year, he assailed the *Petrobrusians*, and drew off many persons from that heresy. He also attacked and routed the *Apostolici*. In 1151, he exposed the arrogance and pride of the Roman pontiffs. He died AD. 1153, in the sixty-third year of his age ; was sainted ; and reported to have wrought innumerable miracles, both before and after his decease.—A prolix life of him, was written by several of his contemporaries. The best modern history of his life, is that of *Aug. Neander*, Berlin 1813. 8vo. in German, entitled *St. Bernhard and the age in which he lived*. *Milner's* life of Bernard, which makes up nearly the whole of his church history of the twelfth century, is worth reading, though written with partiality. His works are nearly all on practical religion, and consist chiefly of letters and discourses. Tr.]

(55) The Epistles of *Innocent III.*, were republished by *Steph. Baluze*, in 2 vol. Fol. Paris 1682. [He was pontiff from AD. 1198, to 1216 ; and will be noticed more particularly, in the following century. Besides his Letters, he wrote a number of Tracts and Discourses, chiefly of a practical and devotional character ; also a commentary on the seven penitential Psalms ; three Books on contempt of the world ; and six Books on the mysteries of the mass. But none of these are now of much value. Tr.]

(56) [*Anselm* of Laon, was a schoolmaster, and dean of the cathedral of Laon, about AD. 1103, and died AD. 1117. *Abelard*, his pupil, represents him as neither learned, nor discriminating, but a man full of words, without much meaning. (See *Abelard's* Hist. of his own sufferings, c. 3.) He was author of the *Glossa interlinealis*, or interlinear and marginal notes to the old and new Testaments, derived from the writings of the fathers ; often published ; e. g. Lugduni 1528, Antw. 1634, &c. The commentaries on Matthew and John, on the epistles of Paul, the Apocalypse, and the Canticles, published among the works of *Anselm* of Canterbury, are by some ascribed to *Anselm* of Laon. Tr.]

(57) See *Peter Bayle*, Dictionaire, article *Abelard*, Tome i. p. 18. and Tome iii. art. *Paraclet*, p. 2174. *Jac. Gervais*, Vie de Pierre Abelard, Abbé de Ruys, et de Heloise. Paris 1728. 2 vol. 8vo. The works of *Abelard*, comprised in one volume 4to. were published by *Francis Amboise*, Paris 1616. But a collection twice, or even thrice as large, might be made : for, cui non dictus Hylas ?—[*Abelard* was born of noble parentage, at Palais near Nantes, AD. 1079. He first studied under *Rosceline*, founder of the sect of Nominalists. Distinguished as a scholar, he removed to Paris, at the age of 20, to study dialectics under *William* de Champeaux. After a while, he began to dispute with his teacher ; and, as many of his fellow students awarded to him the victory in several cases, his master became jealous of him, and they parted. In AD. 1099, he opened a school of his own at Melun, 10 leagues from Paris ; and his school being thronged, he removed it to Corbeil, to be nearer Paris. The school of his former master, and present rival declined fast. But soon after, the health of *Abelard* failed ; and he had to retire for two years. On resuming his school at Corbeil, he completely run down his rival Champeaux. *Abelard* next removed to Laon, to study

frey, or *Geoffrey*, of Vendome, who has left us epistles and some dissertations.(58) *Rupert* of Duitz, the most famous expositor of the scriptures among the Latins of this century; a man generally of a sound judgment, and not destitute of imagination and taste.(59) *Hugo* of St. Victor, a man of a prolific mind, who

theology under *Anselm*. Here again the pupil outshone the master, and became his rival. He now came to Paris, and lectured with vast applause, on theology and philosophy, to a great concourse of students from different countries. But now, at the age of 40, he seduced the celebrated *Heloise*, a fatherless girl of 18, who was placed under his instruction. She bore him a son; and to pacify her enraged relatives, he privately married her. She, however, denied the marriage, lest it should destroy his prospects in the church; and retired to a monastery. Her uncle now hired ruffians, who entered his chamber by night, and inflicted on his person a disgraceful and cruel mutilation. *Heloise* then took the veil, and *Abelard* became a monk at St. Denys. He now resumed lecturing, and also published his "Theology." This work brought on him the charge of heresy, and was burned by order of the council of Soissons, AD. 1121.—Still *Abelard* was popular as a lecturer. But having asserted, that St. *Denys* the founder of the church at Paris, was not the *Dionysius* of Athens, mentioned in the book of Acts, a new persecution commenced; and he retired from St. Denys, AD. 1122, to a forest near Nogent in Champagne, where he lived in retirement. But students gathering around him there, a new monastery grew up, called that of the *Paraclet*. He had now six hundred pupils. Next, he was chosen abbot of St. Gildas de Ruys, near Vannes, where he spent many years. The convent of Argenteuil, where *Heloise* was, being dispersed, *Abelard* gave her the convent of the *Paraclet*, where she spent the rest of her life, a devout Abbess. Now the famous correspondence between *Abelard* and *Heloise* took place; a correspondence which Mr. *Pope* has transformed and altered greatly, in his poetic version. *Abelard* was again accused of heresy, by St. *Bernard* and others, appealed to the pope, was condemned unheard, set out for Rome AD. 1140, reached Clugny, where *Peter* the Venerable received him kindly, procured from the pope his acquittal, and also effected a reconciliation between him and St. *Bernard*. *Abelard* passed two years at Clugny, with reputation for piety and learning, and delivered acceptable lectures, though in declining health. He died there, in 1142, aged sixty-three years. The learned and candid *Du Pin*, in his lives of eccles. Authors, cent. xii. ch. vii. after examining the 14 charges of erroneous doctrine imputed to him, pronounces them all false, or frivolous, except the two following, namely, the eleventh, that the Jews who crucified Christ, did no sin by that act; and the twelfth, that the power of binding and loosing belonged only to the inspired apostles, and extended only to the church militant. The Catholics, generally, according to *Bayle*, have been less severe upon *Abelard's* character, than the Protestants. His seduction of his pupil all must condemn. It appears also, that he was both vain and selfish. Neither do his writings display those masterly talents, which his reputation as a lecturer would lead us to expect.—His printed Works contain four Epistles to *Heloise*; seven Epistles to others; a history of his life, till AD. 1134; his apology, or confession of faith; expositions of the Lord's prayer, the apostle's creed, and the Athanasian creed; a reply to queries of *Heloise*; a tract against heresies; Commentaries on Romans, in five Books; thirty-two sermons; directions for the nuns of the *Paraclete*: and his Introduction to Theology, in three Books. Tr.]

(58) [*Godfrey* was abbot of Vendome from AD. 1093, till after AD. 1129. He was a zealous supporter of Urban II. who created him a cardinal; and held an extensive correspondence with pontiffs, cardinals, and bishops. His Works, comprising, epistles in five books, 18 tracts and 15 sermons, were published by *Jac. Sirmond*, Paris 1610. 8vo. and then in the Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. xxi. Tr.]

(59) Concerning *Rupert* of Duitz, (Tuitiensis), besides the common historians, *Jo. Mabillon* treats particularly, in his *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 19, 20, 42, 144, 168, 261, 282, 296; and also states the controversies into which he was brought. [*Rupert* was a German monk of St. Laurence, near Leige, and then abbot of Duitz near Cologne. He commenced author, AD. 1111, and died 1136. He was known as a polemic, in his day; and was accused of not holding the doctrine of transubstantiation; but perhaps falsely. He is chiefly known to us as a commentator on nearly the whole bible; but he also wrote 12 books on the

has written on nearly all the branches of knowledge, then cultivated, both sacred and profane, and who has said many things well.(60) *Richard* of St. Victor, the coryphæus of the *mystics* of that age; whose *Arca mystica*, in particular, containing the marrow of this sort of wisdom, was received with avidity.(61) *Honorius* of Autun, a theologian and philosopher not without reputation.(62) *Gratian*, a monk, to whom canon law was indebted for a new form and higher respectability.(63) *William* of Rheims, who composed various tracts, to subserve the cause of piety.(64) *Peter Lombard*, often called *Master of the sentences*, because he collected and arranged scientifically the theological opinions and decisions of the Latin fathers.(65) *Gilbert Porre-*

rites of worship through the year; on the conflagration of Duytz; contemplations on death, 2 books; tracts on the will and omnipotence of God; the lives of some saints, &c. His works have been repeatedly printed; e. g. Paris 1638. li. Tomi Folio. Tr.]

(60) See the *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. vii. p. 661. His works were printed together, in iii. volumes Fol. Rouen 1648 *Derlangius* has written expressly of him, in his *Diss. de Hugone a S. Victore*, Helmet. 1746. 4to. Add *Martene's Voyage Littéraire*, Tom. ii. p. 91, 92. [*Hugo* of St. Victor was born AD. 1096; but whether at Ypres in the Netherlands, or in lower Saxony, has been contested. He was an Augustinian canon in the monastery of St. Victor, at Paris, where he died AD. 1140, aged 44. So fully did he enter into the theological views of St. Augustine, and so exactly did he express them in his writings, that he was called *Augustine the Second*, and also the *Mouth of Augustine*. He commented largely on all parts of the bible, wrote on Dionysius Areop. and composed many tracts and works on philosophical, theological, and practical subjects. But a considerable part of the works ascribed to him, and published as his, have been adjudged to other authors. Tr.]

(61) *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. vii. p. 669. [*Richard* of St. Victor was a Scotchman, but spent his life at Paris, being first a regular canon, and then for 9 years, prior of St. Victor, near the walls at Paris, till his death, AD. 1173. He was the intimate friend of St. Bernard, and of *Hugo* of St. Victor. His writings are numerous tracts and treatises on practical and experimental religion, and on biblical and theological subjects; in all of which he spiritualizes almost continually. The best edition of his works, is said to be that of Rouen 1650, in ii. vol. Folio. Tr.]

(62) This celebrated writer is usually called *Honorius of Autun*; but *Jac. Le Beuf* has shewn, that he was a German; in his *Diss. sur l'Histoire Francoise*, Tome i. p. 254. [He was a presbyter and schoolmaster in the church of Autun in Burgundia, and flourished about AD. 1130. His works are, an account of the ecclesiastical writers, compiled from *Jerome*, *Gennadius*, *Isidore*, and *Beda*; commentaries on the books of Solomon; a dialogue on predestination and free will; *Gemmae animae*, or on the mass and its ceremonies; on the visible creation, iii. books; *Elucidarium*; on Heresies; on the philosophy of the world, iv. books; on the properties of the sun; a catalogue of the popes; all published in the *biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xx. besides many pieces never published. Tr.]

(63) [See note (17) p. 257.]

(64) [*William* of Rheims was, perhaps, first a monk of Clairvaux under *Bernard*, and certainly was abbot of St. Thierry near Rheims, and then, during 9 years, abbot of St. Nicosius at Rheims. In the year 1153, he resigned his abbacy, and became a Cistercian, in the monastery of Signi. His works are *de vita solataria Liber*; *Speculum fidei*; *Ænigma fidei*; *Meditationum Liber*; *de contemplando Deo, Liber*; *de natura corporis et animi Libri ii.* *Disputatio contra Petrum Abaelardum*; *de erroribus Gulielmi de eonchiis, Liber*; *de sacramento altaris Tractatus*; *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*; *Commentarius in Epist. ad Romanos*; and *de vita Sti Bernardi, Liber*. All, except the last, are in the *Biblioth. Cisterciensis*, Tom. iv. Tr.]

(65) *Gallia christiana*, Tom. vii. p. 68. [*Peter Lombard* was born at a village near Novaria in Lombardy; whence his surname of Lombard. He first studied

tanus, a theologian and philosopher, who is said to have explained some points in theology erroneously. (66) *William of Auxerre*, much celebrated for his *Summa Theologica*, or system of theology. (67) *Peter of Blois*, whose epistles and numerous tracts are still read with some advantage. (68) *John of Salisbury*, a man of genius and learning, who united eloquence with the study of philosophy and theology; as is manifest from his *Metalogicus* and his books *de nugis curialium*. (69) *Peter Comestor*, author

at Bologna, and then went to France to study theology, being recommended to the notice and kind offices of *St. Bernard*. At Paris, he acquired high reputation as early as AD. 1141; was made professor of divinity there; and 1150, bishop of Paris, till his death, AD. 1164. Besides his notes or commentary on the Psalms, and his collections from the fathers on the epistles of Paul, he composed a very celebrated system of divinity, extracted from the fathers, especially from *Hilary*, *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, and *Augustine*, entitled the *Sentences*, and divided into four books. This work was the text book in theology for some ages; and in its general arrangements, has served for a model, nearly to the present day. The basis of his distribution is the maxim of *Augustine*, that all knowledge is, either of *things*, or of *signs*; and that things are divisible into such as are to be *enjoyed*, and such as are to be *used*. Accordingly, in the first book, he treats of *things* which are to be *enjoyed*; viz. *God*, the supreme good of man, his nature, attributes, and subsistence in three persons. In the second book, he treats of *things* to be *used*; viz. the *creation*, its production by the power of God; the formation of angels, and men, the apostasy of angels, and the fall of man; of *grace* and *free will*, original and actual sin; &c. In the third book, he treats of the incarnation and sacrifice of Christ, redemption, faith, charity, and good works, as conditions of salvation. The fourth book treats of the *signs* or sacraments of the church; except that in the seven last sections, he treats of the day of judgment and the future state. See *Du Pin's Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*; century xiii. cap. xv. Tr.]

(66) [*Gilbert de la Porrée*, (Porretanus,) was a Frenchman of Aquitaine, rector of the school at Paris, canon, and AD. 1141, bishop of Poitiers, till his death, AD. 1154. This distinguished scholar and philosopher advanced some views in theology, and particularly respecting the Trinity, which were new and strange to his contemporaries, and which caused him to be charged with heresy. See the next chapter, § 11. His notes on the Psalms, commentaries on the epistles of Paul, and treatise on the Trinity, are said to exist in manuscript. All that has been published, is his epistle to the abbot of St. Florentius, appended to the Works of *Guibert*, by *Dachery*. Tr.]

(67) *Le Boeuf*, Diss. sur la somme Theologique de Guillaume d'Auxerre; in *P. Malet's* Continuation des Memoires d'Histoire et de Litterature, Tome iii. p. 317. [He was archdeacon of Beauvais, and died at Rome, AD. 1230. *Schl.* But, *Schroechh* (Kirchengesch. vol. xxviii. p. 157.) places him near the end of the thirteenth century. Tr.]

(68) [*Peter of Blois*, (Blaesensis,) was born at Blois, studied the liberal arts at Paris, civil and canon law at Bologna, and theology at Chartres under *John* of Salisbury. Perhaps he was made a canon at Chartres. In 1167, he went to Sicily, and became tutor, and afterwards secretary, to *William II*, king of Sicily. Soon after, on the banishment of his friend the archbishop of Palermo, he returned to France, and was invited over to England, where he was made archdeacon of Bath, archdeacon of London, and chancellor to the archbishop of Canterbury. After a life of industry and virtue, he died in England, AD. 1200. His works consisting of 183 epistles, 65 sermons, and 17 tracts on various subjects then exciting interest, was published, Paris 1667, Fol. He also continued the history of Ingulphus of Croyland, to the year 1118. Several other works of his are lost. See *Du Pin*, Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, Cent. xii. ch. xi. Tr.]

(69) [*John* of Salisbury, in Wiltshire, England, one of the brightest geniuses of the age. He was a pupil of *Abelard*, in 1136, and afterwards an intimate friend of *Thomas Becket*, whom he accompanied in his exile for seven years; but he disapproved of *Becket's* resistance to the king of England. He returned to England; but on the death of *Becket*, AD. 1172, he again went to France; and in

of the *Historia Scholastica*, or that epitome of the history contained in the old and new testaments, which was formerly studied by the youth in the schools.(70) The names and merits of the other Latin writers may be learned from the works devoted to this subject.(71)

1179, was made bishop of Chartres, where he died, three years after. His works are, *Polycraticus*, or on the Fopperies of courtiers, in eight books; in which he displays much knowledge of the world, great wit, and very just views of men and things; *Metalogicum*, in four books, an acute and learned treatise on logic, philology, and philosophy; the life of *St. Thomas* of Canterbury; several hundreds of epistles; and a commentary on Paul's epistles. These works have been published separately; but never all together. Tr.]

(70) [*Peter* Comestor, was a native of Troyes, and a priest and dean in that city; then chancellor of the university of Paris. Toward the close of life he retired to the monastery of St. Victor, where he died AD. 1188. Numerous manuscript sermons of his still exist. *Historia Scholastica* is a biblical history of the world, from the creation, to the end of the book of Acts, in sixteen books. Tr.]

(71) [The Latin writers of this century omitted by *Dr. Mosheim*, are the following.

Gilbert, or *Gislebert*, surnamed *Crispin*, a monk of Bec, at the commencement of the century. He travelled to Rome, and had a dispute with a Jew, which he afterwards committed to writing, and entitled *de Fide ecclesie contra Judaeos*. He also wrote *contra Judaeos Liber*; and a great number of Homilies, which are still preserved in manuscript. He died AD. 1117.

Leo Marsicanus, Librarian of Monte Cassino, and cardinal deacon, AD. 1101. He died after AD. 1115, having been very active and devoted to the holy see. He left a chronicle of the monastery of Cassino in three Books, from the time of *St. Benedict*, to AD. 1055: also some sermons and lives of saints which were never published.

Guibert, or *Gilbert*, abbot of St. Mary at Nogent, in Laon; flourished AD. 1101, and died AD. 1124. He wrote a tract on the composition of sermons; *Morals on Job*; *de Pignoribus sanctorum*, Libri iii, several other tracts; and *Gesta Dei per Francos*, or History of the crusades, from their commencement, to AD. 1100, in nine Books; published in *Bongarsius'* Collection, Tom. i.

Robert, a Benedictine monk of St. Remigius, at Rheims. He was in the first crusade; and wrote a history of it, from AD. 1095, to 1099, in nine Books; extant in *Bongarsius'* Collection, Tom. i.

Hugo, abbot of St. Flavinius, in Burgundy; flourished AD. 1101. He wrote *Chronicon Viridunense*, in two Parts; the first, from the birth of Christ to AD. 1002, and the second, to AD. 1102, published by *Labbé*, *Biblioth. Nov. M. S.* Tome i.

Rodolphus Ardens, chaplain to *William IV*, duke of Aquitaine, AD. 1101. He left sermons on the lessons for the year; published, Cologne 1604. 2 vol. 8vo.

Theodoric abbot of St. Trudo, in the diocese of Laon, who died in exile, at Ghent, AD. 1107. He wrote the Life of *St. Trudo*; and of four or five other saints.

Stigbert Gemblacensis, a monk and writer at Gemblours, AD. 1101, a partizan of the emperor *Henry IV*, in his contests with the pope. He wrote a Chronicle, from AD. 381, where *Jerome* ends, to AD. 1112; printed among the *Scriptores Germanici*, *Francf.* 1585. Fol. and by *Aub. Miræus*, *Antw.* 1608. also *de Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*; *Epistola pro ecclesiis Leodiense et Cameracensi*, adv. Ep. *Paschalis* Papæ; a life of *Stigbert* king of France; and some lives of saints. He died AD. 1113.

Aelnoth, an English or Danish Augustinian monk, of Canterbury; who spent most of his life in Denmark, and about AD. 1105, wrote the life and passion of *St. Canute*, king of Denmark.

Odo of Cambray, a schoolmaster at Orleans, abbot of St. Martin of Tours, chosen bishop of Cambray AD. 1105, but refused investiture from the emperor *Henry IV*. He wrote an exposition of the canon of the mass; and several other tracts; extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxi.

Petrus Alfonsus, once *Moses*, a distinguished Spanish Jew. After his conversion, AD. 1106, he wrote a dialogue against the Jews; in the *Biblioth. Patrum*. Tom. xxi.

Stephen Harding, an English monk of Sherburn. He travelled in Scotland,

France, and Italy; became first a Benedictine, then a Cistercian, in France, where he was made abbot, AD. 1109, and died AD. 1134. He composed regulations for the Cistercians, and some other monastic pieces.

Peter, Grossolanus or *Chrysolanus*, archbishop of Milan, AD. 1110—1116, which office he was obliged to abdicate. He was sent as a papal legate to Constantinople; and has left us an oration, addressed to the Greek emperor, *Alexius Comnenus*, on the procession of the Holy Spirit: extant, Latin, in *Baronius*, Annal. ann. 1115, and Greek and Latin, in *Leo Allat.* Orthod. Græca, Tom. i.

Gille, or *Gillebert*, an Irish bishop, who died AD. 1139. He has left us *Li-bellus de statu ecclesiae*; et *Epistolæ II.* in *Usher's* Epistolæ. Hibernicar. Sylloge, p. 77.

Berengosus, abbot of St. Maximin, without the walls, Treves; flourished about AD. 1110. He wrote de laude et inventione crucis Dominicæ; and several monastic discourses; extant in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xii.

Franco, a schoolmaster, Benedictine monk, and abbot, at Laon; about AD. 1111. He wrote de gratia Dei Libri xii, (in the Biblioth. Patrum Tom. xxi.) and some other pieces, among which was a tract on the quadrature of the circle, and another on the principles of arithmetic.

John, archbishop of Lyons, who, AD. 1112, had a contest with his suffragans respecting lay-investitures, which he wished to suppress. His epistle to them on the subject, is in *Harduin's* Concilia, Tom. vi. P. ii. p. 1919.

Stephen I. bishop of Augsburg, AD. 1113—1129; and then a monk of Clugni. He wrote a tract de sacramento altaris &c. in the Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. xx. p. 1872.

Baldric, a native of Orleans, and a monk and abbot at Angers, AD. 1095; and archbishop of Dol, AD. 1114—1131. He wrote *Historia Hierosolymatana*, in 4 Books. It is a history of the first crusade, from AD. 1095, to 1100; and is extant among the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, and among the *Historici Francici* of *Duchesse*, Tom. iv. He wrote also the life of *Hugo*, archbishop of Rouen; and the life of *Robert d'Arbrissell*, founder of the order of Fontevraud.

Earnulph, a monk of Beauvais, whom *Lanfranc* invited over to England, where he was successively prior of Canterbury, abbot of Peterborough, and bishop of Rochester; and died AD. 1124, aged 84. He wrote de incestis conjugis, and de corpore et sanguine Domini; in *Dachery's* Spicileg. Tom. ii.

Hermann, a converted German Jew, of Cologne, who was persecuted by his unbelieving friends, became a canon, was contemporary with *St. Bernard*, and an intimate of *Rupert* of Duytz. He has left a tract respecting his own conversion; published by *Bened. Carpzov.* Lips. 1687.

Gelasius II. pope, AD. 1118—1119. He was nobly born at Cajeta, in Naples, educated at Monte Cassino, made chancellor and cardinal deacon at Rome. He had to fight for St. Peter's chair, and to abandon Rome; and died in France. He has left us six epistles, and a life of St. Erasmus.

Florentinus, called *Bravonius*, an English monk of Worcester, who died AD. 1118. That year, he completed his chronicle, from the creation to AD. 1118; chiefly borrowed from *Marianus Scotus*; he also wrote a genealogy of the English kings; both published, Lond. 1592. 4to.

Callistus II. pope, AD. 1119—1124. has left us 35 epistles, published in the collections of councils, besides five more, in *Baluze*, Miscell. Tom. ii. and five sermons, in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xx.

Guigo, or *Guido*, of Dauphiny, a Carthusian monk, and prior, who flourished AD. 1120. He wrote *Scala Claustralium*, seu de modo orandi; several epistles; a life of St. Hugo of Gratianopolis, &c.

Rodulph, abbot of St. Trudo, near Laon; about AD. 1120. He wrote *Chronicon monasterii Sti Trudonis*, in 13 Books; published by *Dachery*, Spicileg. Tom. vii; also a life of St. *Lietbert*, bishop of Cambray; ibid.

Albert, or *Alberic*, a canon of the church of Aix, AD. 1120. He wrote, from the account of others, *Historia Hierosolymatanae expeditionis sub Godefrido Bullionæo et aliis*, in twelve Books; a very good history of the first crusade, from AD. 1095, to 1120; published by *Bongarsius*, *Gesta Dei per Francos*. Tom. i. p. 184.

Guaterius, or *Galterius*, styled the Chancellor, a Frenchman, AD. 1120. He wrote a history of the capture of Antioch by the christians, AD. 1115; and their loss of it, in 1119, when *Guaterius* himself was taken prisoner; extant in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. Tom. i. p. 441.

Hugo, a Benedictine monk of Fleury, AD. 1120. He wrote a chronicon, in six Books, from *Ninus* king of Assyria, to *Lewis* the Meek, AD. 840: and an Epilogue, embracing the transactions of *Lewis* the Meek: also two Books de regia potestate, et sacerdotali dignitate.

Robert, surnamed *Retensis*, an English student and traveller, who flourished AD. 1120. He travelled through France, Italy, Dalmatia, and Greece, into Syria, where he stayed long, and acquired the Arabic language. Returning, he settled in Spain, studied astrology, and was made archdeacon of Pampeluna. He abridged the Koran, and translated it into Latin. *Huet* pronounces the translation a wretched one.

Eadmer, *Edmer*, *Ediner*, or *Edmund*, an English Benedictine monk, of Canterbury; the pupil, and friend, and biographer of *Anselm*, archbishop of Canterbury. He flourished AD. 1121; and was for a time bishop of St. Andrews, in Scotland; but resigned the see, about AD. 1124, and spent his old age at Canterbury. He wrote *Historia Novorum*, sive *sui sæculi*, in six Books, from AD. 1066, to 1122; which has been highly extolled; the life of St. *Anselm*, in two Books; and a few tracts on moral subjects. All the above are printed with the works of *Anselm*. He also wrote the life of St. *Wilfrid*, archbishop of York; extant in *Mabillon's*, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæcul. iii. P. i.* Numerous other tracts, historical and religious, are said to exist in manuscript, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Peter Maurice, the *Venerable*, born of a noble French family; first a soldier, and then a monk of Clugni, where he was abbot from AD. 1123 to 1156. *Pontius*, the former abbot of Clugni, gave him trouble, during the first years of his abbacy. In 1126, he commenced preaching and writing against *Peter de Bruiis*. In 1140, he received *Abelard*, and reconciled both *Bernard* and the pope to him. He visited Italy on important business, in 1145, and 1150, and was highly honored by pope *Eugene*, and the citizens of Rome. He wrote *Epistolarum Libri vi.* Tracts against the Jews; against heresies, and Islamism; against the Petrobrusians; on the transfiguration of Christ; on a translation of the Koran, procured by him; and a few other pieces; all published in the *Biblioth. Cluniacensis*, Paris 1614, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxii.

Fulcherius Carnotensis, a monk, or presbyter, who accompanied *Robert* duke of Normandy, in the first crusade; of which he wrote a history, entitled *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem peregrinantium*, ab anno 1095, ad annum usque 1124, composed in a coarse style. It was published, imperfect, in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*; and complete, in *Duchesne's* *Scriptores Francici*, Paris 1640. Tom. iv. p. 816.

Honorius II, pope, AD. 1124—1130, has left us eleven epistles.

Herveus, a Benedictine monk, of Dol, AD. 1130, wrote a commentary on the epistles of Paul; attributed to St. *Anselm*, and printed among his works.

Innocent II, pope, AD. 1130—1143, has left us fifty epistles.

Simeon, an Englishman, educated at Oxford, where he taught philosophy and theology. Afterwards, he became a Benedictine monk, and precentor in the cathedral of Durham. Here he examined carefully the remains of the library, which the Danes had much injured; and collecting materials from every quarter, became an author. He flourished AD. 1130; and wrote a history of the church of Durham, from AD. 635, to 1096; which another hand continued to AD. 1154; a tract concerning the archbishops of York; another, on the siege of Durham; and a history of the English and Danish kings, from AD. 730, to 1130; which *John de Hexam* continued to 1155, and from which *Roger Hoveden* took nearly the whole of his history. These works of *Simeon* were published by *Twissden*, in his *scriptores x. Anglici*, Lond. 1652.

Alger, a deacon and schoolmaster at Liege, during many years, and then a monk of Clugai, under *Peter Maurice*. He flourished AD. 1130; and wrote de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, adversus Berengarium, Libri iii. extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*. Tom. xxi. besides some other things, not published.

William of Malmbury was a native of Somersetshire, a Benedictine monk, and librarian and preceptor of the monastery of Malmbury, where he flourished, from 1130, to 1143. He wrote a history of the kings of England, in five books, from the first arrival of the Saxons, AD. 449, to the 20th year of *Henry I.* AD. 1127: a continuation of it in two books, to AD. 1143; a history of the English bishops, from the arrival of Augustine, to his own times, in four books. These works were collected and published, by *Saville*, Lond. 1596. Fol. and Francf. 1601. His life of St. *Aldhelm*, bishop of Sherburn, is in *Mabillon's* *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæcul. i. p. i.* Some other works of this celebrated English historian, are said to exist still in manuscript.

Philip, bishop of Tarentum, from AD. 1136, to 1138, when he was deposed for not adhering to *Peter Leonis*, the antipope, went to France, and became a monk at Clairvaux, under *St. Bernard*. In 1150, he was made prior, and 1156, abbot of a convent in the diocese of Chartres; which however he resigned before his death, and returned to Clairvaux. He has left us twenty-five epistles; published by *Charles du Visch*, subjoined to his *Scriptores Ordinis Cisterciensis* p. 336.

Peter, born at Rome, AD. 1110, a student and monk at Monte Cassino, AD. 1115—1137, then legate to the emperor *Lotharius*, who employed him at his court till his death. He wrote *de viris illustribus monasterii Casinensis Libri ii. Liber quartus Chronici Casinensis* (AD. 1086—1138,) *de notis literarum Romanorum*; besides numerous tracts never published.

Guerric, a disciple of *St. Bernard*, a canon and schoolmaster at Tours, and then a Cistercian abbot in the diocese of Rheims; died AD. 1157. He wrote sermons on the lessons for the year; printed in an appendix to the works of *Bernard*, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxiii.

Philip Herweg, called *Eleemosynarius*, abbot of Good Hope in Hainault, AD. 1140; died 1180. He wrote twenty-one epistles; a mystic commentary on the Canticles; Morals on the Canticles; on Nebuchadnezzar's dream; on the fall of man; on the condemnation of Solomon; six tracts on the dignity and virtues of clergymen; a life of *Augustine*; and lives of eight other saints; all published, Douay, 1620. Fol.

Orderic Vitalis, an Englishman, born at Attingham, AD. 1075, sent to Normandy at the age of 11, where he became a monk, deacon, and presbyter, and flourished about AD. 1140. He wrote an Ecclesiastical History, in 12 books, from the birth of Christ, to AD. 1142; published by *Du Chesne*, among his *Scriptores Normannici*, Paris 1619, Fol. p. 321.

Arnulph, bishop of Luxen, in Normandy, AD. 1141. He accompanied *Lewis* king of France in his crusade to Palestine, AD. 1147; was made papal legate to England, in 1160, and much employed in public business, till near his death, AD. 1182. Many of his sermons, epistles, and epigrams, were published at Paris, 1585. 8vo. and then in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxii. Some others have since been published.

Coelestine II, pope, AD. 1143—1144, has left us three epistles.

Lucius II, pope, AD. 1144—1145, has left us 12 epistles.

Amedeus, bishop of Lausanne, AD. 1144—1158. He wrote 8 homilies in praise of the virgin Mary; in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xx.

Otho, or *Otto*, of Frisingen; of royal German extract; and uncle to the emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*. He studied at Paris, became a Cistercian monk and abbot, was made bishop of Frisingen, AD. 1138, engaged in the second crusade, AD. 1147, resigned his bishopric in 1156, and died two years after. He wrote a chronological history of the world, from the creation, to AD. 1146, in 8 books; with an 8th book on the general consummation; also the life and reign of *Frederic Barbarossa*, in 2 books. Both have been often published, and particularly among the *German Historians*, AD. 1585, and 1670. Tom. i.

Robert Pulleyn, or *Pullus*, a distinguished English theologian and scholar. He was made archdeacon of Rochester; but, to avoid the confusion of a civil war, retired to Paris, and studied there some time. He returned in 1130, and read lectures at Oxford for five years, and preached every Sunday. He afterwards returned to Paris; and being deprived of the revenues of his archdeaconry, he appealed to the pope, AD. 1144, who invited him to Rome, and made him a cardinal. He died AD. 1150. His only work, that has reached us, is *Sententiarum de Trinitate Libri viii*. It is a system of theology; but, unlike *Peter Lombard's* Sentences, it is not a mere compilation from the fathers, but a biblical and argumentative treatise, in which he shows himself a profound and orthodox divine. It was published by *Mathoud*, Paris 1655. Fol.

Eugene III, pope, AD. 1145—1153, has left us 89 epistles.

John Burgundio, a native of Pisa, flourished AD. 1143, died 1194. He translated many homilies of *Chrysostom*, *John Damascenus* de fide orthodoxa, and *Nemesius's* 8 books on philosophy.

Anselm, bishop of Havelburg in the duchy of Brandenburg, AD. 1149, author of three dialogues against the Greeks; published by *Dachery*, Spicileg. Tom. xiii.

Gilbert Folioth, an Englishman, abbot of Leicester, and AD. 1149, bishop of Hereford, and AD. 1161—1187, bishop of London. He was competitor with *Thomas Becket* for the see of Canterbury; and ever after, sided with the king, against Becket. The king employed him much. He was twice excommunicated.

ted by the pope, which he did not regard. His commentary on the Canticles, was published by *Junius*, Lond. 1638. 4to. and 8 of his epistles, are among the epistles of *Becket*, ed. Brussels, 1682.

Henry of Huntingdon, the son of a married English priest, canon of Lincoln, and archdeacon of Huntingdon; flourished AD. 1150. He wrote *Historia Anglorum*, ab ipsis gentis primordiis usque ad Stephani regis mortem, (AD. 1154,) Libris viii. published by *Saville*, Lond. 1596. Fol. and Francf. 1601.

Ailred, *Ealred*, or *Aelfred*, either a Scot, or an Englishman; a cistercian monk, and abbot of *Revesby* in Lincolnshire; flourished AD. 1150, and died in 1166. He wrote the life and miracles of *St. Edward*, king and confessor; genealogy of the kings of England; de bello Standardii tempore Stephani regis; *Historia de sanctimoniali de Walthun*: published by *Twissden*, Lond. 1652. Also sermons on the lessons for the year; thirty-one sermons on *Isaiah*; *speculum charitatis*, Lib. iii. *Tractatus de puero Jesu duodecenni*; de spirituali amicitia, Lib. iii: published in the *Bibliotheca Cisterciaria*, Tom. v. and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxiii.

Alanus de Insulis, a Fleming, and monk of *Clairvaux*; an abbot, and AD. 1151—1167, bishop of *Auxerre*; but he resigned his bishopric, and retired to *Clairvaux*, where he died AD. 1182. He wrote a life of *St. Bernard*, published by *Mabillon*, in the *Opera Bernardi*.

Galfriad, called also *Arthur*, bishop of *St. Asaph*, AD. 1151—1175; author of a history of Britain, from the earliest times, to his own age, in twelve Books; a work, not in much repute; published, Paris 1517. 4to. and among the *Scriptores Britanniae minores*, Heidelb. 1587. Fol.

Potho, a Benedictine monk, of *Prum* in the diocess of *Treves*, AD. 1152. He wrote de statu domus Dei Lib. v. and de domo sapientiae Liber: in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Tom. xxi.

Nicolaus, a Cistercian monk of *Clairvaux*, and secretary to *St. Bernard*; but being accused of forging letters in *Bernard's* name, he fled into Italy, and long aspersed the character of *Bernard*. A Book of his epistles is in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxi: also a Book of his sermons, in the *Biblioth. Cisterciensis*, Tom. iii.

Anastasius IV, pope AD. 1153—1154, has left us thirteen epistles.

Hadrian IV. (*Nicolas Breakspear*.) the only Englishman that ever filled the papal throne. Disappointed of an English monastery, he went to France, studied at Paris, became an Augustinian monk, prior and abbot, at *St. Rufus*, near *Valence*. Going to Rome on business, *Eugene III*, created him a cardinal, and bishop of *Alba*. In 1148, he was papal legate to Norway and Denmark. In 1154, he succeeded to the papal chair, till his death in 1159. He has left us forty-four epistles.

Elizabeth, a German Benedictine nun, and abbess of *Schönlhaugen*, in the diocess of *Treves*, where she died AD. 1165, aged thirty-six years. She wrote her *Visions or Revelations*, in three Books; and a Book of epistles: published, Cologne 1628.

Ecbert, a German Benedictine monk, and abbot of *St. Florin*, in *Schoonhoven*; flourished AD. 1154; and wrote thirteen Discourses against the Cathari; and the life of *Elizabeth*, his sister, the abbess of *Schönlhaugen*. His discourses are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxiii.

Radulphus Niger, a Benedictine monk, in the diocess of *Beauvais*, who flourished AD. 1157, (and not in the preceding century, as some suppose.) His commentary on *Leviticus*, in twenty Books, published in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xvii. has been much commended. The commentary on the Canticles, ascribed to *St. Gregory*, and printed with his works, was the production of *Radulph*.

Zacharias, bishop of *Chrysopolis*, or a *Praemonstatensian* monk of *St. Martin* of *Tours*; AD. 1157. He wrote four Books of commentaries on the *Movortg-ſapov*, or Harmony of the four Gospels, by *Ammonius* of *Alexandria*; published, Cologne 1535. Fol. and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xix.

Alexander III, pope AD. 1159—1181, has left us 337 opistles.

John de Hexam, a native of *Hexam* in *Northumberland*, and an Augustinian monk, AD. 1160. He continued the history of *Simeon Dunelmensis*, from 1130, to 1155; see above, p. 286.

Folmar, head of the monastery of *Triefenstein*, in *Franconia*; about AD. 1160. He opposed the received doctrine of transubstantiation, for a time; but recanted.

Some of his epistles were published by *J. Gretser*, subjoined to his *Scriptores coetanei adv. Waldenses*, Ingolst. 1613, 4to.

Adam, a Scot, and regular canon of the order of Praemonstrants; flourished AD. 1160; and died about AD. 1180. He wrote a commentary on the rule of St. Augustine; a tract on the triple tabernacle of Moses; on the three kinds of meditation; and forty-seven sermons; published, Antw. 1659. Fol.

John Belahus, rector of the theological school at Paris, AD. 1162, (alii, AD. 1328,) author of *Rationale divinorum officiorum*; published, Antw. 1570. 8vo. Lyons 1583, and 1592. 8vo.

Arnold Carnotensis, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Bonneval, in the diocese of Chartres; an intimate friend of St. Bernard, and still living AD. 1162. He wrote a number of treatises on practical religion; published at the close of *Cyprian's Works*, ed. Oxon. 1682.

Bonacarsus, of Milan, teacher among the Cathari, AD. 1163. His *Vita Catharorum Haereticorum*, is in *Dachery's Spicileg.* Tom. xiii.

Helmold, a presbyter of Lubec, and a canon; died AD. 1170. He wrote *Chronicon Sclavorum*, from the times of Charlemagne, to AD. 1168; published by *Hen. Bangert*, Lubec 1659, 4to.

Godfrey Viterbiensis, an Italian of Viterbo; a presbyter, and secretary to the successive emperors, Conrad III, Frederic I, and Henry VI. He travelled much, during forty years; and became acquainted with Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldaic. His death was in 1186. He wrote a universal history, entitled *Pantheon* or *Chronicon universale*, dedicated to pope Urban III; extending from the creation, to AD. 1186: a work of vast compass; published by *J. Pistorius*, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*. Francf. 1584.

Sazo Grammaticus, a Dane, born of an honorable family in Zeland, dean of the cathedral of Roschild, and much esteemed by *Absalom*, archbishop of Lund, who sent him to Paris on business, and prompted him to write his history of Denmark. He flourished AD. 1170; and died AD. 1204. His *Historiae Danicae Libri xvi.* from the earliest times, to AD. 1186, is written in a florid style, and is highly esteemed: best edited, by *S. J. Stephanus*, Sorae 1644. Fol.

Hildegardis, a German abbess of St. Rupert, on the Rhine; born at Spanheim AD. 1098, and died AD. 1180. Her visions or revelations were solemnly approved and sanctioned, by St. Bernard, by many leading bishops of France and Germany, by three different popes, and by a council at Troyes. She wrote *Scivias*, seu *Visionum sive Revelationum Libri iii*: Life of St. Robert, a confessor; thirty-eight epistles; Miscellanies; and an exposition of the rule of St. Benedict: published, Cologne 1566; and most of them also, Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. xxiii.

William of Tyre. Whether born in France, Germany, or Palestine, he is supposed to have been related to the kings of Jerusalem. He was made archdeacon of Tyre AD. 1167; soon after, was sent on business to Constantinople; in 1169, undertook a journey to Europe; on his return, was tutor to *Baldwin*, the prince; and AD. 1174, archbishop of Tyre. In the year 1178, he was at the council of the Lateran; and he spent some months at Constantinople. In 1188, Jerusalem being taken by the Saracens, he went to Europe, to solicit aid of the kings of England and France. He opposed the election of *Heradius* to the bishopric of Jerusalem; who compassed his death by poison, but in what year, is unknown. He wrote a history of the crusades to Palestine, from AD. 1096, to the year 1180, in twenty-three Books; (very highly esteemed,) and published Basil 1549, and 1560, and by *Bongarsius*, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Tom. i. p. 625.

Hugo Etherianus, a Tuscan, who went to Constantinople, and was patronized by the emperor Manuel. He flourished AD. 1177, and wrote and disputed strenuously against the Greeks. His tract on the intermediate state of the soul, and his three Books on the procession of the Holy Spirit, against the Greeks, were published, Basil 1543, and in the Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. xxii.

Richard, Hagulstadiensis; a monk and prior of Hauston, in Northumberland, England; flourished AD. 1180, and died in 1190. He wrote *Historia de statu et episcopis Hagulstadensis (Hauston) ecclesiae*; *Historia de gestis regis Stephani*; and, *de bello Standardii* AD. 1135; published by *Twisden*, *Scriptores* x. Angliæ, Lond. 1662.

Lucius III, pope, AD. 1181—1185, has left us two epistles.

Peter Cellensis; abbot of the monastery of Celles, near Troyes; and then of St. Remigius, at Rheims; and, AD. 1182—1187, bishop of Chartres. He wrote

de panibus Liber; Mosaici Tabernaculi mystica expositio, Libri ii. de conscientia Liber; Epistolarum Libri ix; de disciplina claustrali Liber; and sermons on the lessons for the year: all published by the Benedictine monks, Paris 1671.

Gaufrid, a French monk, prior and presbyter of Limoges, AD. 1183; and author of a *Chronicon*, relating especially to the history of France, from AD. 996, to 1184: published by *Labbe*, Biblioth. Nov. MS. Tom. ii.

Balduin, an English schoolmaster, a Cistercian monk and abbot; bishop of Worcester, AD. 1181; and archbishop of Canterbury, AD. 1185—1191. He accompanied king *Richard I.* in his crusade, and died in the siege of Ptolemais. He wrote *sixteen* tracts on practical religion; de commendatione fidei, et de sacramento altaris: all extant in the Biblioth. Cisterciens. Tom. v.

Urban III., pope, AD. 1185—1187; has left us *five* epistles.

Gregory VIII., pope, AD. 1187—1187; has left us *three* epistles.

Clement III., pope, AD. 1187—1191; has left us *seven* epistles.

Celestine III., pope, AD. 1191—1198; has left us *seventeen* epistles.

Stephen, a monk and abbot of Orleans, and of Paris; one of the council of regents, during the crusade of *Philip Augustus*, AD. 1190: and bishop of Tournay, AD. 1192—1202. He wrote, between AD. 1163, and the time of his death, two hundred and seventy-eight epistles; published, Paris 1682, 8vo. also thirty-one sermons, chiefly on the festivals; and a commentary on the Decretum of *Gratian*; which are still in manuscript.

William Neubergensis, or Neubrigensis, surnamed *Pervus*; born at Bridlington, in Yorkshire, AD. 1136; a regular Augustinian canon, in the monastery of Bridlington; where he died, AD. 1208, aged 72. He wrote, in a good Latin style, de rebus Anglicis sui temporis Libri v. from AD. 1066, to the year 1197: best edited by *J. Picard*, Paris 1610. 8vo.

Radulphus de Diceto, dean of St. Paul's, London. He was a traveller; flourished AD. 1197; and wrote a brief Chronology, from the creation, to AD. 1198; and Imagines Historiarum ab anno 1148, ad annum 1200: both published by *Twissen*, Scriptores x. Anglici, London 1652.

John Brompton, an English Cistercian monk and abbot, near York, AD. 1198; the reputed author of the Chronicon ab anno 588, ad annum 1198: published by *Twissen*, Scriptores x. Anglici, Lond. 1652.

Roger de Hoveden, a native of York, of illustrious English descent, one of the household of king *Henry II.* and then chief professor of theology at Oxford; flourished, AD. 1198; author of Annalium Anglicanorum Libri ii. from AD. 731, (where *Beda* ends,) to AD. 1202; published by *Saville*, Historici Anglici, Lond. 1596 Fol. and Francf. 1601.

Galfrid, or *Gualter Vinasauf*, (de *Vino Saluo*.) a Norman English poet and historian, who flourished AD. 1199; author of Historia, sive Itinerarium Richardi Anglorum regis in terram sanctam; and, Poemata de glorioso rege Richardo; published among the Historiæ Anglicanæ scriptores, Oxford 1687. Tom. ii. also of some other works, never published. Tr.]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. Corrupt state of religion.—§ 2. Corruption of the mass of people, and extreme superstition, shown by examples.—§ 3. Scandalous traffic in indulgences.—§ 4. The pontiffs soon claim a monopoly of it.—§ 5. Biblical theology.—§ 6. Doctrinal theology.—§ 7. The proper *scholastics*.—§ 8. The biblical and dogmatic theologians.—§ 9. Opposers of scholastic theology.—§ 10. Its principal antagonist, St. Bernard.—§ 11. And others.—§ 12. State of moral or practical theology.—§ 13. Polemic theology.—§ 14. Controversies between the Greeks and the Latins.—§ 15. Slighter contests among the former.—§ 16. Their controversy respecting John xiv. 28.—§ 17. Concerning the God of Muhammed.—§ 18. Controversy among the Latins, respecting the Lord's supper.—§ 19. Concerning the immaculate conception of Mary.

§ 1. So many causes conspired to debase religion, and to tarnish and obscure its lustre, by the numberless inventions of human ingenuity, that it may seem strange, it was not wholly destroyed. In the first place, the Roman pontiffs would have nothing taught, which militated against their arrogated supremacy; and therefore required christianity to be explained and modified, so as to subserve that form of government, which their predecessors had designated. Such as would not obey their laws, or shewed that they regarded the holy scriptures more than the authority of the Romish see, were cruelly destroyed with fire and sword. Next, the priests and monks, finding it for their interest that the people should be entirely ignorant and undiscerning, amused them with a species of theatric shews, and placed all religion in empty ceremonies, corporeal austerities and inflictions, and respect and reverence for the clergy. The scholastic doctors united the precepts of the dialecticians with the dicta of the fathers, as constituting a standard of truth; and did not so much explain the principles of revealed religion, as dissect them all away. Their opposers, the *mystics*, maintained that the soul of one truly pious does not move spontaneously, but by a divine impulse; and thus they did not merely set bounds to human ability, but destroyed it altogether.

§ 2. Hence, instead of religion, astonishing superstition and ignorance reigned every where among the people. Most persons placed more reliance upon relics,—generally false, or at least dubious and uncertain,—than upon *Christ*, or his merits, and upon prayers founded on his mediation.(1) The rich, who were able themselves to build churches, or to contribute money to their erection and repair, esteemed themselves very happy, and the favorites of heaven: and the poor, who were unable to do so, cheer-

(1) See *Guibert* of Nogent's three Books, *de pignoribus* (thus they styled *relics*) *sanctorum*; in his Works, published by *Dachery*, p. 327 &c. where this discerning man assails the superstition of his age.

fully submitted to the offices of beasts, in transporting stones and drawing carts, whenever a church was to be built; and they expected eternal salvation for these voluntary hardships.(2) Departed saints had more supplicants, than God himself, and the savior of mankind: nor was there much enquiry, (as there was in after times,) how glorified spirits obtain a knowledge of the prayers addressed to them. For the old notion, derived by the christians from the pagans, that the celestials often descend to this lower world, and linger about the places to which in their life time they were attached, prevailed universally, until the *scholastic* doctors gave this subject a particular discussion.(3) If any man or woman, either from a disordered state of mind, or from a design to deceive, laid claims to divine revelations, the people at large unhesitatingly believed, that God himself had conversed with them, in order to instruct the world. This is manifest from the examples of the celebrated German prophetesses, *Hildegardis* abbess of Bingen, and *Elisabeth* abbess of Schönaugen.(4)

§ 3. This ignorance and superstition of the people, the rulers of the church basely abused for their own emolument, or to extort money: and each order of the clergy had its own peculiar artifices for fleecing the people of their property. The *bishops*, when they had occasion to raise money, either for good and laudable objects or for base and criminal ones, allowed transgressors to buy off the penalties enjoined by the canons, by advancing money for certain religious purposes; that is, they published *indulgencies*: and, what mighty enterprises, and what expensive works, were accomplished in this age, by means of *indulgencies*, is known to all.(5) The *abbots* and the *monks*, who had not this power, resorted to other means for raising money. They travelled about the villages, and through provinces, carrying in solemn procession the carcases and relics of holy men, which they allowed the people to see, to handle, and to kiss, by paying for the privilege. In this way, they often amassed as great gains, as the bishops by their *indulgences*.(6)

(2) See the tract of the abbot *Haymo* on this very custom; annexed by *Mabilony* to the sixth volume of his *Annales Benedictini*; and also those *Annals*, p. 362 &c.

(3) That I may not be thought to give a false representation, I will quote a very explicit passage from the life of *St. Altmann*, bishop of Passau; in *Sebast. Tagnagel's* *Collectio veter. monumentor.* p. 41. Vos licet, Sancti Domini, somno vestro requiescatis—haud tamen crediderim, Spiritus vestros deesse locis, quae viventes tanta devotione construxistis et dilexistis. Credo vos adesse cunctis illis degentibus, astare videlicet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus et vota singulorum in conspectu divinae majestatis promovere.

(4) See *Mabilony's* *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 431, 529, 554. [See the notice of these prophetesses, in the preceding chapter, (note (71) p. 288 and 289. Tr.]

(5) *Stephanus* Obazinensis; in *Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. iv. p. 130. *Mabilony*, *Annales Benedictini*, Tom. vi. p. 535 &c.

(6) Innumerable examples of this mode of extorting money, may be collected from the records of this age. See the *Chronicon Centulense*, in *Dachery's* *Spicilegium veter. scriptor.* Tom. ii. p. 354: the Life of *St. Romana*; *ibid.* p. 137.

§ 4. The Roman pontiffs, perceiving what advantages the inferior bishops derived from their *indulgencies*, concluded that the power of the bishops to remit ecclesiastical penalties, ought to be circumscribed, and the prerogative be almost wholly transferred to the Roman see. Accordingly they began, as the necessities or convenience of the church, or their own interests required, to publish, not merely the common and ordinary, but likewise the entire and absolute, or the *plenary*, remission of all finite or *temporal* penalties; and they cancelled, not only the punishments which the canons and human tribunals inflict, but also those to be endured after death; which the bishops had never attempted to set aside.(7) They first resorted to this power, for the sake of promoting the crusades; and were sparing in the use of it; but afterwards, they exerted it for objects of far less importance, and of various kinds, and very often, merely for their private emolument.(8) Upon the introduction of this new system, the ancient system of canonical and ecclesiastical penances was wholly subverted; and the books of canons and the *penitentials* being laid aside, transgressors were no longer under restraints. To support this proceeding of the pontiffs, an unheard of doctrine was got up in this century, which *St. Thomas* in the next century improved and perfected; namely, that there is an immense treasury of good works, which holy men have performed over and above what duty required; and that the Roman pontiff is the keeper and the distributor of this treasure; so that he is able, out of this inexhaustable fund, to give and transfer to every one such an amount of good works as his necessities require, or as will suffice to avert the punishment of his sins. This miserable and pernicious fiction, it is to be lamented, is still retained and defended.

§ 5. This century abounded in expositors of the holy scriptures, if one may judge from the multitude of works professedly of this character; but if we estimate them by their skill and ability, there were almost none at all. For very few enquired after the literal sense of the scriptures; and even these were destitute of the requisite means of ascertaining it.(9) Both the Greeks and the La-

Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 342, 644. *Acta Sanctor. mensis Maii*, Tom. vii. p. 533. in the Acts of *St. Marculus*; where a long journey of such relics is described. *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* Tom. iv. p. 519, 520. and Tom. ii. p. 732.

(7) *Jo. Morin*, de Administratione sacramenti poenitentiae, Lib. x. cap. 10, 21, 22. p. 768 &c. *Rich. Simon*, *Biblioth. Critique*, Tom. iii. cap. 33. p. 371. *Jo. Mabillon*, Preface to the 5th Century of his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* p. lxxi &c. I designedly refer to none of the Protestant writers.

(8) *Lud. Ant. Muratori*, *Antiq. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. v. p. 761 &c. *Franc. Pagi*, *Breviar. Romanor. Pontif.* Tom. ii. p. 60. *Theod. Ruinart*, *Vita Urbani II.* in his *Opp.* posthum. Tom. iii. p. 331.

(9) [One considerable cause of this incompetence, was that the monks, among whom nearly all the learning of the age was to be found, held it to be unlawful to learn Hebrew from Jewish teachers. A certain monk, (as we learn from the statutes of the Cistercians, AD. 1198, no. 24 in *Edm. Martene's Thesaur. nov. anecdot.* Tom. iv. p. 1292.) had learned Hebrew from a Jew; and the abbot of

tins, were governed entirely by the authority of the fathers ; and compiled from their writings, without discrimination or care, whatever seemed to throw light on the inspired volumes. The reader may inspect, among the Greeks, *Euthymius Zigabenus'* exposition of the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles ; though he offers many remarks of his own, which are not contemptible ; and among the Latins, the labors of *Peter Lombard*, *Gilbert Porretanus*, and *Abelard*, on the Psalms of David and on the Epistles of Paul. Nor is higher commendation due to the best Latin expositors of nearly the whole bible, in this century ; such as *Gislebert*, [or *Gilbert*,] bishop of London, called the *Universal*, on account of the extent of his erudition ;(10) and *Herveus*, a very laborious Benedictine monk.(11) Somewhat superior to the rest of the Latins, was *Rupert* of Duytz, who expounded various books of the scriptures ; and with him may be coupled *Anselm* of Laon, who composed, or rather compiled, a *Glossa*, as it was called, on the sacred books. Those who chose not to tread in the steps of the ancients, and ventured to try the powers of their own genius, disregarding simplicity, searched after mysteries of every sort, on the sacred pages. And in this species of interpretation, none excelled more than the *mystic* doctors, as they are called ; for they explained the whole bible, in conformity with the visions of their own minds, and the ideal systems of their own formation. Moreover, those interpreters who made dialectics and philosophy their study, pursued the same course, in their expositions of the scriptures. This mode of interpretation may be seen, distinctly, in *Hugo* of St. Victor's *Allegorical explanations of both Testaments*, in *Richard* of St. Victor's *Mystical Ark*, in *William* of Nogent's *Mystical commentaries on Obadiah, Hosea, and Amos* ;(12) and in some others.

§ 6. The most distinguished teachers of theology resided at Paris : and of course, students in theology from all parts of Europe, resorted to Paris, in order to attend the lectures of theologians who there taught. The professors of theology in France were divided into several sects. One sect was, that of the *ancient theologians*, who supported their religious tenets, simply, by

Clairvaux was directed to investigate the matter, and to bring the monk to punishment. The French Benedictines, in their *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, Tom. ix. can find among the vast multitude of clergymen who made pilgrimages to Palestine, only three persons, who in that way acquired a knowledge of the Arabic and Greek ; namely *William* of Tyre, one *Philip*, and the Englishman *Adelard*. See *Semler's* Hist. Eccles. Selecta Cap. Tom. iii. p. 161. *Schl.*]

(10) Concerning him, see *Guil. le Boeuf*, *Memoires concernant l' Histoire d' Auxerre*, Tome ii. p. 486. [He wrote notes on all the Old and New Testaments, and likewise commentaries on certain books, none of which were ever published. *Schl.*]

(11) An ample account of him, is given by *Gabr. Liron*, *Singularités Historiques et litteraires*, Tom. iii. p. 29 &c. Add *Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 477, 719.

(12) His Prologue on Obadiah, was published by *Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 637 &c.

the declarations of holy scripture, and by the opinions of the fathers and the decisions of councils ; and very rarely introduced any thing of human reasoning. Such in this century, were *St. Bernard*, *Peter* the Chanter, *Gualter* of *St. Victor*, and others ; who strenuously contended against the *philosophic theologians*. Not totally distinct from this sect, was that which was afterwards called by the name of the *Positive* and the *Sententiarii* : for these, following the example of *Anselm* of *Canterbury*, *Lanfranc*, *Hildebert*, and others of the preceding century, supported religious doctrines principally by citations from scripture and the writings of the fathers ; but also resorted to reason and philosophy, especially for solving difficulties and refuting objections ; and in the use of this resort, some of them were more moderate and cautious, and others less so. The first in this century, who thus explained the principles of religion systematically, is said to be *Hugo* of *St. Victor* ; who was succeeded by many others. But the first rank in this species of labor, belongs to *Peter Lombard*, that is, an Italian of *Lombardy*, and archbishop of *Paris* ; whose *four Books of sentences*, having appeared after the year 1162, (13) at once acquired such authority, that all the doctors began to expound them. And some tell us, that all the doctors of much note, except *Henry* of *Ghent*, and a few others, commented upon this *Master of the Sentences* ; as *Lombard* was called, on account of this work. (14)

§ 7. These *Sententiarii*, as they were called, though not without faults, nor entirely free from vain and futile speculations, yet resort to dialectical subtleties with moderation, and do not force the doctrines of revelation to yield submission to human sagacity. But, contemporary with them, arose another and more daring sect of theologians, who had no hesitation, to apply the terms and the distinctions of the dialecticians to the truths taught by revelation, and to investigate the nature and relations of those truths by the principles of logic. The author of this mode of treating theology, which was afterwards called the *scholastic*, because it prevailed in nearly all the schools, was *Peter Abelard*, a man of great acuteness, who was first a canon, and a celebrated teacher as well of philosophy as of theology, and afterwards a monk, and abbot of *Ruys*. (15) Eager for the applause which he had obtained, others without number, in *France*, in *England*, and in *Italy*, pursued the same course. In this way, the peaceful religion of *Jesus* was soon converted into the science of wrangling. For these men did not explain any thing, but by multiplying divisions and distinctions obscured and perplexed the plainest truths ; wea-

(13) *Erpold Lindenbrog's* *Scriptores rerum septemtrion*. p. 25.

(14) A host of these interpreters are exhibited by *Ant. Possevin*, *Biblioth. Selecta*, Tom. i. Lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 242.—For a notice of *Peter Lombard*, and his *Books of the Sentences*, see note (65) p. 282. Tr.]

(15) This is acknowledged by *Abelard* himself ; *Epist.* i. c. 9. Opp. p. 20. See also *Jo. Launoy*, *de scholis Caroli Magni*, cap. lix. Opp. Tom. iv. p. 67.

ried both themselves and others, with useless and abstruse speculations; so argued on both sides of the most important questions, as to leave them undecided; and, as there were many things in religion, which were inadequately expressed in the phraseology of dialectics, they gave occasion for idle and vain-glorious disputants to invent new terms, and to perplex themselves and others with enigmatical trifles.(16)

§ 8. From this time, therefore, the teachers of theology began to be divided into two classes, the *biblical*, who were called *veteres*, [the *ancient*,] and also, *Dogmatici ac Positivi*; and the *scholastic*, who were called the *Sententiarii*, and also, *novi* [the *new*]. The former interpreted the sacred volume in their schools, though for the most part miserably; and explained religious doctrines nakedly and artlessly, without calling reason and philosophy to their aid, and confirmed them by the testimonies of *scripture* and *tradition*. The latter did nothing but explain the *Master of the Sentences*, or *Lombard*; and they brought all the doctrines of faith, as well as the principles and precepts of practical religion, under the dominion of philosophy, and involved them in endless perplexities.(17) And as these *philosophical* or *scholastic* theologians were deemed superior to the others in acumen and ingenuity, young men admired them, and listened to them with the greatest attention; whereas the *biblical* doctors, or those of the *sacred page*, as they were called, had very few, and sometimes no pupils.(18) This state of things prevailed generally, in the schools of Europe, down to the times of *Luther*.

§ 9. But before these dialectical and metaphysical doctors could obtain such an ascendancy in the schools, they had to pass through many perils, contests, and disasters. For they were opposed on the one hand, by the *ancient divines*; and on the other, by the *mystics*, who supposed true wisdom is to be acquired, not by reasoning, but by silence and contemplation, and to be

(16) See *Caes. Egasse de Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. ii. p. 201 &c. p. 583 &c. *Ant. Wood*, *Antiquit. Oxonienses*, Tom. i. p. 58. *Jo. Launoy*, de varia *Aristotelis fortuna* in *Acad. Paris.* cap. iii. p. 187 &c. ed. *Elswick*, Vitemb. 1720. 8vo.

(17) See *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iii. p. 657 &c.

(18) *Roger Bacon*, in his larger work, addressed to the Roman pontiff Clement IV. (published from the manuscript, by *Sam. Jebb*, Lond. 1733. Fol.) P. ii. ch. iv. p. 28. says: "The Bachelor who lectures on the text, (of Scripture,) gives place to the lecturer on the *Sentences*, who is every where preferred and honored by all. For he who lectures on the *sentences*, has the best hour for reading, according to his choice; he has also an associate, and a chamber among the religious: but he who lectures on the Bible wants these, and begs for an hour to read, such as shall please the lecturer on the *Sentences*. Also, the man who lectures on the *Sentences*, disputes every where, and is accounted a *Master*; but the other, who lectures on the text, can not dispute, as was exemplified this year, at Bologna, and in many other places; which is absurd. It is therefore manifest, that the text is subordinate, in this faculty (theology), to the one dominant *Summa*."—These words clearly show, what estimation was then put upon the sacred volume, and what authority philosophical theology enjoyed. More remarks follow, in *Bacon*, well worth reading. He lived in the *thirteenth* century.

drawn from the inmost recesses of the soul. The old contest, therefore, between *faith* and *reason*, which had long been dormant among the Latins, was now revived, and produced great commotions every where. Of the patrons of the *old theology*, those who most violently assailed the *scholastics*, were *Guibert* of Nogent,(19) *Peter* Cellensis,(20) *Peter*, Cantor, or the precentor of Paris,(21) and others; but especially, *Gualter* of St. Victor, in his four books against the four labyrinths of France and the new heretics.(22) Of the *mystics*, *Joachim*, abbot of Flora,(23) *Richard* of St. Victor, and others, inveighed against them; and especially against *Lombard*, notwithstanding he was much more moderate than the true and proper *scholastics*. The contention and discord were so great, that the sovereign pontiff, *Alexander* III, in a very numerous and solemn convention, AD. 1164, condemned this immoderate licentiousness of disputing on sacred subjects;(24) and in the year 1179, he censured and disapproved of some things in the writings even of *Lombard*.(25)

§ 10. But there was no more potent adversary of the dialectic theologians in this century, than *St. Bernard*; whose zeal was immense, and his influence equal to his zeal. He therefore contended against them, not only with words, but with deeds, with ecclesiastical councils, and positive enactments. Bitter experience of this, was felt by *Peter Abelard*, the chief of the dialectic party at that time, and certainly a man of far more learning and acuteness than *St. Bernard*, though much inferior to him in influence. *Bernard* prosecuted him before the council of Soissons in 1121, and before that of Sens in 1140, accused him of many and very great errors, and at last procured his condemnation.(26) *Abelard* was said to have greatly corrupted the doctrine of three persons in the Godhead, to have attacked the majesty of the Holy Spirit, to have spoken dishonorably of the offices of Christ and of the union of the two natures in him, to have denied the doctrine of divine grace; in short, to have nearly subverted all reli-

(19) *Tropologiae in Oseam*; opp. p. 203.

(20) *Opuscula*; p. 277, 399, ed. Benedict.

(21) In his *Verbum Abbreviatum*, sive *Summa*; published at Mons, 1639, 4to. by *Geo. Galopin*; cap. iii. p. 6, 7.

(22) By the four *Labyrinths* of France, he intends *Abelard*, *Gilbert Porretanus*, *Lombard*, and *Peter* of Poitiers, who were the principal dialectic theologians of this century. See respecting this work, which was never published, *Boulay's* *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. ii. p. 619—659.

(23) [Among his writings, is a book against *Lombard*, de unitate seu essentia SS. Trinitatis; which was condemned in the fourth Lateran council, AD. 1215. See the *Histoire de l'Abbé Joachim*, surnommé le Prophète; Paris 1745, 3 vol. 12 mo. and *Fabricius*, *Historia mediae et infim. Lat. Lib. ix.* p. 107. *Schl.*]

(24) *Ant. Pagi*, *Critica in Baronium*, Tom. iv. ad ann. 1164. No. xxi. p. 615.

(25) *Math. Paris*, *Historia major*, p. 115. *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. ii. p. 402.

(26) See *Peter Bayle*, *Dictionnaire*, Artic. *Abelard*, p. 18. *Jac. Gervais*, *Vie d'Abelard et de Heloise*. *Jo. Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 63, 84, 324, 395. *Edm. Martene*, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* Tom. v. p. 1139: and numerous others.

gion. On some points, undoubtedly, *Abelard* expressed himself unsuitably and improperly; and his subtilty was not always without fault: but it is also manifest, that *St. Bernard*, wholly ignorant of philosophy, and distinguished rather for genius than for intellect, did not understand some of *Abelard's* propositions, and others of them he designedly perverted. For this good man used no moderation, either in praising or in censuring. (27)

§ 11. Nearly the same fate attended *Gilbert Porretanus*, who after teaching philosophy and theology with much reputation, at Paris and elsewhere, was made bishop of Poitiers. For his two archdeacons, *Arnald* and *Calo*, who had been trained in the schools of the ancient theologians, having heard him speak too metaphysically respecting the divine nature, accused him of blasphemy, before *Eugene III*, the pontiff, then in France; and to be more sure of success, they engaged *St. Bernard* on their side. *Bernard*, as was usual with him, prosecuted this business with the greatest vehemence, before the pontiff, first in the council of Paris, AD. 1147, and then in that of Rheims, the following year. In the latter council, *Gilbert*, in order to end the contest, submitted his opinions to the judgment of the council and the pope. All the errors charged upon *Gilbert*, indicate too great fondness for nice distinctions, and a disposition to bring the doctrines and truths of revelation under the empire of dialectics. For he nicely distinguished, not in reality, but only in conception, (*statu rationis*,) as metaphysicians say, between the essence of God and God himself, and also between the properties of the divine persons and the persons themselves: and, relying on these distinctions, he denied, that the divine nature became incarnate. To these he added other opinions, derived from the same source, which were rather fanciful and useless, than pernicious and false; but which the good *Bernard*, who was unaccustomed to such speculations, could not comprehend. (28)

§ 12. The state of moral or practical theology must be apparent, from what has been stated. Among the Greeks, *Philip the Solitary* has left us a tolerably neat tract, entitled *Dioptra*; in which he makes the soul to hold a dialogue with the body, and advances various thoughts calculated to promote piety. The

(27) See *Jac. Gervais*, Vie d' *Abelard*, Tome ii. p. 162. *Jo. le Clerc*, Biblioth. ancienne et moderne, Tome ix. p. 352 &c. *Dion. Petavius*, Dogmata Theol. Tom. i. Lib. v. c. 6. p. 217 &c. and *St. Bernard* himself, in many parts of his Works, which the index will point out. At last, after numerous vexations and sufferings, of which he himself has left a history, *Abelard* died, a monk of Clugni, AD. 1142. He was a great man, and worthy of a better age, and of better fortune. [See note (57) p. 280. Tr.]

(28) See *Boulay*, Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. ii. p. 223, 232 &c. *Mabillon*, Annales Benedict. Tom. vi. p. 343 &c. 415, 433. Gallia Christiana Benedictinor. Tom. ii. p. 1175. *Matth. Paris*, Historia major, p. 56. *Petavius*, Dogmata Theologica, Tom. i. Lib. i. cap. viii. *Longueval*, Histoire de l' Eglise Gallicane, Tome ix. p. 147 &c. [The acts of the councils which condemned the opinions of *Gilbert*, and which evince his great ingenuousness, are in *Harduin's* Collection, Tom. vi. P. ii. p. 1297. Schl.]

other Greeks are not worth naming. The Latin divines, who treated of the duties of the christian life, were of two classes; the one *scholastics*, the other *mystics*. The former treated of the virtues, as they did of the articles of faith; that is, in a dry, metaphysical manner; and generally combined moral theology with dogmatic. The latter very often express themselves beautifully, and in a manner suited to move the soul; yet without method or discrimination, and not unfrequently they tarnish christian gold with the dross of Platonism. Most of those, also, who expounded the holy scriptures, may be classed among the moral writers. For, neglecting the literal sense, they forcibly accommodated the language of the sacred writers to the inculcation of internal holiness and the regulation of the life. This is manifest from *Guibert's* *Morals* on Job, Amos, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah; as well as from others.

§ 13. The passion for wrangling philosophy, or dialectics, which had seized both the Greeks and the Latins, rendered them both pugnacious. At the same time, it led men far away from the true method of discussing religious subjects. For they did not argue, for the sake of elucidating the truth; but to confound and silence their adversary, with subtle distinctions, with words without meaning, with the authority of names, and even with sarcasms and fallacies. Among the Greeks, *Euthymius Zigabenus* composed a prolix work, against all heresies; which he entitled *Panoplia*. But, to say nothing of his vanity and extreme credulity, nearly all his proofs are derived, (as was the common fault of that age,) from the declarations of the earlier writers. *Constantine Harmenopulus* wrote a shorter book on the heretical sects. *Zonaras* inveighed against them in verse. Among the Latins, *Honorius* of Autun composed a book on the heresies; and *Abelard* attacked them all. The miserable and persecuted Jews were assailed by many of the Latins; by *Gilbert* of Castillon, (29) *Odo* [of Cambray,] *Peter Alfonsus*, *Rupert* of Duytz, *Peter Maurice*, *Richard* of St. Victor, and *Peter* of Blois; the merits of whose works can be easily estimated, by such as consider the character of that age. Against the Saracens, *Euthymius*, and some others appeared as polemics.

§ 14. The contests between the Greeks and the Latins, the subjects of which have already been mentioned, were carried on with great spirit, on both sides. On the part of the Greeks, *Euthymius*, *Nicetas*, and others; and on the part of the Latins, among others, *Anselm* of Havelburg, *Hugo Etherianus* and others, contended with zeal. (30) Negotiations for a compromise were repeatedly entered upon, both at Rome, and at Constanti-

(29) [Or *Gilbert*, surnamed Crispin, a monk of Bec. See note (71) pa. 284. Tr.]

(30) See *Leo Allatius*, de perpetua consensione ecclesiae Orientalis et Occident. Lib. ii cap. xix &c. p. 644 &c.

nople; at the instance especially of the Greek emperors of the *Comnenian* family, who supposed the friendship of the Latins would be very serviceable to the Greeks, in the almost desperate state of their public affairs. But as the Latins aimed at nothing short of absolute dominion over the Greeks, and the Greek patriarchs could by no means be persuaded to subject themselves entirely to the Roman pontiffs, and to anathematize their ancestors, these negotiations for peace had the effect, rather to irritate the feelings and increase the hostility of the parties, than to produce a reconciliation.

§ 15. The minor contests need not detain us long. The Greeks, by nature prone to contend and dispute, were almost never free from religious controversies. In this century, especially under *Manuel Comnenus*, who was a learned and over-inquisitive emperor, some contests on religious subjects were excited by the emperor himself; and they produced more excitement among the oppressed people, than was consistent with the welfare of the state. In the first place, a long dispute arose, under this emperor, in what sense it might be said: *the incarnate God was at the same time the offerer and the sacrifice*. After a protracted discussion, during which the emperor had maintained an opinion at variance with the prevalent belief, the emperor at length yielded, and came over to the generally received opinion. The consequence was, that many persons of high respectability, who had disagreed with the church, were deprived of their offices.(31) What opinion was maintained by the emperor, and what was held by the church, on this subject, we are no where distinctly informed. But it is probable, that the emperor, and some other learned men, disagreed with the mass of the Greeks, in respect to the Lord's supper, and the *oblation* or sacrifice of Christ in that ordinance.

§ 16. Some years afterwards, a more violent dispute, respecting the import of Christ's words, John xiv. 28. *My Father is greater than I*, rent Greece into factions. As various explanations of this passage had long existed, and some new ones were advanced about this time, the emperor, who from an indifferent prince made but a poor theologian, added his explanation to the number; and summoning a council, he wished to obtrude it upon all, as being the only true interpretation. He decided, that these words of Christ refer to the *created and passible flesh of Christ* (*κατὰ τὴν ἐν ὕψει κτιστὴν καὶ παθητὴν σάρκα*). And this decision, engraved on tables of stone, he set up in the great church; and made it a capital offence for any one to teach otherwise.(32) But the authority of this decree expired with the emperor; and *Andronicus*, afterwards, strictly prohibited all curious discussions on religion, and on this subject in particular.(33)

(31) *Nicetas Choniates*, Annales, Lib. vii. § 5. p. 112. ed. Venice.

(32) *Nicetas Choniates*, Annales, Lib. vii. § 6. p. 113.

§ 17. Near the close of his life, the same emperor excited another controversy, respecting the God of *Muhammed*. The catechetical books of the Greeks anathematized the *ὀσφύροον*, (*spherical or globular shaped*;) and solid God of *Muhammed*. For thus the Greeks had translated the Arabic word *Elsemed*; which is used in the *Koran*, applied to God; and which has indeed this signification, though it also signifies *eternal*. (34) This execration the emperor ordered to be stricken out of those books, as being very offensive to the Muhammedans converted to christianity. The theologians resisted his order; alleging, that it was not God in general, but the error of *Muhammed* respecting God, that was anathematized; and that *Muhammed* affirmed, *God is not begotten, nor doth he beget*. After very tedious altercations, and various attempts to settle the dispute, the bishops in a council consented, that in the instruction of youth, the anathema should no longer be leveled at the God of *Muhammed*, but at *Muhammed* himself, his religion, and all his followers. (35)

§ 18. Among the Latins, different opinions were maintained, and not merely in the schools, but also in books, respecting the Lord's supper. For, though all seemed disposed to shun connexion with *Berengarius*, yet many were not very far from him in sentiment; among whom may be named *Rupert* of Duytz, and others; (36) because the great Berengarian controversy had not yet plainly determined the *mode* of Christ's presence. This same *Rupert* was involved likewise in other controversies, and especially with *Anselm* of Laon and *William* of Champeaux, and with their disciples after their death, respecting the *will and omnipotence* of God. The question was, whether God *wills*, and himself *effects*, whatever takes place; or whether he only *permits* certain things to take place, which he would not have to be. *Rupert* maintained the latter; his opposers, the former. He was also censured for teaching, among other erroneous things, that *the angels were created from darkness*; and that *Christ*, at the last supper, *did not present his body to Judas*. (37)

§ 19. Besides these and other private contests, there was a public controversy, about the year 1140, respecting what is called *the immaculate conception* of the virgin *Mary*. (38) At this time,

(33) *Nicetas*, in *Andronico*, Lib. ii. § 5. p. 175.

(34) *Hadr. Reland*, de religione Mohammedica, Lib. ii. § 3. p. 142.—[This word *elsemed*, occurs in the *Koran*, Sur. cxii, where all modern translators; as well as the Muhammedan expositors, understand it to mean *eternal*. The passage, as translated by *Sale*, is this: "SAY, God is one God; the eternal God: he begetteth not, neither is he begotten: and there is not any one like unto him." It is probable, that the Greek translator perverted the meaning of *Muhammed*, in order to render him ridiculous. Tr.]

(35) *Nicetas Choniates*, *Annales*, Lib. vii. p. 113—116.

(36) *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. ii. p. 30 &c.

(37) See *Mengoz*, *Epistola*; published by *Martene*, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* Tom. i. p. 290. *Jo. Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* [Tom. v. p. 623 &c.] Tom. vi. p. 20, 42, 168, 261 &c.

(38) ["The defenders of the *immaculate conception* maintained, that the virgin

some French congregations began to observe the festal day consecrated to this *conception*; the English had observed it for some time previous, being led to it, as is reported, by *Anselm* of Canterbury. Of the more distinguished churches, that of Lyons was the first, or among the first, to observe this festival. *St. Bernard* being informed of the matter, addressed a letter to the *canons* of *Lyons* on the subject, in which he severely censured their conduct, and opposed the idea of such a *conception*. This brought on the controversy; some standing forth in defence of the Lyons and the festival, and others supporting the opinion of *St. Bernard*.⁽³⁹⁾ In this century however, though the feelings of the parties grew warm, there was some moderation in the discussion. But after the Dominicans had fixed themselves in the university of Paris, the controversy was carried on with far more violence; the Dominicans defending the opinion of *St. Bernard*, and the university approving the practice of the church of Lyons.

Mary was conceived in the womb of her mother, with the same purity that is attributed to Christ's conception in her womb." *Mucl.*]

(39) See *St. Bernard's* Epistle clxxiv. Tom. 1. p. 170 &c. *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. ii. p. 135. *Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 327. *Dom. Colonia*, *Histoire Litteraire de la ville de Lyon*, Tome ii. p. 233 &c.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Rites of the Greeks.—§ 2. Rites of the Latins.

§ 1. That both the public and the private worship of God among the Greeks, through the influence of superstition, was enriched with various additional minute rites, is well attested. And the same passion infected all the christian communities of the East. Every distinguished individual among the patriarchs of the Greeks, the Nestorians, or the Jacobites, would immortalize himself by some change or amplification of the forms of worship. For the spirit of true religion and piety being, from various causes, nearly extinct, their whole attention was directed to its external signs. One therefore ordered the prayers to be recited in a new manner; another changed the mode of singing; another ordained some new honors to be paid to the relics and the images of the saints; and another endeavored to improve the dress and the manners of the priests.

§ 2. What rites prevailed among the Latins, in this century, and how they were interpreted, may be learned from *Rupert of Duytz*, de divinis officiis Libri xii. The plan of this work does not admit of a detailed account of the additions to the public ceremonies.⁽¹⁾ We therefore only remark, that the veneration for the virgin *Mary*, which had before been excessive, was not a lit-

(1) [We may add a few things, to render the account more full. The adorning of churches with pictures and precious objects, was carried father and father. Even the floors were painted and adorned with saints and angels.—New churches were consecrated with sprinkling, inscriptions, anointing, lighting up candles, and with a blessing; perhaps also with singing. The decayed altars that were repaired, must be consecrated anew. More than one altar was now to be found in the same church; for mention is made of the high altar. Altars were ornamented with gold, silver, precious stones, and costly pictures. Before the saints and images in the churches, expensive lamps and candles were kept burning, which were to be put out, only during three days preceding easter. Baptism was no longer administered, as formerly, only at certain seasons of the year, but as often as there were subjects presented. The holy supper was still given in both the elements. *Clement III.*, ordained, that none but unleavened bread should be used; and that the wine should be mixed with water. The bad custom of immersing the bread in the cup, and then distributing it, still continued. The doctrine of transubstantiation was very generally received in the Latin churches; and the adoration of the host, was a natural consequence. *Von Eimem.*—We are informed by *Alberic*, (in his *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1200.) that the Cistercian abbot *Guido*, whom the pope had created a cardinal, and despatched as his legate to Cologne, first introduced the practice, at the elevation of the host in the mass, on a signal given by a bell, for the people to prostrate themselves, and remain in that posture until the benediction on the cup; and that these bells attended the clergy in the administration of the sacrament to the sick, to give the signal for prostration. This new rite was also confirmed by a miracle: for a soldier prostrated himself in the mud, to honor the sacrament as it passed along, and his clothes were not soiled. *Schl.*]

tle increased, after it began to be extensively inculcated, that she was conceived immaculately. For, notwithstanding *Bernard* and others opposed this doctrine, as we have stated, yet the judgment of the ignorant and superstitious multitude was much more effective than the decisions of the better informed : and about the year 1138, a solemn festival was instituted, in honor of this *conception*; though neither the author, nor the place of this new solemnity, is sufficiently known.(2)

(2) *Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 327, 412. *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. i. p. 1198.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. Fanatics among the Greeks.—§ 2. The Bogomiles.—§ 3. Sectarrians among the Latins, and the cause of them.—§ 4. The Cathari.—§ 5. Two sects of them.—§ 6. Their organization.—§ 7. The Petrobrussians.—§ 8. The Henricians.—§ 9. The impiety of Tanquelin.—§ 10. Disturbance of Arnold of Brescia.—§ 11. The Waldenses, and their history.—§ 12. Their doctrine and opinions.—§ 13. Constitution of their churches.—§ 14. Minor sects. The Pasigini.—§ 15. The Caputiati.—§ 16. Eon, and his folly.

§ 1. The Greeks and the other oriental christians of this century, had sharp contests with various sorts of fanatics; who are represented as believing in a two-fold Trinity; as rejecting matrimony, and the eating of flesh; as despising all external worship of God, even baptism and the Lord's supper; and as placing the soul of religion exclusively in prayer, and holding that an evil demon dwells in the nature of all men, which they must expel by incessant prayer. The author of this sect, we are told, was one *Lucopetrus*; whose principal disciple, *Tychicus*, is said to have put false interpretations upon many parts of the sacred volume, and especially upon the history of Christ as given us by St. Matthew.(1) It is certain, that there had been for a very long time, among the Greeks and Syrians, particularly among the monks, men of this description, who were not perverse, but rather beside themselves; and such still existed in this century. But credit cannot be given to all that is reported of them. And many reasons confirm the supposition, that among these people there were many really pious and devoted christians, who were offensive to the Greeks, because they resisted the outrageous domination and the vices of the priesthood, and derided the monstrous mass of superstition which was sanctioned by the public authority. The Greeks and the other nations of the East, were accustomed to designate all persons of this description, by the odious names of *Messalians* or *Euchites*; just as the Latins denominated all opposers of the Roman pontiffs, *Waldenses* or *Albigenses*. But it should be noted, that this name was very ambiguous, among the Greeks and the orientals; being applied promiscuously to all, honest or dishonest, wise or delirious,—who disliked the public

(1) See *Euthymius*, *Triumphus de secta Massalianorum*; in *Jac. Follii Insignia Itineris Italici*, p. 106—125. [*Euthymius* relates much that is fabulous, in this book; that the original head of the Messalians was named *Peter*, but that he called himself *Christ*; that he promised to appear again after his death, and thence obtained the nickname of *Wolfpeter*, *λυκόπετρος*. For, as his followers, three days after his death, were looking for his resurrection, the devil appeared to them, in the form of a wolf. *Tychicus* also applied all the texts that speak of God the Father and the Holy Ghost, to his spiritual father, *Peter*. As for the old Messalians, see this work, vol. i. p. 368 &c. *Schl.*]

ceremonies, censured the vices of the clergy, and maintained, that piety was all that is necessary.

§ 2. From this class of persons, it is said, the *Bogomiles* originated; whose founder, one *Basil*, a monk, when he could not be reclaimed, was burnt alive at Constantinople, under the emperor *Alexius Comnenus*.⁽²⁾ What has been handed down to us respecting this man and his opinions, notwithstanding the Greeks have, undoubtedly, mixed some falsehoods with their statements, will satisfactorily shew, that his system was nearly allied to those of the ancient Gnostics and Manichaeans. For he maintained, that the world and human bodies were not created by God, but by an evil demon whom God cast out of heaven: and of course, that our bodies are the prisons of our godlike spirits; and must therefore be subdued by fasting, contemplation, and other exhausting exercises, in order that the soul may regain its lost liberty; that marriage also should be avoided; and the kindred tenets, which are well known, and have been repeatedly stated. Hence also, with the Gnostics and Manichaeans, he denied that Christ the Son of God had a real body. He also rejected the law of Moses; and maintained, that the human body, at death, reverts back to the mass of depraved matter; and has no prospect of a resurrection. So many instances of men of this description occur, both in ancient times and in the history of this age, that it is not at all strange, one of them should have raised up a sect among the Greeks. The name of this sect was derived from the *divine mercy*, which they are said to have incessantly implored. For in the language of the Mysians, [Moesians, or Slavonians of Moesia,] *Bogomilus* is one, who implores divine mercy.⁽³⁾

(2) [The emperor devised a singular method, for detecting the opinions of this man, which would do honor to the Inquisition. *Basil* had sent out, after the example of Christ, twelve of his followers, as his apostles, in order to propagate his doctrines. One of these, named *Diblatius*, was arrested; and he acknowledged, that *Basil* was at the head of the sect. *Basil* was accordingly searched out, and brought to the emperor; who received him very flatteringly, admitted him to his table, and called him his very dear father. Thus deceived, *Basil* disclosed to the emperor all the mysteries of his sect; and the emperor caused his whole disclosure to be written down, by a stenographer, who was concealed in the chamber for the purpose. The emperor now laid aside the character of a learner, and attempted to confute the opinions of the enthusiast; but he defended himself vigorously, and was not to be terrified by menaces of death. Upon this, the emperor commanded all *Bogomiles*, who persevered in their opinions, to be burned alive. Among these *Basil* was one, and was burnt. This account is given as by *Anna Comnena*, in the passage referred to in the following note. *Schl.*]

(3) See *Anna Comnena*, *Alexiados* Lib. xv. p. 384. ed. Venice. *Jo. Zonaras*, *Annales*, Lib. xviii. p. 336. *Jo. Christ. Wolf*, *Historia Bogomilorum*; *Witteb.* 1712. 4to. *Sam. Andreas*, *Diss. de Bogomilis*; in *Jo. Voigt's Bibliotheca Historiae Haeresiologicae*, Tom. i. P. ii. p. 125 &c. *Chr. Aug. Heumann*, *Diss. de Bogomilis*. [They were also called *Phundaites*, from the *phunda* or girdle, which they were accustomed to wear. In the Slavonic language, *Bog*, signifies God, and *milui* is equivalent to the Greek *ἐλεῖν*, *shew mercy*. Besides the tenets mentioned in the text, they rejected image-worship; discarded all mysteries in the sacraments; also the historical books of the Old Testament, together with Solomon's writings;

§ 3. Among the Latins, far more numerous sects existed. For, as the defects of the public religion and the faults of the clergy were continually increasing; as the pontiffs in general neglected the most important duties of their office, and by various measures, particularly by their *Indulgencies*, encouraged irreligion among the people; and as the bishops and the other clergy were more intent on gratifying their lusts, than on promoting and diffusing real piety; honest men, who had their own and others salvation at heart, could easily see, though not possessed of great discernment, that the true religion of the gospel was lost; and they desired and attempted its restoration. But, very few of them were competent to so great an undertaking, as that of reforming the prevailing religion; for most of them were deficient both in talents and learning, and living in those times of ignorance, they did not understand the bible. Hence they, unavoidably, deviated as much from the religion of Christ, as it is exhibited in the sacred volume, as they did from the Roman religion; and at the same time, were extravagant in censuring and amending it.

§ 4. Among the sects of this age, the first place is due to the *Cathari*, a sect which has already been mentioned. Proceeding from Bulgaria, they raised disturbance in nearly all the countries of Europe; and in all of them, if apprehended, they were miserably put to death.(4) The religion of this party, had some affinity with that anciently professed by the Gnostics and Manichaeans; and hence, those who held to it, were generally called Manichaeans, though they differed on many points from the genuine Manichaeans. They all agreed in the following opinions: they believed, that evil originates from matter; that the creator of this world, was a different being from the supreme God; that Christ had not a real body, nor was he truly born, or crucified; that all human bodies are the work of an evil demon, and that they perish, without a prospect of resuscitation: they denied, that baptism and the holy supper are of any use; they enjoined an austere and rigorous mode of living, abstinence from flesh, and all animal substances, from wine, and matrimony; they despised the books of the Old Testament, and revered only the New Testament, especially the four Gospels; and to pass over several things, they believed, that rational souls, by a lamentable misfortune, are inclosed in these bodies, and must be liberated from them by continence, fasting, coarse fare, and other mortifications.(5)

and likewise the conclusion of the Lord's prayer, as being an interpolation; and they admitted no learned men among them. *Schl.*]

(4) See the compilations of *Car. Plessis d'Argentre*, in his collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus, Tom. I. to which however much more might be added, respecting this universally persecuted and exterminated set of men. [For the history of this sect in the preceding century, see p. 234 &c. *Tr.*]

(5) Besides the writers hereafter quoted, see a *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paternum*; published by *Edm. Martene*, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* Tom. v. p. 1703

§ 5. These common sentiments of them all, were explained and defined differently by their teachers; so that they were divided among themselves into sects; which, however, as they were all subject to persecution, disputed with moderation and calmness. There were two principal parties or sects among these *Cathari*. The one approached near to Manichaeism, and held to two eternal, first causes of all things, the God of light, who was the father of Jesus Christ, and the prince of darkness, by whom they supposed the visible world was created; the other party held to but one first cause, the father of Jesus Christ, and the supreme God, by whom, they affirmed, the first matter was produced; but they added to this, that the evil demon, after his revolt from God, digested and separated this matter into the four elements, so that it could be formed into a world. The former held also, that Christ, clad in celestial flesh, descended into Mary, and received nothing from her substance; while the latter believed, that Christ assumed in Mary, though not from Mary, a body that was not real, but imaginary. (6) The sect which held to two first causes, was denominated, from the place where its principal bishop resided, the sect of *Albano*, or the *Albanensians*; and it was subdivided into the adherents of *Balazinansa*, bishop of Verona, and the adherents of *John de Lugio*, bishop of Bergamo. The sect which held to one first cause, was divided into the church of *Bagnolo*, which is a town of Provence, and the association of *Concorregio* or *Concorrezzo*. To the church of *Bagnolo* or *Baiolo*, belonged the community that resided in France, and bore the name of *Albigensians*. (7)

&c. and *Bonacursus*, *Manifestatio haeresis Catharorum*; in *Luc. Dachery's* *Spicilegium*, Tom. i. p. 208 &c.

(6) See *Bernh. Moneta's* *Summa adversus Catharos et Waldenses*; published by *Tho. Aug. Richini*, Rome 1743 Fol. with a Dissertation prefixed, de *Catharis*, but which is of no great value. *Moneta* was a respectable writer for the age in which he lived. See Lib. i. p. 2, 5. Lib. ii. p. 247 &c. [*Moneta* is, in general, the best historical writer on this subject. He was of Cremona, and of the earliest Dominicans, after being long a professor at Bologna. He was still alive AD. 1233. *Schl.*]

(7) *Raynerus Sachonus*, *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*; in *Martene's* *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, Tom. v. p. 1761, 1768. [*Rayner* himself lived 17 years among the Cathari, and was a leader among them; which gives much weight to his history. *Schl.*] *Peregrinus Priscianus*, in *Muratori's* *Antiq. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. v. p. 93. where he gives a tabular view of the differences between these sects; yet he erroneously denominates those *Albanenses*, whom he should have called *Albigenses*, and who were a branch of the *Baidensians*; perhaps it was a mistake of the printer. The opinions of these *Baiolensians* or *Bagnolensians*, may also be well learned from the *Codex Inquisitorius*, published by *Phil. Limborch*, with his *Historia Inquisitionis*. But what *Limborch* has himself written concerning the opinions of the *Albigensians*, (*Historia Inquis. Lib. i. cap. viii. p. 30* &c.) is inaccurate, and not free from errors. I have spent much time in examining these sects, and discriminating among them; a subject which the partialities of authors, and other causes, have greatly obscured. But there is not room here to enlarge. [According to a note of *Joh. Conr. Füesslin*, in his *Kirchen und Ketzehistorie der mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. p. 128, (whose correctness, however, I cannot judge of,) the *Albigensians* here mentioned, must not be confounded with the *Albigensians* that appeared in Languedoc; for they lived at Al-

§ 6. The internal arrangements of this church, had many singularities, which cannot be explained in a narrow compass. The government was administered by *bishops*: but each of these had two vicars attached to him, one of whom was called the *elder son*, and the other the *younger son*. The other teachers or priests were called (*Diaconi*,) *ministers*.⁽⁸⁾ All these, but especially the bishops and their *sons*, were held in immense veneration. And as their moral principles were peculiarly rigid and austere, and not suitable nor tolerable to all, it was necessary to divide their people, as the Manichæan congregations were anciently divided, into two classes, the *comforted* (*consolati*), and the associated or *confederated* (*foederati*). The former exhibited a great shew of piety, and led in celibacy a life of peculiar rigor, and destitute of all common gratifications and conveniences. The latter, except observing a few rules, lived in the manner of other people; but they entered into a covenant, which in Italian was called *covenenza*, that before they died, or at least in their last sickness, they would enter farther into the church, and would receive the *consolation*, which was their term for initiation.⁽⁹⁾

§ 7. Of far better character than these, was the presbyter *Peter de Bruys*; who, about the year 1110, attempted a restoration of true religion, in Languedoc and Provence, provinces of France; and having drawn many to follow him, after journeying and laboring for twenty years, was burnt by the enraged populace, at St. Giles, AD. 1130. The whole system of doctrines, inculcated by this *Peter* upon his followers, who from him were called *Petrobrussians*, is not known; yet there are five of his opinions, that have reached us: I. That persons ought not to be baptized, until they come to the use of reason. II. That it is not proper to build churches; and that such as are built, should be pulled down. III. That the holy crosses ought to be destroyed. IV. That the body and blood of Christ are not distributed in the sacred supper, but only the signs of them. V. That the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, do not profit the dead.⁽¹⁰⁾

by, in *Montferrat. Schl.* According to *Rayner*, there were sixteen communities or associations of Cathari; namely the *Albanensians*, or those of *Donnezacho*, the members of which were at *Verona* and in other parts of Lombardy, about 500, in all; those of *Concorrezzo*, spread over all Lombardy, and more than 1500 in number; those of *Basolo*, at *Mantua*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and in Milan; others at *Vicenza*, or in the margravate; in the territory of Florence; in the valley of *Spoleto*; the *French* at *Verona* and in Lombardy; at *Toulouse*; at *Car cassone*; in the region of *Albi*; the *Slavonians*; the *Latins* at *Constantinople*; the *Greeks* there; those at *Philadelphia* in Romania; the *Burgalic* and the *Duguntic*. In the whole world, there were at that time, not quite 4,000 Cathari. See *Schroeckh's Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 484. Tr.]

(8) See *Rayneri Sachoni Summa de Catharis*, p. 1766 &c.

(9) These statements may be substantiated from the writers that have been mentioned, especially from the *Codex Inquisit. Tolosanae*, and others. [For a more full account of the *Cathari*, see *Schroeckh*, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 477 &c. Tr.]

(10) See *Peter*, the Venerable, *contra Petrobrusianos Liber*; in the *Bibliotheca*

§ 8. He was followed by one *Henry*, an Italian perhaps,⁽¹¹⁾ an eremite monk, the parent of the sect of the *Henricians*.⁽¹²⁾ From Lausanne, a city of Switzerland, he came to Mans; and being driven from there, he traveled through Poitiers, Bourdeaux, and the adjacent regions, and at last, in the year 1147, came to *Toulouse*; and every where boldly declaimed against the vices of the clergy, and the defects of the prevailing religion, with the applause of the multitude. When ejected from *Toulouse* by *St. Bernard*, he took to flight; but was apprehended by some bishop, brought before *Eugene III*, the Roman pontiff, then holding a council at Rheims, and by him committed to prison, AD. 1148, where he soon after died.⁽¹³⁾ An accurate account of the doctrines of this man, also, has not come down to us. We only know, that he too disapproved of infant baptism, inveighed severely against the corrupt morals of the clergy, despised the festal days and the religious ceremonies, and held clandestine assemblies. Some represent him as being a disciple of *Peter de Bruys*; but on what authority they rely, I do not know.⁽¹⁴⁾

Cluniacens. p. 1117. *Jo. Mabillon*, *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 346 &c. *Jac. Barnage*, *Histoire des Eglises Réformées*, Period iv. p. 140 &c. [See also *Schroeckh*, *Kirchengesch.* Tom. xxix. p. 515 &c. Almost the only source of all that is known of *Peter de Bruys* and his doctrine, is the epistle or tract of *Peter* the Venerable, abbot of Clugni, written expressly to confute the errors of *Peter de Bruys*, about AD. 1141. This tract is printed in the *Biblioth. Cluniacens.* Paris 1614. Fol. p. 1117—1230; and in the *Biblioth. max. Patrum Lugdunens.* Tom. xxii. p. 1033 &c. The author states and confutes, in as many chapters, the five errors mentioned by *Dr. Mosheim*; and he says these were the chief errors disseminated by *Peter de Bruys*; though his disciple *Henry* advanced a great many others. *Tr.*]

(11) [This is the conjecture of *Mabillon*, in his Preface to the works of *St. Bernard*, §. 6. but *Henry* may have been a Swiss; as *Fuesli* supposes, l. c. p. 214. *Schl.*]

(12) [This name occurs often in a different application, denoting the adherents to the emperor *Henry IV*, in his contest with the popes respecting investitures. For, as is well known, the pope declared the principles of *Henry* in respect to investitures to be *heresy*; and his son, *Henry V*, had to abjure expressly the *Henrician* heresy. Thus e. g. are his adherents denominated in the Acts of the council of Quedlinburg (*Quintilimoburgense*), AD. 1085; in *Harzheim's* *Concil. Germ.* Tom. iii. p. 200. *Schl.*]

(13) *Gesta Episcoporum Cenomanensium*; in *Mabillon's* *Analecta veteris aevi*, p. 315 &c. new ed. The epistle of *Gaufrid*, inserted in the close of the sixth book of *Mabillon's* life of *St. Bernard*; in the *Opp. Bernardi*, Tom. ii. p. 1207. *Math. Paris*, *Historia major*, p. 71. *Jo. Mabillon*, Preface to the *Opp. Bernardi*, §. 6. and *Annales Benedict.* Tom. vi. p. 346, 420, 434.

(14) I cannot easily believe, he was so: for to mention no other argument, *Peter de Bruys* would not tolerate crosses; but *Henry* entered into a city bearing the standard of a cross in his own hand. See *Mabillon*, *Analecta*, p. 316 &c. [*Peter*, abbot of Clugni, however, expressly calls him an apostle of *Peter de Bruys*; (in the *Biblioth. Cluniacens.* p. 1123.) qui duobus tantum homuncionibus *Petro de Bruis* et *Henrico ejus pseudapostolo* tam facile cessistis. Also, *ibid.* p. 1117, he says: "After that impious (*Peter de Bruys*) had been removed from one fire to another, from this transitory to an eternal; the heir to his wickedness (*heres nequitiae ejus*) *Henry*, with I know not what others, did not reform, but altered the diabolical doctrine; and, as I saw written in a note book containing his own words, he published not merely five, but many errors. But as I have not yet full evidence, that he thus thought or preached, I omit to confute them:" i. e. the additional errors.—How *Henry* altered or enlarged the doctrines of *Peter*, does not appear. He seems to have been a very popular preacher, against the vices of the clergy, and the formal

§ 9. While these persons were producing excitement in France, about the year 1115, in Brabant, one *Tanquelin* or *Tanchelm* a man of no learning, produced very great commotions at Antwerp, and collected a very numerous party. He was either deranged, or a shameless villain, if credit is due to what his enemies say of him. For he traveled in great pomp; said he was God, or the Son of God; ordered daughters to be debauched in presence of their mothers; and the like. But these statements are not merely hard to be believed, but absolutely incredible. (15) This *Tanchelm* seems to have imbibed the principles of the mystics; to have despised public worship, the sacred supper, and baptism; and to have held secret meetings for religious purposes. And the cause of the numerous calumnies propagated against him, probably was, that he, like others of this character, inveighed strongly against the priests and the whole clerical order. He was slain by one of the priests; but his sect did not die with him. It was, however, extinguished finally, it is said, by the celebrated *St. Norbert*, founder of the Premonstratensians. (16)

heartless devotion of the age. And it is probable, he dwelt more upon practical religion, than doctrinal. See *Schroeckh*, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 517 &c. and *Neander's* *Heilige Bernard*, p. 254 &c. Tr.]

(15) The epistle of the church of Utrecht to bishop *Frederic*, concerning *Tanchelm*; in *Seb. Tegnagel's* *Collectio veterum monumentorum*. p. 368 &c. *Bowlay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. ii. p. 98. *Argentre*, *Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus*, Tom. i. p. 10.

(16) *Lud. Hugo*, *Vie de S. Norbert*, Liv. ii. p. 126. *Chrys. van der Sterre*, *Vita S. Norberti*. cap. 36, p. 164. and the notes of *Polyc. de Hertoghe*, upon it, p. 337 &c. [*Abelard* speaks of *Tanchelm*, (*Introd. ad Theologiam*, Lib. ii. Opp. p. 1066,) as a layman who had the folly to give himself out for the Son of God, and allow churches to be erected to his honor. He first travelled to Rome, in the garb of a monk, accompanied by a priest; returned soon after to Utrecht, and there obtained many followers. As there was then no bishop at Utrecht, the clergy wrote to the archbishop of Cologne, for aid against him; and in this famous letter they style him antichrist; and say he set at naught the pope, archbishops, bishops, and the whole clergy, distributed Christ with his own hands, and maintained, that he and his followers were the only true church. They state, that he first preached to the ignorant people on the sea-coast; gained over many women, with whom he had lascivious intercourse, and by their means propagated his errors. He now preached in the fields, to large assemblies; and was surrounded by a body guard, like a king, who attended him with arms and a banner. He despised the sacraments, dissuaded from attending the eucharist, and forbid paying tithes to the priests. At last he called himself God; because he had the Holy Ghost, as really as Christ had. Some so revered his divinity, that they used the water in which he washed as a sacrament. He betrothed an image of the virgin Mary; and his followers contributed a splendid feast for the occasion. In short, the letter says, the enormities of *Tanchelm* and his followers, are innumerable; and they have brought the public worship into such contempt, that the person who most despises it, is esteemed the best saint.—From Utrecht, *Tanchelm* went to Antwerp; (according to the author of the *Life of St. Norbert*,) and was attended by 3000 armed men. At length, about AD. 1124 or 1125, a priest slew him. But his followers could not be brought to renounce his errors, till *St. Norbert* came among them. "If we give credit to these statements," says *Schroeckh*, (*Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 653.) "though they appear somewhat overcharged, *Tanchelm* was both a madman and a villain, who scarcely deserves to be mentioned in a history of religion. *Mosheim* supposed he was a mystic, who despised external worship, and severely lashed the vices of the clergy. But for this position, there is not sufficient testimony" Tr.]

§ 10. In Italy, *Arnold of Brescia*, a pupil of *Peter Abelard*, a man of learning and stern morals, but of a restless temper, attempted a revolution both civil and ecclesiastical. *Innocent II*, compelled him, after being condemned in the Lateran council of 1139, to retire into Switzerland. (17) But he returned, on the death of *Innocent*, and gave great trouble to the new pontiff *Eugene*. After various fortunes, he was seized, and in the year 1155, hanged, and his body burnt to ashes. The unhappy man does not appear to have attempted any violence or injury to religion; but perceiving the immense evils and discords that arose from the vast riches of the pontiffs, bishops and priests, he thought the interests of the church and of the world required, that the clergy should be stripped of their possessions, prerogatives, and revenues. He therefore maintained, that all the wealth of the Roman pontiff, and also of the bishops and the monks, ought to be transferred to the civil authorities; and nothing be left for any of the ministers of God, but their spiritual powers, and the tithes and voluntary gifts of christians. (18) Venerable on several accounts, he had

(17) [*Arnold* is not named in the canons of this council. The twenty-third reads thus: *Eos—qui religiositatis speciem simulantes, Domini corporis et sanguinis sacramentum, baptismum puerorum, sacerdotium, et ceteros ecclesiasticos ordines, et legitimarum damnant foedera nuptiarum, tanquam haereticos ab ecclesia Dei pellimus et damnamus, et per potestates externas coercere praecipimus.* Thus it refers rather to *Peter de Bruys*. (For it recounts his errors. Besides, it excommunicates the persons referred to, and delivers them over to the secular sword: but *Arnold* was not excommunicated, nor committed to the executioner, at this time. Tr.) Yet *Otto* of Freysingen, (ad ann. 1139,) expressly states, that *Arnold*, as well as the Petrobrussians, was condemned by this council. He was also banished from Italy, and forbidden to return, without permission from the pope. *Gunther*, in his *Ligurin*, Lib. iii. v. 275, where he states his doctrines, makes this just remark: "He gave us many just rebukes, mixed with false ones; but our times would not bear faithful admonitions." After his banishment, *Arnold* went first into France, to *Abelard*; and from him to *Guido*, the papal legate, who not long after was himself pope, under the name of *Coelestine II*. But *St. Bernard* persecuted him, wherever he could find him, and compelled him, to escape incarceration by fleeing to Zurich; where he became a teacher, and was much listened to. Presently a letter was despatched from *St. Bernard* to the bishop of Constance, warning him to banish *Arnold* out of his diocese. After residing about five years at Zurich, he returned to Rome, AD. 1145, at a time when the citizens of Rome had been long struggling to restore the ancient consular government, and to free themselves from the civil authority of the pope. These disturbances *Arnold* promoted, under the reigns of *Eugene III*, and *Anastasius IV*. But *Hadrian IV*, excommunicated him, and ordered him into exile. *Arnold* laughed at it, so long as the citizens supported him. At last the pope laid the city under an interdict, [the first that was ever laid on Rome,] and compelled the citizens to give up supporting *Arnold*. He had now to leave Rome, and went into Campania, where the margrave and the people revered him as a man of God. In the year 1155, the emperor *Frederic I*, was advancing towards Rome, and entered into a negotiation with the pope respecting his approaching coronation. Here the pope conditioned, that *Frederic* should deliver *Arnold* of Brescia into his hands. *Frederic* fulfilled the stipulation, and *Arnold* was strangled to death; and to prevent the people from paying veneration to his corpse, it was burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Tiber. *Schl.—See Schroeckh*, Kirchengesch. vol. xxvi. p. 110 &c. 131, 153 &c. Tr.]

(18) See *Otto* of Frisingen, de Gestis Frederici I. Lib. ii. c. 20. *St. Bernard*, Epist. 195, 196. Tom. i. p. 187 &c. *Boulay*, Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. ii. p. 157. *Murator*, Droits de l' Empire sur l' Etat Ecclesiastique, p. 137 &c. *Bu-nax*, Vita Frederici I. p. 41. *Chaufepied*, Nouveau Dictionnaire hist. crit. Tome i. p. 482.

numerous followers, who, from him, were called *Arnoldists*; and who in subsequent times, often shewed themselves, as occasions would permit.

§ 11. But of all the sects that arose in this century, none was more famous, or obtained higher reputation for probity and innocence, even with its enemies, and none could count more disciples, than that which was called, from its founder, the *Waldensians*; from the place where it originated, the *poor men of Lyons*, or the *Leonists*; and from the wooden shoes worn by its teachers, and the mark upon them, *Insabbatati*, or *Sabbatati*.(19) *Peter*, a rich merchant of Lyons in France, born at *Vaux*, or *Valdum*, or *Validium*, a town in the marquisate of Lyons, and therefore called *Valdensis* and *Validisius*, being a very pious man, procured the translation of certain books of the scripture, especially the four Gospels, and of various passages from the fathers, from Latin into French, after AD. 1160, by the hand of *Stephen de Evisa*, a priest of Lyons.(20) By attentively reading these books, he learned, that the religion then commonly taught to the people in the Romish church, differed altogether from that which *Jesus Christ* himself, and his apostles taught; and earnestly desiring salvation, he distributed his property among the poor, and in the year 1180, with some other pious men, whom he had associated with him, he took upon himself the office of a preacher. The archbishop of Lyons, and the other prelates, opposed this proceeding: But the simple and holy religion which these good men professed, the spotless innocence of their lives, and their contempt for all riches and honors, so touched the multitude, who had some sense of religion, that they readily yielded to them.(21)

(19) They were called *Leonists*, because they originated at *Leona*: so *Lyons* was called in that age. The more perfect among the Waldensians, wore mean or wooden shoes, which in French are called *Sabots*; and likewise the sign of the cross upon their *sabots*, to distinguish them from others. And hence the names of *Sabbatati* [shod with *sabots*], and *Insabbatati* [marked on their *sabots*]. See *Du Fresnoe*, Glossarium Latin. mediae, Tom. vi. p. 4. Art. *Sabbatati*. *Nicol. Bymericus*, Directorium Inquisitorum, P. iii. No. 112 &c.

(20) See *Stephen de Borbone*, de septem donis Spiritus Sancti; in *Jac. Echard* and *Quetif's* Bibliotheca Scriptor. Dominicanor. Tom. i. p. 192. An anonymous tract, de haeresi pauperum de Lugduno; in *Martene's* Thesaur. Anecdotor. Tom. v. p. 1777. [*Stephen de Borbone* calls the translator, employed by *Waldus*, *Stephen of Ansa*; and others, of *Emsa*. And I suspect, that *Mosheim* wrote *Emsa*, though by an error of the press, *Evisa* occurs in both the old and the new edition of his Institutes. In placing the commencement of *Waldus's* attempt to reform religion, after the year 1160, *Dr. Mosheim* has followed *Moneta*. But *Stephen de Borbone* says: "This sect began about the year of Christ 1170, under *John* called *Bolesmanis*, archbishop of Lyons." *Schl.*]

(21) Those who assign a different origin to the *Waldensians*, and particularly those who say, they were so called from the *valleys*, in which they had lived many ages before the times of *Peter Waldus*, have no authorities for their opinion, and are refuted by all the historians. [This opinion was first advanced by *Beza*; and *John Leger*, (in his *Histoire generale des Eglises Vaudoises*,) has taken all pains to make it appear plausible. But they are well confuted by *Füssli*, in his *Kirchen-und Ketzergeschichte der mittlern zeit*, vol. i. p. 295 &c. *Schl.*] I will readily grant, that long before these times, there had been, resident in the valleys of Piedmont, persons who rejected the prevailing opinions of the

Hence they set up societies, first in France, and then in Lombardy; and these multiplied and spread, with amazing rapidity,

Romish church, and who agreed in many things with the Waldensians. But those inhabitants of the vallies must be distinguished from the [proper] *Waldensians*, or followers of *Peter Waldus*; whom all the writers represent to have originated at Lyons, and to have derived their name from this *Peter Waldus*. [*Dr. Maclaine* here boldly attacks the opinions of *Mosheim*; and citing some of the arguments of *Leger*, asserts the higher antiquity of the *Waldensians*, from whom, he says, *Peter* of Lyons derived the name of *Waldus*. It is of little consequence whether *Peter Waldus* gave name to the sect of the *Waldensians*, or derived his own name from them; but the origin and antiquity of the sect are of more importance. On this subject, *Schroeckh*, (in his *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 527 &c.) makes the following remarks. As to their age and origin, the ground of their separation from the Romish church, and especially whether they were heretics or reformers, there has been the more controversy between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, because the interests of their respective churches were involved in the discussions. But these party and polemical narratives, which have done so much harm to history, are becoming more and more rare; and we purpose to state only what the lovers of truth, of both parties, may approve.—It was usual, formerly, to trace the origin of the *Waldenses* to a very high antiquity; and it must be acknowledged, that a writer of the thirteenth century, who has been already mentioned, as first a partizan, and then an opposer of the *Cathari*, *Rainerius Saccho*, has given occasion for this opinion. In his *Liber adv. Waldenses*, c. 4. (in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxv. p. 262 &c.) he writes concerning them, under one of their appellations, (*Pauperes de Lugduno*.) “Their sect has been the most injurious of all to the church of God, on account of their antiquity; for they, according to some, originated in the times of the Romish bishop *Silvester*, in the fourth century; and according to others, existed as early as the days of the Apostles.” But neither *Rainer*, nor the records of history, give the least ground for this assertion; which he seems to have borrowed solely from some *Waldensians*. In more modern times, various arguments have been adduced to support the same position. Especially has one of the principal historians of the *Waldensians*, himself once a preacher among them, in the 17th century, *John Leger*, in his French work, (*Histoire Générale des Eglises Evangeliques des Vallées de Piemont, ou Vaudoises*; Leyden 1669, ii. Tom. Fol.) given himself much trouble, to prove that they existed long before the twelfth century. He first cites some ancient and modern historians, who are thought to have found traces of them; but who were either too recent to be good witnesses in the case, or have confounded the *Manichæans* of the eleventh century, and other opposers of the church of Rome, with the *Waldensians*. The opinion he adopted from *Beza*, that these people of his own religion derived their name from the *vallies* (*Vallées*, or in their own language *Vaux*), in which most of them resided, is a mere conjecture, founded on the resemblance of the words; though it has long been admitted, that for centuries there had existed in the vallies of Piedmont various sorts of people, who were not in communion with the Romish church. Equally unsupportable is the assertion of *Leger*, that the *Waldensians* were descended from *Claudius*, the famous bishop of Turin in the ninth century. With more plausibility, he argues their high antiquity, from a poem written in the Provençal dialect and entitled *The Noble Lesson* (*La noble Leyçon*); which was supposed to be the production of a *Waldensian*, about AD. 1100. The very name *Waldensians* (*Vaudés*) occurs in it. But *Füeslin*, who has the most fully investigated this subject, (l. c. p. 299, &c.) has shown, that this poem may have been written long after the year 1100, and can hardly have been composed by an inhabitant of the vallies of Piedmont. *Basnage* also has made *Claudius*, (whom he misrepresents as separating from the communion of the Romish church,) to be the father of the *Waldensians*; and has used other invalid proofs of their high antiquity. (*Histoire de l'Eglise*, Tom. ii. p. 1434.) In an essay, (subjoined to the German translation of *Fleury's Eccles. History*, vol. xi. p. 486 &c.) on the community which was persecuted, under the name of the *Manichæans*, the same opinion is maintained; and for proof of it, a *Waldensian* confession of faith is relied on, which, without any proof, is assigned to the year 1120. And in the latest histories of the *Waldensians* by Protestants in Germany, we find this high antiquity of the sect assumed, but not proved. The writers, on the contrary, who lived about

through all the countries of Europe : nor could they be exterminated, entirely, by any punishments, whether by death, or other forms of persecution.(22)

§ 12. *Peter Waldus* and his associates, did not aim so much to change the system of religion, or to inculcate new articles of faith, as to restore the form of the church, the morals of the clergy, and the lives of christians, to that primitive and apostolic simplicity, which they thought they had learned, particularly from the words of Christ. They therefore taught, that the Romish church had degenerated from its original purity and sanctity, in the times of *Constantine the Great* : they denied the supremacy of the Roman pontiff : they would have the rulers and ministers of the church imitate the poverty of the apostles, and procure their own frugal and slender sustenance by manual labor : they asserted, that authority to teach, to confirm, and to admonish their brethren, was, to a certain extent, given to all christians : the ancient penitential discipline, which was nearly subverted by the grants of *indulgencies*, that is, the making satisfaction for sins, by prayer, fasting, and liberality to the poor,—they wished to see restored : and these *satisfactions*, on which they laid great stress, they believed any devout christian could enjoin upon those that confessed ; so that it was not necessary for people to confess their sins to priests, but only to lay open their transgressions to individual brethren, and look to them for advice : the power of forgiving sins and remitting the punishment of them, they held to belong to God only ; and therefore, that *indulgencies* were an invention of base avarice : they regarded prayers and other rites performed in behalf of the dead, to be useless ceremonies ; because departed souls are not detained and subjected to a purgation, in some intermediate region ; but are, immediately after death, either taken into heaven, or sent to hell. These, and like these, were the doctrines they inculcated. Their morals were very strict ; for they explained our Savior's sermon on the mount, according to the literal import of the words ; and therefore, disapproved, alto-

the middle of the 13th century, several of whom were personally acquainted with the men who had been active in producing the sect of the *Waldensians*, unitedly tell us, that it was *Peter Waldus*, (called also *Valdo*, *Valdensis*, and in his native language, probably, *Vaud*.) a rich citizen of Lyons, who gave, between the years 1160 and 1180, both existence and an appellation to this sect. Tr.]

(22) See, in addition to the ancient writers concerning the *Waldensians*, e. g. *Sachoni*, *Summa contra Valdenses* ; *Monetae* *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, published a few years since at Rome by *Richini* ; the *Tract, de Haeresi pauperum de Lugduno*, published by *Martene*, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* Tom. v. p. 1777 &c. *Pilichdorf*, *contra Valdenses*, in the *Biblioth. max. Patrum*, Tom. xxv. and many others ;—*Jo. Paul Perrin*, *Histoire des Vaudois*, Geneva 1619. 8vo. [also in English, Lond. 1624. 4to. Tr.] *Jo. Leger*, *Histoire generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, Liv. i. cap. 14. p. 156. *Jac. Usher*, *de successione ecclesiae Occidentis*, cap. viii. p. 209 &c. *Jac. Basnage*, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, Tom. i. Period iv. p. 329 &c. *Thom. Aug. Richini*, *Diss. de Waldensibus* ; prefixed to *Moneta's Summa*, pa. xxiv. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. ii. p. 292 ; and many others. [Especially, *Füessli*, l. c. vol. i. p. 293—354. *Schl.*]

gether, of war, law-suits, efforts to acquire wealth, capital punishments, taking any oath, or defending one's life or limbs against offered violence.(23)

§ 13. The Waldensian church was governed by *bishops*, (whom they stiled *Majorales* or *elders*), and *presbyters*, and *deacons*: for they supposed these orders instituted by Christ. But all these officers were to be like the apostles; that is, uneducated men, and absolutely poor, or possessing no property, and also laborers, who procured their sustenance by the labor of their hands.(24) The people [or laity] were divided into the *perfect* and the *imperfect*: of whom, the former voluntarily relinquished all their possessions, exhibited their absolute poverty in the manner of their dress, and emaciated their bodies by frequent fasting; while the latter lived more generously, and more like other people, yet without any splendor or luxury, very much in the manner of the more strict Mennonites. There was however some disagreement among these Waldenses, and especially between those of *Italy* or *Lombardy*, and the *Ultramontanes* or those living in France and the other countries of Europe. The former looked upon the Romish church, as a real church of Christ, though greatly corrupted; they admitted the validity of its seven sacraments; and offered to continue in its communion, provided they might live in their own way. But the latter maintained, that the church of Rome had apostatized from Christ, was destitute of the Holy Spirit, and was that *Babylonian* harlot mentioned by St. John.(25)

(23) See especially, the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, published by *Limborch*; *Moneta's Summa contra Valdenses*; and the other writers of those times on the opinions of the Waldensians. Though some of them are more accurate than others, and some ascribe more, and others fewer peculiarities to the sect; yet in general, they admit the piety and the blameless lives of the Waldensians; and they plainly show, that the sect offered no violence to the common faith of christians, but only urged a return to the ancient practices of christians, and opposed the defects in the public worship and in the conduct of the clergy. [And hence *Peter Waldus* himself did not renounce the Romish church. On the contrary, in the year 1179, he sent two of his followers to the council of the Lateran, who presented to the pope a copy of his translations from the Old and New Testaments, with notes and expositions of his own, and requested permission to preach and instruct people in religion. *Alexander III.* examined them, and forbid their preaching, because they were illiterate. They made a similar attempt under pope *Lucius III.*, but without success. On the contrary, this pope excommunicated them, in the year 1184. See *Füesli*, l. c. p. 333. *Schl.*—One application to the pontiff for his approbation, the abbot of Ursburg, (in his chronicon, ad ann. 1212,) says, he himself was witness to. See *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. vi. P. ii. p. 1692. The decree of *Lucius III.* excommunicating the *Waldensians*, AD. 1183, is in *Harduin*, l. c. p. 1878. *Tr.*]

(24) A large proportion of them got their living by weaving: and hence the sect was called, in some places, that of the *Weavers*, in French, *Tisserands*.

(25) *Moneta*, *Summa contra Catharos et Valdeneses*, p. 406, 416. and elsewhere. They appear likewise not to have had the same views in regard to the possession of property; as appears from *Stephen de Borbone*, in *Echard's Scriptores Dominici*, Tom. i. p. 191. He divides the Waldenses, in other words indeed, but amounting to the same thing, into the *Poor men of Lyons*, (these were the *Ultramontanes*), and the *Poor men of Lombardy*. The former forbid all possession of

§ 14. Besides these larger sects, which had numerous friends and advocates, many other *smaller* and more obscure ones started up, in Italy especially, and France; but which seem soon to have become extinct.(26) In Italy, and especially in Lombardy which was the principal seat of *heretics*, a singular party spread itself among the people, denominated, though I cannot say why, the *Pasagini* or *Pasagii*, and also the *Circumcised*, which in common with the other sects, was averse from the Romish church and its regulations, but was also distinguished especially by two peculiarities of sentiment. First, they taught that the law of Moses ought to be observed under the New Testament, with the exception of of sacrifices: and accordingly they practised circumcision, abstained from the meats prohibited by Moses, observed the sabbath of the Jews, and the like. Secondly, they corrupted the doctrine of three persons in the divine nature, and taught, that *Christ* was only *the first and a spotless creature of God*: a sentiment the less surprising, considering the multitude of Arians there had been in Italy antecedently to this period.(27)

§ 15. In France, there roamed about Burgundy, the region of Auxerre, and some other parts, producing excitement among the people, a class of persons who were called *Caputiati*, from the covering worn on their heads. These people wore upon their hats or caps a leaden image of the virgin *Mary*; and they wished to restore the primeval liberty of mortals, and universal equality, to the exclusion of all subordination and civil authority. This madness was suppressed by *Hugo*, bishop of Auxerre, not with arguments, but with military force.(28) Very different from these, were the *Apostolici*, whom *St. Bernard* assailed with great earnestness. They bore this name, generally, according to *St. Bernard*, their adversary, because they wished to exemplify in their conduct the apostolic mode of living. They were for the most part *rustics*, and people of low condition, who earned

property; the latter allowed of such possession. There are other passages in the ancient writers, which confirm this distinction.

(26) On the various more obscure sects, see *Stephen de Borbone*, in *Jac. Echard's* *Scriptores Dominici*, Tom. i. p. 191.

(27) See *F. Bonacursus*, *Manifestatio haeresis Catharorum*; in *Luc. Dachery's* *Spicilegium veter. Scriptor.* Tom. i. p. 211. new ed. *Gerh. Bergamensis* contra *Catharos et Pasagios*; in *Lud. Ant. Muratori's* *Antiq. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. v. p. 151 &c. [*Füssli*, in his *Kirchen-und Ketzehistorie der mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. p. 46. assigns a very probable cause of the appellation *Pasagini*; supposing it equivalent to *Passagieri* and *Passagers*, *roamers*, in Greek ἀστατον; which appellation the Greeks had given to a sort of Manichaeans, according to the account of *Peter* of Sicily, in his *History of the Manichaeans*; in the *Biblioth. max. Patrum*, Tom. xvi. p. 814. *Schl.*—Another conjecture is, that they assumed the name of *Pasagii*, derived from the Greek Πᾶς ἅγιος, *all holy*. Their practising circumcision, will account for their being called *Circumcisi*, the *Circumcised*. *Tr.*]

(28) *Jac. le Boeuf*, *Memoires sur l' Histoire d' Auxerre*, Tom. i. p. 317 &c. [*Robert de Monte*, in his *Appendix to Sigebert Gemblacensis*, says the commencement of this sect was in the year 1182. *Schl.*—See a more full account of them, in *Schroeckh's* *Kirchengesh.* vol. xxix. p. 636 &c. *Tr.*]

their food and clothing by weaving; but they had numerous and great friends and supporters of every rank and order. Their religion, according to the confession of their adversary himself, was free from errors; and their life was most blameless. Yet, I. they deemed it unlawful to take an oath. II. They suffered their hair and beards to grow long. III. Though they had separate dwelling houses, they assembled together for labor and for worship. IV. They preferred celibacy to marriage, and called themselves *the chaste brethren and sisters*. Yet, V. each of the men had with him some sister, after the manner of the apostles, with whom he lived familiarly, sleeping in the same chamber, though not in the same bed. (29)

§ 16. At the council of Rheims, AD. 1148, in which pope *Eugene III.*, presided, a certain man named *Eon*, of Bretagne, and who was undoubtedly deranged, was condemned. Having heard in the common formula for exorcising evil spirits, these words pronounced: *Per Eum &c. by him who will come to judge the quick and the dead*, he concluded, from the resemblance between the word *Eum*, and his own name, that he was the person who was to judge the quick and the dead. This senseless man should have been given over to the physicians, and not have been classed among the heretics. He died in prison: but many of his followers, who could not be dissuaded from reverencing him, were burnt at the stake. (30) This single example clearly shows how little sound sense and correct knowledge of religion, then existed, even among the rulers of the church.

(29) *St. Bernard*, Sermo lxxv. in Canticum; Opp. Tom. iv. p. 1495 &c. ed. *Mabillon*. [A similar class of people, who wished to revive the apostolical mode of living, appeared in the neighborhood of Perigord in Guienne; as we learn from the letter of a monk named *Heribert*, inserted in *Mabillon's* *Analecta*, Tome iii. p. 467. But these went still farther. They abhorred images, and the mass; and had priests, monks, and nuns, in their community. Their leader was named *Lucius*; and among their adherents they could reckon some of the nobility. *Schl.*]

(30) *William of Paris*, *Historia major*, p. 68. *William Nubrigensis*, *Historia rerum Anglicar.* Lib. i. p. 50. *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. ii. p. 241. [He was a wealthy nobleman, of pleasing address, and drew a great number after him. With these he sometimes travelled rapidly over the country, with great display; then retiring to places of obscurity, lived in luxury, with his attendants. The lawlessness of the party, and the multitudes that were captivated with them, led to his apprehension and imprisonment, and to the execution of his obstinate adherents. See *William Nubrigens.* ubi supra, and *Schroeckh*, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 653 &c. *Tr.*]

CENTURY THIRTEENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Christianity in northern Asia and China.—§ 2. Pontifical legates to the Tartars.—§ 3. The crusades.—§ 4. A new crusade.—§ 5, 6. The remaining crusades.—§ 7. The expedition of Lewis IX.—§ 8. His second attempt.—§ 9. Conversion of the Prussians.—§ 10. The Arabians.

§ 1. Although that powerful emperor of the Tartars or rather the Moglus, *Ginghis-Chan*, and his successors, who had carried their victorious arms through a great part of Asia, and had conquered China, India, Persia, and many other countries, disturbed greatly, and distressed, the christians resident in those countries ; (1) yet it appears from the most unquestionable testimony, that numerous bodies of Nestorian christians were still scattered over all northern Asia and China. The emperors of the Tartars and Moguls, were themselves not particularly averse ~~for~~ christianity : and some of their [subordinate] kings and chieftains had either retained this religion, which they received from their ancestors, or were converted to it by the preaching of the Nestorians. (2) Yet gradually many of them became infected with the Muhammedan religion ; which at length banished christianity entirely from their camps and courts.

§ 2. As these Tartars, from the year 1241, invaded Europe also, and cruelly harrassed and devastated Hungary, Poland, Silesia, and the neighboring countries, the Roman pontiffs thought proper to attempt a pacification with these new and very ferocious enemies. Therefore, in the year 1245, *Innocent IV*, sent several Dominicans and Franciscans as his legates to the Tartars. (3) Afterwards, *Abaka*, emperor of the Tartars, in the year

(1) *Gregory Abulpharajus*, *Historia Dynastiar.* p. 281 &c.

(2) See *Marco Paulo*, the Venetian, *de Regionibus Oriental.* Lib. i. c. iv. and Lib. ii. c. vi. and in many other places. *Haytho*, the Armenian, *Historia Oriental.* cap. xix. p. 35. cap. xxiii. p. 39. cap. xxiv. p. 41 &c. *Jos. Sim. Asseman*, *Bibliotheca Orient. Vatic.* Tom. iii. P. ii. p. 526. and others : especially the *Historia Tartarorum ecclesiastica*, composed under my superintendence, and published at Helmstadt 1742. 4to. which I may perhaps enlarge considerably in a future edition. [This purpose was never accomplished. *Schl.*]

(3) See *Luc. Wadding*, *Annales Minorum*, Tom. iii. p. 116, 149, 175, 256.

1274, sent envoys to Europe, to the council of Lyons, under *Gregory X.*(4) *Nicolaus III.*, also, in the year 1278, sent some Franciscans as legates to *Coblai* the emperor of the whole nation. And in the year 1289, *Nicolaus IV.*, sent to the same emperor *John de Monte Corvino*, with some others, who also carried letters to the Nestorians. Nor were these legates wholly unsuccessful; for they instructed many, both of the Tartars and of the Nestorians, in the principles of the Roman religion, and gathered christian churches not only in Tartary but also in China. To facilitate this business, *John de Monte Corvino* translated the books of the New Testament and the Psalms of *David* into the language of the Tartars.(5)

(4) *Wadding*, l. c. Tom. iv. p. 35. Tom. v. p. 128 &c. See this whole subject copiously and critically discussed, in the above cited *Historia Tartarorum ecclesiastica*; which however might be much enlarged, and in some particulars corrected. [The subjects briefly and summarily stated in this section, fill about 70 pages 4to. of Text, and the documents fill as many pages more of the Appendix, of *Mosheim's Hist. Tartaror. Ecclesiast. Tr.*]

(5) *Odor. Raynald*, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Tom. xiv. ad ann. 1378. § 17 &c. p. 282. and ad ann. 1289. § 59 &c. p. 419. ed. Cologne: *Peter Bergeron*, *Traité des Tartares*, cap. xi. p. 61. and many others, cited in the *Historia Tartaror. Eccl.* [*Genghis-Khan* conquered in battle *Un-Khan*, the fourth and last of the christian kings in central Asia who bore the name of *Prester John*, in the year 1202. He now commenced his career of conquest, and during 25 years carried his victorious arms from the Chinese sea to the Euphrates and the Euxine. His four sons harmoniously preserved the unity of the new empire, and extended and consolidated it. In the East, all northern China, as well as Tibet and the countries bordering on Hindostan, were subdued. In the West, the countries from the Indus onward, including Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Georgia, and the whole region about the Caspian, with the southern part of Russia in Europe, were permanently occupied; and Poland, Hungary, and part of Silesia, as well as Siberia, and all northern Asia were overrun, and devastated, and then abandoned. This vast empire of the Moguls, while united, was subject to the great Khan or emperor, who resided first in Chinese Tartary, and then at Peking. The central and western provinces were governed by dependant sovereigns or viceroys, who were for the most part the sons and descendants of *Genghis*, and of course the brothers and relatives of the great Khan. After a very few generations, however, the principal of the provincial governors became nearly or altogether independent sovereigns; and three of them the Khans of Kipzack and Russia, the Khans of Zagatai or Transoxiana, and the Khans of Iran or Persia, were lords of extensive empires. *Genghis* and the succeeding emperors, as well as most of their viceroys in the West, were tolerant towards all religions; and they encouraged men of talents of every religion, warriors, statesmen, physicians, artists of various kinds, and men of letters. Hence in their courts and camps, and in places of high trust in every part of the empire, were to be found christians, Muhammedans, Jews, and pagans, all enjoying the free use of their religion. Many Europeans, as *Marco Paulo* the Venetian, and others, travelled freely from the Bosphorus to China; and in no age, probably, have the Europeans had so free access to the central parts of Asia, as in this century. *Genghis* himself married a daughter of *Prester John*; and several of his descendants had christian wives. Till near the close of the century, most of the Mogul princes, though tolerant to all religions, were rather partial to that of the christians. And this afforded to the Nestorians, (the prevailing sect in those countries,) a fine opportunity to propagate their religion all over the East, and particularly in China. The Roman pontiffs also, sent not only ambassadors, but missionaries, chiefly Franciscan and Dominican monks, quite to Peking and China; and in that country they gathered some churches, and at length established an archbishop, (*John de Monte Corvino*.) with several suffragans. Much greater success would doubtless have now attended the efforts of christians in China, and throughout the empire, had they been united. But the Roman catholics and the Nestorians strove to undermine each other; and the Tartar Khans

§ 3. The same pontiffs made every effort in their power, to sustain the interests of the Latins in Syria and Palestine, which were now nearly ruined ; for as these pontiffs had learned by experience, the great advantage to themselves, the increase of their grandeur and authority, arising from these Asiatic wars waged under the pretence of religion, they were very solicitous to have them kept up. (6) The first expedition was proclaimed by *Innocent III.* Few however of the Europeans obeyed his summons. After various efforts, which were fruitless in most countries, some French nobles, having formed a league with the Venetian republic, put to sea with quite a moderate force. The issue of this expedition was, by no means, such as the pontiff had anticipated. For these French and Venetians did not direct their course to Palestine, but to Constantinople, which they stormed in the year 1203, for the sake of restoring the emperor *Isaac Angelus*, who had implored their aid against the violence and usurpations of his brother *Alexius*. The next year, a bloody sedition took place at Constantinople, in which the emperor *Isaac* died, and his son *Alexius* junior, was strangled by *Alexius Ducas*, the author of the insurrection. On hearing of this parricide, the generals of the crusaders again took possession of Constantinople, on the 13th of April AD. 1204 ; and putting the tyrant *Ducas* to flight, they elected *Baldwin*, count of Flanders, emperor of the Greeks. In opposition to this Latin emperor, the Greeks created, two years after, another of their own nation, *Theodorus Lascaris*, who fixed his residence at Nice in Bithynia. From this period, till the year 1261, there were two emperors of the Greeks, the one a Frank or Latin, and the other a Greek ; of whom the latter resided at Nice, and the former made Constantinople his capital. But in the year 1261, the Greek emperor, *Michael Palaeologus* by means of his general *Cesar Alexius*, recovered Constantinople, and obliged the Latin emperor, *Baldwin II*, to flee into Ita-

were the protectors of each in turn, against the other. Moreover the wars of these Tartars with the Saracens of Syria and Arabia, and with the Sultans of Egypt, who oppressed the christians of Palestine and the East, led them frequently to march armies into Syria, and to solicit alliances with the christians of Europe against those Muhammedans their common enemies ; and this was the cause of frequent embassies between the Moguls and the European sovereigns. But near the close of the century, the Muhammedan religion gained the ascendancy, especially in the western parts of the Mogul empire ; and the Khans themselves now leaned towards it, and in some instances allowed the christians to be persecuted. In general, however, this empire was favorable to the christian cause in Asia, during this century ; and had the christians who attempted the propagation of their religion, possessed more of its true spirit, and made united and vigorous efforts, they might probably have now converted more than half of Asia to the christian faith, and perhaps have established a broad zone of permanent christian light and influence, from Asia Minor quite to the Chinese seas. See *Mosheim's Historia Tartaror.* Eccles. cap. ii. p. 29 &c. and *Schroeckh's Kirchengesch.* vol. xxv. p. 191 &c. with the civil histories of the Tartars. Ty.]

(6) This was stated by some writers of that age : see *Math. Paris, Historia Major*, p. 174, 365, and elsewhere.

ly. Thus terminated the empire of the Franks at Constantinople, after it had stood fifty-seven years.(7)

§ 4. The next crusade was undertaken by the united forces of the Italians and Germans, under the pontiff *Honorius III*, AD. 1217. The commander in chief was, *Andrew* king of Hungary; with whom were *Leopold* of Austria, *Lewis* of Bavaria, and other princes. *Andrew*, after a few months, returned to Europe. The other generals captured the strongly fortified city of *Damietta* in Egypt, AD. 1220. But their successes did not continue long; for next year, the Saracen fleet completely destroyed that of the christians, after having cut off its supplies; and this loss, which was utterly irreparable, was followed by the loss of *Damietta*, and the frustration of the high hopes which the christians had indulged in.(8)

§ 5. The legates and missionaries of the pontiff now enrolled a new army of crusaders, from almost every country of Europe, and which was both more numerous and more respectable, because it was anticipated, the emperor *Frederick II*, would take

(7) These events are best stated by *Charles du Fresne*, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François*; the first part of which contains *Godfrey de Ville-Harduin*, one of the French Generals' *Histoire de la conquête de la ville de Constantinople par les François*. This work forms also a part of the great *Corpus Byzantinum*, Paris 1657. Fol. See also, among others, *Peter Claude Fontenay*, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, Tome x. p. 216 &c. the monk *Gunther's* *Historia captæ a Latinis Constantinopolis*; in *Henry Canisius' Lectiones Antiquæ*, Tom. iv. p. 1 &c. See moreover the Epistles of *Innocent III*, published by *Baluze*: [and *Gibbon's* *Hist. of the decline and fall of the Roman empire*, ch. lx, lxi. Tr.]

(8) See *Jac. de Vitriaco*, *Historia Oriental.* and *Marinus Sanutus*, *Secreta fidelium crucis*; in *Bongarsius' Historians of the Crusades*, or *Gesta Dei per Francos*. [While the christians were encamped before *Damietta*, we are told, that *St. Francis*, the honest enthusiast who founded the Franciscan order, burning with zeal for the conversion of infidels, and eager for a martyr's crown, went to Egypt, and with a single attendant proceeded from the christian camp towards that of the Saracens. When arrested at the outposts, he exclaimed: "I am a christian: carry me to your Sultan." The musselmans did so: and when the Sultan demanded of him, who he was, how he came there, and who had sent him; he replied, that he was *Francis*, the servant of Jesus Christ, and that he was sent to him by the most high God, to teach him and his people the way of salvation. Pleased with his address, the Sultan entered into free conversation with him, and found so much amusement in his wild though gentlemanly flights of fancy, that he invited him to remain with him. *Francis* replied, that he would do so, on condition that the Sultan would renounce muhamedism and embrace christianity, and would persuade his people to do the same; and added, that if the Sultan doubted, he might order a great fire kindled, into which *Francis* would plunge himself, along with some of the musselman priests, and if he perished, it might be imputed to his sinfulness, but if not, then the Sultan must be convinced. The Sultan said, there were none of his priests that were willing to try the experiment. Then, said *Francis*, I will plunge in alone, provided you will embrace Christ, if I come out unhurt. The Sultan objected, that his subjects would revolt, and would kill him, if he should renounce their faith. He now offered *Francis* a large sum of money, to distribute in charity among the christians; but *Francis* spurned his money, unless he would become a christian. At length the Sultan dismissed him, with a guard to conduct him safely to the christian camp; and at parting, requested his prayers, that God would vouchsafe to show him which was the true faith and the religion most pleasing in his sight. See *Jac. de Vitriaco*, *Hist. Occident.* cap. 32. and *Bonarentura*, *Vita S. Francisci*, cap. ix. § 6, 7. Tr.]

the command of it in his own person. *Frederic* had made such a promise to the Roman pontiff: and it seemed, he could not violate his promise, since he had married *Jolanda*, the daughter of the count of Brienne and king of Jerusalem, in the year 1223, and had received with her the kingdom of Jerusalem as her dower. But under various pretences, the emperor long delayed his voyage, and at length in the year 1228, after being excommunicated by *Gregory IX*, he set out with a small retinue, to join the forces which were anxiously waiting in Palestine for his arrival. When he arrived in Palestine, instead of carrying on the war, he terminated it. For, without the knowledge, and contrary to the wishes of those engaged with him in the enterprise, he in the year 1229, concluded a peace, or rather a truce for ten years, with *Melic-Camel*, the Muhammedan sultan: and as the principal condition was, that he should receive the city and the kingdom of Jerusalem, as soon as the city was transferred to him, he was crowned king of Jerusalem. Having made these arrangements, he hastened back to Italy, in order to quell some commotions there, which the pontiff had excited in his absence. This crusade therefore terminated more happily than the others.(9)

§ 6. Other less noted and less fortunate expeditions to Palestine followed: as, first, in the year 1239, that of *Theobald V*,(10) count of Campania and king of Navarre, with other princes of Germany and France; and then in 1240, that of *Richard* count of Cornwal, and brother of *Henry III*, the king of England. The result of neither corresponded with the preparations made for them. In the former, the ambassadors of the emperor *Frederic*, in Palestine, renewed the truce with the Muhammedans; and the rest of the forces were vanquished by the barbarians at Gaza; and such as survived the slaughter, returned to Europe. The chief cause of the disaster, was the discord between the knights templars and those of St. John of Jerusalem. And hence, *Richard* could effect nothing of importance: but, with the consent of most of his confederates, concluded a truce, such as the state of their affairs would permit, with the king of Egypt, and returned to Europe in the year 1241.(11)

(9) See the historians of the crusades, and the writers of the Life of *Frederic II*; also *Muratori*, *Annales Italiae*; and the writers of the history of the Germanic empire. [The pope still considered the emperor as excommunicated, notwithstanding he had satisfied the demands of the pontiff by performing the crusade. By means of the clergy, both in Asia and in Europe, the pope exposed him to various dangers and difficulties; he invaded the emperors territories in Apulia, during his absence, contrary to all the rules then in force in regard to persons engaged in a crusade; he spread a report of his death, and sent legates into Germany and Denmark, to persuade some other person to suffer himself to be set up as emperor in opposition to *Frederic*. These surely were cogent reasons for the valiant emperor to hasten back to Italy, and restrain the haughty pontiff within the bounds of his duty. *Schl.*]

(10) [It was *Theobald*, VI, who engaged in this crusade. He was the posthumous son of *Theobald V*, who died, as he was about to embark in the crusade of AD. 1201. See *Fleury*, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Livr. lxxxi. § 26. Tr.]

(11) The history of these transactions is the most accurately and faithfully

§ 7. As the affairs of the christians were now declining more and more in the East, *Lewis IX*, king of France, who was enrolled among the saints after his death, and who is still regarded with peculiar veneration, in fulfilment of a vow made in his very severe sickness AD. 1248, collected a powerful army and a great fleet, and proceeded to Egypt, anticipating that the conquest of that country would facilitate the operations of war in Palestine and Syria. At first he was successful; for he captured *Damietta*, a celebrated city of Egypt: but the progress of the war was most disastrous. The Muhammedans intercepted their supplies, in the year 1250, and famine and the pestilence raged in his camp: *Robert*, the king's brother, indiscreetly pursuing the enemy, was slain in battle: the king himself, two of his brothers, and the greatest part of his army, were made prisoners. This magnanimous and heroic monarch, who was also very pious according to the standard of that age, was ransomed at a great price,⁽¹²⁾ and after four years spent in Palestine, returned to France with a few followers, in the year 1254.⁽¹³⁾

§ 8. The king, whose invincible spirit was by no means discouraged by these disasters, renewed the war in the year 1270: for he supposed he had not yet fully satisfied his solemn vow to God. Collecting therefore an immense fleet, and accompanied by numerous princes and nobles, he set sail for Africa, intending to establish there an advanced post for the future wars in Asia. Immediately on his arrival, he attacked and carried the fortress of Carthage; but soon after, a pestilential disease swept off the greatest part of his forces in the harbor of Tunis, and on the 25th of August, AD. 1270, the king himself became its victim.⁽¹⁴⁾ After him, no sovereign of Europe dared again venture on an en-

detailed by *Geo. Christ. Gebauer*, in his *History of Richard the general*, written in German, Lib. i. p. 34 &c. It appears from the epistles of *Peter de Vineis*, that *Frederic II*, created *Richard* his viceroy for the kingdom of Jerusalem; and this accounts for the attempts of *Gregory IX*, to retard his voyage.

(12) ["The ransom, which, together with the restoration of *Damietta*, the king was obliged to pay for his liberty, was 800,000 gold bezants, and not 80,000, as *Collier* (*Eccles. History*, Cent. xiii. vol. i. p. 456.) erroneously reckons. This sum, which was equal then to 500,000 livres of French money, would in our days, amount to the value of 4,000,000 of livres, that is, to about 190,000 pounds sterling." *Maccl.*]

(13) Of the 2800 knights, of noble birth, who accompanied the king from France, not more than 100 were alive, when he embarked from Palestine on his return. *Joinville's Histoire de S. Louis*, p. 81 &c.

(14) Here should be consulted, before all others, the *Histoire de S. Louis ix. du nom Roy de France*, écrite par *Jean Sire de Joinville*, enrichie de nouvelles Dissertations et Observations historiques par *Charles du Fresne*, Paris 1668, Fol. and next, the biographers of St. Lewis, especially *Filleau de la Chaise*, *Histoire de S. Louis*, Paris 1688. 2 vol. 8vo. and finally, all the writers of histories of France: [e. g. *J. Gifford*, *Hist. of France*, vol. i. p. 452 &c. and p. 473 &c. ed. Lond. 1791. 4to. Tr.] Add *Menco's Chronicon*, in *Ant. Matthai's Analecta veteris aevi*, Tom. iii. p. 172, 179. *Luc. Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. iv. p. 294 &c. and passim. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iii. p. 212, 393 &c. *Pierre Claude Fontenay*, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, Tome xi. p. 337 &c. 405, 575.

terprize of so much peril, toil, and expense. Hence the kingdom of the Latins in the east, gradually wasted away, in spite of the efforts of the Roman pontiffs to preserve it; and on the capture of Ptolemais by the Muhammedans, AD. 1291, it became wholly extinct.(15) Among the causes of so great a loss, the valor of the enemy was one of the least: the principal causes were, the disunion of the christians among themselves, the extreme profligacy of those who called themselves Christ's soldiers, and the ignorance and obstinacy of the papal legates.(16)

§ 9. In the West, the fierce people of Prussia, at the commencement of the century, were still adhering firmly to the superstition of their ancestors; nor could the priests, occasionally sent among them, by their arguments and exhortations, induce them to embrace christianity. Hence *Conrad*, duke of Masovia [in Poland], thought proper to apply coercion; and in the year 1230, proffering liberal rewards, he invited the knights of the Teutonic order of St. Mary, who on their exclusion from Palestine had taken residence at Venice, to undertake the subjugation of the Prussians and their conversion to the christian faith. They came into the country under *Hermann* of Balcke as their leader, and after an uninterrupted and cruel war of fifty three years with the Prussians, they with difficulty brought them to submit to the government of the knights, and to allow the christian religion to take place of that of their fathers.(17) From Prussia these knights made inroads upon the neighboring nations, particularly upon the Lithuanians; nor did they cease from slaughtering, devastating, and plundering all before them, till this people also feigned a compelled submission, not so much to Christ, as to these his furious and bloody warriors.(18)

§ 10. In Spain the christian kings of Castile, Leon, Navarre, and Arragon, waged perpetual wars with the Saracen princes, who possessed Valencia, Andalusia, Granada, and Murcia; and

(15) *Anth. Matthai*, *Analecta veteris aevi*, Tom. v. p. 748. *Jac. Echar'd's* *Scriptores Dominicani*, Tom. i. p. 422 &c. *Imola*, on *Danté*; in *Muratori's* *Antiq. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. i. p. 1111, 1112.

(16) [For these legates pursued exclusively the interests of the popes, and of the Romish clergy; and they labored, often by harsh means, by imprisonment, and by closing up their churches, to bring the patriarchs of Jerusalem and the entire Greek clergy, in the countries held by the Latins, under subjection to the Romish see; and they so irritated the Greeks, that they were often more friendly to the Muhammedans than to the occidental christians, and would rather be subject to a people who could be satisfied with an annual tribute, than live under a spiritual monarch, whose avarice, as well as that of his legates, was insatiable. *Schl.*]

(17) See *Matthai*, *Analecta vet. aevi*, Tom. iii. p. 18. Tom. v. 684—689. *Peter of Duisburg's* *Chronicon Prussiae*; published by *Hartknoch*, Jena 1679. 4to. *Christ. Hartknoch's* *History of the Prussian church*, written in German, Lib. i. c. 1. p. 33 &c. and *Antiquitates Prussiae*, Diss. xiv. p. 201 &c. *Steph. Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. vii. p. 427, 478 &c. *Wadding's* *Annales Minorum*, Tom. iv. p. 40, 63 &c. *Solignac's* *Histoire de Pologne*, Tome ii. p. 238 &c.

(18) Besides those just mentioned, see *Ludewig's* *Reliquiae manuscriptor. omnis aevi*, Tom. i. p. 336 &c.

such was their success, that the territories of the Saracens were daily reduced to narrower limits, and the boundaries of the christian church extended. The most distinguished in these contests, were, *Ferdinand* king of Castile and Leon, who obtained a place among the *Saints*, his father *Alphonsus IX*, king of Leon, *James I*, king of Arragon, and some others.(19) In particular, this *James* of Arragon, having conquered Valencia, in the year 1236, spared no pains, to convert to the christian faith his new subjects, whom he could not expel the country without serious injury to the state. Hence he ordered the Dominicans, whom he chiefly used for this purpose, to learn the language of the Arabians; and he established schools in the island of Majorca and at Barcelona, for the education of preachers of the christian religion. When these efforts were found to produce little effect upon the obstinate people, *Clement IV*, the pontiff, exhorted the king to expel the Muhammedans from Spain: and the king was not opposed to the measure; but the nobles frustrated the designs of the pontiff and king.(20)

(19) See *John de Ferreras*, History of Spain; the whole of vol. iv.

(20) See *Mich. Geddes*, History of the expulsion of the Moriscoes; in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 26 &c.

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Adversities of christians in the East.—§ 2. Pretended atheists among the Latins.—§ 3. *Frederic II*, and the book respecting the three Impostors.

§ 1. What injuries the christian cause sustained in Asia, will be manifest from what has been said of the Tartars and of the unhappy issue of the crusades. If the Saracens had imbibed the same principles as the Latin christians of this age, they would not have suffered a single christian to live in all Asia. But though they committed various enormities, and were not a little vexatious to the christians, yet what to the Romans seemed holy and right, by them was judged unrighteous and cruel, namely to exterminate with fire and sword such as were of a different religion and would not abandon it. On the overthrow of the kingdom of Jerusalem, many of the Latins remained still in Syria, and retiring to the rugged mountains of Libanus, they gradually lost their sense of religion and humanity, to such a degree, that those of them remaining at the present day seem nearly destitute of all knowledge of God.(1)

§ 2. The Latin writers of those times often complain of public enemies of the christian religion, and even of mockers of the supreme Being. Nor are these complaints entirely vain and incredible. For men of discernment, who critically inspected the religion, which the Roman pontiffs and their servants and friends preached and inculcated as being the only true religion taught by Christ, and which they maintained by fire and the sword, might easily be led to believe, that christianity was a fabrication, invented and propagated by the priests, for their own advantage; and especially was such a conclusion easy, as there were none to teach them better. Besides, the Aristotelian philosophy, which reigned in all the schools of Europe, and was regarded as solid reason, led not a few to discard the doctrines commonly held and preached, respecting divine providence, the immortality of the soul, the crea-

(1) Certain tribes of the *Derusi* or *Drusi*, residing on the Libanus and Antilibanus, pretend that they are descended from the Franks, and that they were once sovereigns of Palestine. These pretensions are somewhat questionable; yet it is certain, that the descendants of the crusaders, still exist in those regions, but so debased, that they more resemble pagans than christians. [The *Druses* seem to be a sect of Muhammedan, rather than christian origin. See *Jowett's* christian researches in Syria &c. p. 35 &c. ed. Boston 1826. 12mo. If any descendants of the crusaders still exist about mount Libanus, it is much more reasonable to look for them among some of the sects of Roman Catholics there, as the Maronites, the Greeks, or the Syrians, than to suppose they have wholly lost their christian principles and Roman Catholic character, and are now ranked among Muhammedans and pagans. Tr.]

tion of the world, and other points, and thus to become promoters of irreligion.(2)

§ 3. At the head of the enemies of christianity stood the emperor *Frederic II*; if credit is to be given to the sovereign pontiff, *Gregory IX*, who in the year 1239, charged him before all the kings and princes of Europe, with saying *that the whole world had been deceived by three baratators, (that is, impostors,) Jesus Christ, Moses, and Muhammed.*(3) This heavy charge, the emperor deemed it necessary to refute, by a public profession of his religious faith. It rested on the testimony of some German princes, and particularly of *Henry Raspo*, landgrave of Thuringia, who said they had heard *Frederic* utter such language.(4) Per-

(2) Not to mention *St. Thomas' Summa contra gentes*, and others, the reader may consult *Bernh. Moneta's Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, who strenuously combats the enemies of religion in his times. In Lib. v. c. iv. p. 416 &c. he disputes at large against those who affirmed, *that the souls of men perish with their bodies*. In Lib. v. c. xi. p. 477, he refutes the Aristotelian philosophers, who taught *that the world had existed from eternity, and would continue to exist eternally*. In Lib. v. c. xv. p. 554, he assails those who, contemning the authority of the sacred volume, *subverted human liberty, and maintained the fatal necessity of all things, even of crimes*. Add *Stephen Tempier*, the bishop of Paris' *Indiculum errorum*, qui a nonnullis Magistris Lutetiae publice, privatimque docebantur; written AD. 1277, and extant in the Biblioth. Patrum maxima, Tom. xxv. p. 233 &c. See also *Boulay's Historia Acad. Parisiens.* Tom. iii. p. 433. and *Gerard du Bois, Historia eccles. Paris.* Tom. ii. p. 501. These teachers, it may surprise us to learn, taught *that all men have but one understanding, that all things are controlled by necessity, that there is no providence of God, that the world existed eternally, that the soul becomes extinct*, and other similar doctrines, which they supported by the principles of *Aristotle*. And to screen their lives and their safety, they defended themselves against their opposers, in the very same manner as the Aristotelians of the 15th and 16th centuries did, namely, by distinguishing between *theological truth and philosophical*. They said, (as we are distinctly told by *Stephen*.) *These things are true according to philosophy, but not so according to the catholic faith*.

(3) See *Matth. Paris, Historia major*, p. 408, 459. *Peter de Vineis, Epistolar.* Lib. i. [Ep. 31. See also *Raynald*, ad ann. 1239, where we find the epistle of *Gregory IX*, addressed to the christian kings and princes, in which he says: *Probationes in fidei victoriam sunt paratae, quod iste rex pestilentiae (namely Frederic), a tribus baratatoribus, ut ejus verbis utamur, scilicet Christo Jesu, Moyse, et Mahometo totum mundum fuisse deceptum, et duobus eorum in gloria mortuis, ipsum Jesum in ligno suspensum manifeste proposuerit*. The emperor's defense, in answer to the pope, is in *Harzheim's Concilia German.* Tom. iii. p. 562 &c. *Schl.*—It should be remembered, that *Frederic* had a long and violent quarrel with the popes, and was at length excommunicated by them. This letter of *Gregory*, was written after the emperor's excommunication, and in justification of it. It is couched in very angry terms, and is a labored attempt to blacken his character to the utmost: and this charge of blasphemy, is only one among the many accusations heaped together by the enraged pontiff. Tr.]

(4) *Herm. Gigas, Flores temporum*, p. 128. *Chr. Fred. Ayrmann, Sylloge Anecdotor.* Tom. i. p. 639 &c. [See also *Harenberg's Dissert. de secta non timentium Deum seculo xiii, vel enata vel efficta*, &c. Brunswick 1755, 8vo. p. 62 &c. In general, the testimony of *Raspo* is that of an enemy, and of an enemy who was devoted, soul and body, to the pope. Such testimony is little regarded in a court. Excommunication had now become a little too common: and the pope must find out something new, something which had never before been heard of. He therefore represented the emperor, who had made himself suspected, by his intimacy with *Averroes*, and by his rejection of the prevailing superstition, as being a blasphemer and an atheist; and this in order to alienate from him those with whom the word *excommunication* had lost somewhat of its efficacy. *Schl.*]

haps something like this did fall from the lips of *Frederic*, when in a violent passion; for he was not unfrequently imprudent; and there were, among the many learned men that attended him, some from the Aristotelian school, who might have suggested to him such impious thoughts. Hence it was, that a fabulous story was handed down to posterity, respecting a detestable book, *On the three Impostors*, which was said to have been written either by the emperor himself, or by *Peter de Vineis*, a native of Capua, and a man of great credit and influence, who was the emperor's prime minister. (5)

(5) See *Casim. Oudin*, Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles. Tom. iii. p. 66. *Alb. Henr. de Sallengre*, Memoires de Histoire et de Litterat. Tome i. P. i. p. 386 &c. ["The book entitled, *Liber de III Impostoribus, sive Tractatus de Vanitate Religionum*, is really a book, which had no existence at the time that the most noise was made about it, and was spoken of by multitudes before it had been seen by any one person. Its supposed existence was probably owing to an impious saying of *Simeon of Tournay*, doctor of divinity in the university of Paris in the 13th century, which amounts to this: "That the Jews were seduced out of their senses by *Moses*, the christians by *Jesus*, and the gentiles by *Mahomet*." This, or some expressions of a similar kind, were imputed to the emperor *Frederic* and other persons, and that perhaps without any real foundation; and the imaginary book, to which they have given rise, has been attributed by different authors, to *Frederic*, to his chancellor *Peter de Vineis*, to *Alphonso* king of Castile, to *Boccaccio*, *Pogge*, the *Aretins*, *Pomponace*, *Machiavel*, *Erasmus*, *Ochinus*, *Servetus*, *Rabelais*, *Giordano Bruno*, *Campanella*, and many others. In a word, the book was long spoken of before any such work existed; but the rumor that was spread abroad encouraged some profligate traders in licentiousness to compose, or rather compile, a bundle of miserable rhapsodies, under the famous title of the *Three Impostors*, in order to impose upon such as are fond of these pretended rarities. Accordingly, the *Spaccio della Bestia Triomphante* of *Giordano Bruno*, and a wretched piece of impiety, called the *Spirit of Spinoza*, were the ground-work or materials from whence these hireling compilers, by modifying some passages and adding others, drew the book which now passes under the name of the *Three Impostors*, of which I have seen two copies in manuscript, but no printed edition. See *la Monnoye's* Dissertation sur le Livre de III Imposteurs, published at Amsterdam in 1715, at the end of the 4th volume of the *Menagiana*. See also an Answer to this Dissertation, which was impudently exposed to the public eye, in 1716, from the press of *Scheurleer* in the Hague, and which contains a fabulous story of the origin of the book in question. Whoever is desirous of a more ample and a very curious account of this matter, will find it in the late *Prosper Marchand's* Dictionaire Historique, vol. ii. at the article *Impostoribus*." *Maccl.*]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

§ 1. Learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. Learning in the West.—§ 3. State of the Academies.—§ 4. The Academic course.—§ 5. The Belles lettres.—§ 6. The Greek and oriental languages.—§ 7. Progress of philosophy.—§ 8. The favorers of Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas and others.—§ 9. Promoters of general knowledge.—§ 10. Study of jurisprudence and medicine.

§ 1. The severe adversities to which the Greeks were exposed, left them but little leisure or resolution for the diligent prosecution of learning. Yet a thirst for knowledge was not wholly extinguished among them; as is manifest from the writers they produced in this age. Among their historians, the most distinguished were, *Nicetas Choniates*,⁽¹⁾ *George Acropolita*,⁽²⁾ *Gregory Pachymeres*,⁽³⁾ and *Joel*, whose *Chronology* is still extant.⁽⁴⁾ From some tracts of *Nicephorus Blemmida*,⁽⁵⁾ and

(1) [*Nicetas Choniates* was a native of *Chona*, (the ancient *Colosse*,) in *Phrygia*; was educated by his older brother *Michael Choniates*, at Constantinople, where he became distinguished as a civilian, and public officer, under *Alexius Comnenus* and *Isaac Angelus*. On the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, AD. 1204, he retired with his family to Nice in Bithynia, where he was living, in the year 1206. He wrote a history of the Greek empire, from the death of *Alexius Comnenus* AD. 1180, to the decease of the Latin emperor *Henry*, AD. 1206, in 21 books; published, Gr. and Lat. Basil 1557, Paris 1647. Fol. and in the *Scriptores Byzantini*. He also wrote *Thesaurus orthodoxæ Fidei*, in 27 Books; which is still extant in MS. and the five first books of which, in a Latin translation by *Morrell*, were published Paris 1580, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xxv.—A funeral Oration on his death, by his older brother *Michael Choniates*, archbishop of Athens, in a Latin translation, is printed with his history, and also in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xxv. Tr.]

(2) [*George Acropolita* was born at Constantinople, and received a learned education. He was sent to the court of Nice, when young, AD. 1228; and continued there most of his life. He rose to the highest civil offices in the gift of the emperors, and was much employed on embassies, and as a special judge or commissioner. He died AD. 1282. His history of the Greek empire, from the invasion of the Latins in 1203, to the end of their reign at Constantinople, AD. 1261, was published imperfect, Gr. and Lat. Leyden 1614. 8vo. and entire, with notes, by *Leo Allatius*, Paris 1651. Fol. subjoined to his prolix essay, *de Georgiis et eorum scriptis*. Tr.]

(3) [*Gregory Pachymeres* was born at Nice AD. 1242. After a good education, he became an ecclesiastic at Constantinople, where he was in high reputation, and rose to the highest offices under the patriarch. He was certainly alive in the year 1308. He wrote the history of the Greek empire, from AD. 1258, to 1308; published, Gr. and Lat. Rome 1666, and 1669, ii. vol. Fol. Also a paraphrase on *Dionysius Areopagita*; published with the works of *Dionysius*; likewise a tract on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and an epitome of Aristotle's *Logic*, both of which are extant. Tr.]

(4) [Of this *Joel*, little is known, except that he must have been witness of the desolations of Constantinople, in the year 1204. He wrote a brief chronol-

Gregory Pashymeres, it appears, that the Peripatetic philosophy still had its friends among them. Yet others preferred *Plato*; while the majority assiduously studied the younger Platonists, and supposed their system would coalesce with that of *Aristotle*. The writers of sermons and lives of the saints, the combatants against the Latins, and the expounders of their canon law, need not be enumerated. Among the Syrian christians, the most distinguished writer was, *Gregory Abulpharajus*, Maphrian [eastern primate] of the Jacobites; a man of superior genius, and extensive learning, and truly respectable as a theologian, a historian, and a philosopher.(6) With him may be joined, *George Elmacin*, the author of a History of the Saracens.(7)

ogy of the world, from the creation, to AD. 1204; published by *Leo Allatius*, Gr. and Lat. with the works of *George Acropolita*, Paris 1651 Tr.]

(5) [*Nicephorus Blemmida*, was a presbyter and a very austere monk of mount Athos, who refused the patriarchate of Constantinople in the year 1255. He is said to have leaned to the side of the Latin church, in their disputes with the Greeks. His two Tracts de processione Spiritus Sancti, are extant in Latin, annexed to the first volume of *Raynald's Annales eccles.* and Gr. and Lat. in *Leo Allatius* Orthodox Greek writers, Tom. i. Besides these, an epistle, and an epitome of logic and physics, have been published; and several other small works of his, are preserved in manuscript. Tr.]

(6) *Peter Bayle*, Dictionaire, Tom. i. p. 37. *Jos. Sim. Asseman*, Biblioth. Orient. Vatic. Tom. ii. cap. xlii. p. 244. [*Gregory Abulpharajus*, or *Abul-Faras*, *Ibn Hakima*, was the son of a physician, who was a christian Jew, named *Aaron*, and by the Arabs, *Ibn Koph*. He was born AD. 1226, at Malatia in Armenia, near the sources of the Euphrates, and became celebrated as a physician and a learned man. When the Moguls overran his country, AD. 1243, he fled to Antioch, with his parents; became a monk, and successively bishop of Guba, Lacabena, Aleppo, and AD. 1264, Jacobite Maphrian or Primate of the East, till his death, in 1289. The first work of his that was published, was an abridgment of universal history, from the creation, to the year AD. 1284, written in Arabic, and divided into ten Dynasties. The six first relate to the old patriarchs, the judges and kings of the Hebrews, and the Chaldean, the Persian and Grecian monarchs. The seventh relates to the Romans, the eighth to the Greeks of Constantinople, the ninth to the Arabians, and the tenth to the Moguls. The two last Dynasties make full half the work, and are altogether the most important; for in Greek and Roman history, he was not well informed, while in that of the Arabs and Tartars, he is perhaps a good authority. The whole was published, Arab. and Lat. by *Pocock*, Oxford 1663. 4to. and the most valuable parts of the ninth Dynasty, which is by far the best, *Dr. Pocock* published in 1650, under the title of *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, &c. This Arabic work is an abridgment of a much larger work in Syriac, which was published, Syriac and Latin, under the title of *Bar Hebraei Chronicon Syriacum*, Lips. 1789. ii. Tom. 4to. He also wrote many theological and other works, from which *Asseman* has given us extracts. See *Schroeckh's* Kirchengeschichte, vol. xxiv. p. 468 &c. Tr.]

(7) [*George Elmacin* was descended from a respectable family of Syrian christians, which had resided for five generations in Egypt, where they had held the offices of notary and privy counsellor. His father, *Abuljasirus*, was a notary or clerk to the council of war, for 45 years, and died AD. 1230. Four of his grandfather's brother's were bishops. That he was a christian, there can be no doubt. Yet living among Muhammedans, and his family, if not himself also, holding offices under the government, he is careful to avoid all terms of reproach, when speaking of *Muhammed*, his religion, and his followers. His history of the Saracens, is in the form of Annals, and extends from the death of *Muhammed*, to AD. 1118. The countries he embraces are, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia. The work was published, with the Latin translation of *Erpenius*, Arabic and Latin, by *Golius*, Lugduni 1625. Fol. *Elmacin* prefixed to it a chronology, from the creation, to the time the history begins; but which has never been published. See *Bayle*, Dictionaire, article, *Elmacin*. Tr.]

§ 2. Far happier was the state of learning of every kind, among the Latins. For the kings and princes of Europe, having learned by experience, what advantages a nation may derive from the cultivation of learning and the useful arts, invited learned men to their territories, stimulated and encouraged a thirst for knowledge, and rewarded it with honors and emoluments. Those who acquired most glory and fame by such patronage, were, the emperor *Frederic II*, who was himself a man of letters, as well as a distinguished patron of all sorts of learning, and *Alphonsus X*, the king of Castile and Leon. The former founded the academy of Naples, caused the books of *Aristotle* to be translated into Latin, assembled all the learned men he could in his court, and gave many other proofs of his very great attachment to learning.(8) *Alphonsus* perpetuated his fame, by composing the *Astronomic Tables*, and some other works.(9) Accordingly, in this age, schools of the higher order were erected almost every where; various privileges and immunities were conferred on the youth that resorted to them; and to these learned societies that started up every where, the forms of bodies politic was granted, and they were privileged with a jurisdiction peculiar to themselves.

§ 3. But in these public schools or academies, which were founded at Padua, Modena, Naples, Capua, Toulouse, Salamanca, Lyons, Cologne, and in other places, the whole circle of the sciences then known, was not taught, but only certain parts of it, or some particular sciences. That at Paris, which excelled all others in various respects, as well as in the number both of teachers and students, was the first to embrace *all* the arts and sciences; and therefore, first became a *university*, or as it was then expressed, *studium universale*. Afterwards some others were gradually formed upon the same plan. In this mother therefore of all the European *universities*, the doctors were first distributed into four colleges, according to the sciences of which they were professors; and these colleges afterwards received the name of *faculties*. Over each college, one of the doctors, designated by the suffrages of the rest, presided for a given time, and was called the *Dean*.(10) The head of the whole *university*, at first, was the *chancellor*, namely the bishop of Paris: but as he seemed not adequate to all the duties, a *rector* was afterwards associated with him.(11) The college of theology was princi-

(8) *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iii. p. 115. *Giannone's Histoire de Naples*, Tom. ii. p. 497. See also the observations of *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Latin. medii aevi*, Tom. ii. p. 618.

(9) *Nic. Antonius*, *Biblioth. vetus Hispanica*, Lib. viii. c. v. p. 217. and *Jo. de Ferreras*, *Histoire d'Espagne*, Tom. iv. p. 347 &c.

(10) This took place about AD. 1260. See *Boulay's Histoire Acad. Paris.* Tom. iii. p. 557, 564.

(11) On this whole subject, in addition to *Herm. Conringius*, de *Antiquitatibus Academicis*, which is an incomplete work; see *Caesar Egasse de Boulay's Historia Academiae Parisiensis*, a copious and excellent work, in vi. volumes; and *Claud. Hemaeracus*, de *Academia Parisiensi*, qualis primo fuit in insula et episco-

pally founded and endowed, in the year 1250, by *Robert de Sorbonne*, an opulent and pious man, and a favorite of *Lewis IX*, or *Saint Lewis*: and from him it derived the name of (*Sorbonna*) *the Sorbonne*, which it has retained to the present time. (12)

§ 4. Those who would be enrolled among the teachers in any *faculty*, before they could obtain their object, had to go through a long and very difficult process, called the [*academic*] *course*, and to undergo various examinations, during many years. The design of these regulations was, to prevent the excessive multiplication of teachers, and to exclude persons deficient in knowledge and experience, from entering upon duties which required the most solid acquisitions. Those who satisfactorily performed all that was required by the rules, were formally admitted to the rank of *professors*, and with certain public ceremonies, similar to those used in the associations of the unlearned artists and mechanics, were hailed as *Masters*. This custom, first introduced in the preceding century by the Jurists of Bologna, was in the present century, at Paris, first extended to the Theologians, and afterwards to the professors of physic and of the liberal arts. And this was the origin of what are called *academical degrees*; which, like all human institutions, have deviated far from their original design, and are continually varying more and more. (13)

§ 5. The *belles lettres* did not derive from these institutions and efforts so much advantage, as the other branches of learning did. For most of the young men devoted themselves to either canon or civil law, which opened the way to preferment and wealth; or they attended only to philosophy, which promised them fame as men of acuteness and genius. The pontiffs therefore, and the other bishops, complained bitterly of the neglect of literature and polite learning; and endeavored, though in vain, to divert the youth from the study of law and philosophy, to that of sacred literature and the liberal arts. (14) Still, there are some among the writers of this age, whom no man of candor can regard with contempt. Among the poets, *William Brito*, (15) *Wal-*

porum scholis, Paris 1637, 4to. The writers quoted by *Conringius*, are not here enumerated.

(12) See *Boulay's* *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iii. p. 223. *Charles du Fresne*, notes to *Joinville's* Life of St. Lewis, p. 36 &c.

(13) Besides the writers already referred to, see *Jo. Christ. Itterus*, de gradibus Academicis; and *Just. Henn. Boehmer*, Praef. ad Jus Canonicum, p. 14. *Ant. Wood*, *Antiquit. Oxonienses*, Tom. i. p. 24. *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. ii. p. 256, 682, 684 &c.

(14) See *Boulay's* *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iii. p. 265, where is an energetic epistle of *Innocent III*. Also, *Ant. Wood's* *Antiquitates Oxon.* Tom. i. p. 124. *Imolu* on Danté, in *Muratori's* *Antiquit. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. i. p. 1262.

(15) See *Historia de l' Acad. des Inscriptions et des Belles lettres*, Tom. xvi. p. 255 &c. [*William Brito*, or *the Briton*, because born in Bretagne; and hence also called *Armoricus*. He composed two histories of the French king, *Philip Augustus*, in whose court he lived, the one in prose, the other in verse. The first terminates AD. 1219; the latter extends farther, and is entitled *Philippis*. In both, he copies from *Rigord*. Both are extant, in *du Chesne's* *Scriptores Hist. Francicae*, Tom. v. p. 68, and 93 &c. *Schl.*]

ter Mapes, (16) *Matthew* of Vendome, (17) *Alain de l'Isle*, *Gunther* Ligurinus, (18) *James* de Vitriaco, and some others, merit the praise of being sprightly and agreeable writers. Among the historians, *Matthew Paris*, distinguished for intelligence and good sense, (19) *Roderic Ximenius*, (20) *Rigordus*, (21) *Vincent* of Beauvais, (22) *Robert* of St. Marino, (23) *Martin Polanus*, (24)

(16) *Jo. Wolfius*, *Lectiones memorabil.* Tom. i. p. 430. [*Walter Mapes* was an English ecclesiastic, chaplain to king *Henry II.* and afterwards archdeacon of Oxford. He flourished about AD. 1210; and having spent some time at Rome, he was well acquainted with the corruptions of that court, as well as of the clergy at large. His short and satirical poems lash the vices of the times, and particularly of the clergy. *John Wolf*, l. c. has published six of his pieces; viz. *Apocalypsis Goliae Pontificis: ad impios Praelatos: ad malos Pastores: ad Christi Sacerdotes: Sermo ad eodem Praelatos impios: and, de malis Romanæ Curiae.* Tr.]

(17) [*Matthew* of Vendome (Vindocinensis) is placed by some at the beginning of the century, by others in the middle, and by others near its end. He wrote in elegiac verse, the *history* of *Tobias, father and son*, which he entitled *Tobiale*; published, Lyons 1506, and Bremen 1642. Tr.]

(18) [*Gunther* was a schoolmaster at Paris, and then a Cistercian monk in the diocese of Basle; and flourished about AD. 1210. His poetic history of the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, was published by *H. Canisius*, *Lectiones antiquæ*, Tom. v. and his celebrated poetic life of *Frederic Barbarossa*, in ten books, has been often published separate, and also in *Justin Reuber's* *Scriptores Germanici*, p. 407—734. Tr.]

(19) [*Matthew Paris* was an English Benedictine monk, initiated at St. Albans, AD. 1217. He was a very exemplary man, in high favor with *Henry II.* and employed by the pope to reform some foreign monasteries. He is accounted the best historian of the middle ages, learned, independent, honest, and judicious. His great work is, his *Historia major*, or History of England from the arrival of *William* the Conqueror in 1066, to the 43d year of *Henry III.* or AD. 1259; which was the year of his death. His *Historia minor* is an epitome of the preceding. He also composed the lives of the two *Offas*, kings of Mercia; the lives of the 23 abbots of St. Albans, up to his times; likewise *Additions* to his *Historia major*; and a chronicle, from the creation, to *William* the Conqueror. His works were best published by *Wm. Watts*, D. D. London 1740. Fol. Tr.]

(20) [*Roderic Ximenes*, or *Simonis*, was a Spaniard of Navarre, educated at Paris, and archbishop of Toledo from AD. 1208, till his death AD. 1247. He wrote the history of Spain, from the arrival of *Hercules* there, to the year AD. 1243, in nine books, which he called the *Historia Gothica*. As amplifications of this, he wrote a history of the Ostrogoths from AD. 453, to 555; a history of the Huns and Vandals, from their origin, to AD. 555; a history of the Arabians, from AD. 570, to AD. 1150; and a Roman history, from king *Janus*, to the emperor *Augustus*. The whole was published by *Andreas Schott*, *Hispania illustrata*, Tom. ii. p. 26 &c. Francf. 1603. Tr.]

(21) *Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscript. et des Belles lettres*, Tome xvi. p. 243 &c. where also *William* of Nangis is treated of. [*Rigord* was probably born in the south of France, of Gothic extract, a physician, historian, and a clerk of St. Denys. He wrote the life of *Philip Augustus*, king of France, in prose; which *William Brito* follows, in his poetic history. It is in *du Chesne's* *Scriptores hist. Francicæ*, Tom. v. p. 1 &c. Tr.]

(22) [*Vincent* of Beauvais, was sub-prior of a Dominican cloister at Beauvais, and tutor to the sons of *St. Lewis*. He probably died about AD. 1264. By direction of the king, he wrote a huge work, of vast reading, and little judgment, a kind of encyclopaedia, entitled *Speculum naturale*, doctrinale, et historiale. The first part treats of natural history, geography, and chronology; the second, of theology, philosophy, and all the other sciences; the third, is a general history of the world. A fourth part, probably by a later author, entitled *Speculum morale*, treats of practical religion. The whole was printed at Douay 1624, in 4 Vol. Fol. See *Schroeckh's* *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiv. p. 445 &c. Tr.]

(23) See *Jac. le Boeuf*, *Memoires pour l' Histoire d' Auxerre*, Tome ii. p. 490. where he also treats learnedly of *Vincent* of Beauvais, p. 494.

Gervais of Tilbury,⁽²⁵⁾ *Conrad of Lichtenau*,⁽²⁶⁾ *William of Nangis*,⁽²⁷⁾ and some others, deserve to be mentioned. Those who composed lives of the saints, detail rather the superstitions and infelicities of the times, than the achievements of the eminently pious. Among these writers, *James de Vitriaco* stands prominent; who was likewise author of a History of the Lombards, which is full of insipid stories.⁽²⁸⁾

§ 6. To Greek literature some attention was paid, by *Roger Bacon*, a man of extraordinary genius, by *John Balbus*,⁽²⁹⁾ *Robert Capito*, and a limited number of others. The Hebrew language and theology had still fewer cultivators. Yet we learn, that *Edmund Martini*, the intelligent author of the *Pugio Fidei*, *Bacon*, *Capito*, and a few others, were no inconsiderable profi-

(24) [*Martin Polanus*, or of Poland, was a native of Troppau in Silesia, then a part of Poland, and a Dominican monk there, till he went to Rome, and was there made chief penitentiary under the pope for many years. At last, he was appointed archbishop of Gnesen in Poland, and of course primate of that kingdom; but died on his way thither, AD. 1278. He wrote a chronicle of the pontiffs and emperors, from the christian era, to AD. 1287; which was continued by another hand, to AD. 1285: often published; but of little value. He also wrote an index to the Decretum of *Gratian* and the Decretals; and several sermons. See *Schraeckh*, l. c. p. 521. Tr.]

(25) [*Gervais of Tilbury*, was nephew to *Henry II*, king of England, and born at Tilbury in Essex. He flourished AD. 1210. *Henry II*, made him marshal of Arles in France; and *Otto IV*, emperor of Germany, made much of him. He wrote, to amuse the emperor, his *Otia imperialia*, in three Books, published by *Leibnitz* in his *Scriptores rerum Brunsvic*. Tom. i. Several other of his historical works, still exist in manuscript. Tr.]

(26) [*Conrad of Lichtenau*, or *Conrad Urspergensis*, served first in the court of the emperor *Henry VI*, but became a priest AD. 1202, a Praemonstratensian monk, in 1205, and abbot of a monastery at *Ursperg*, or *Aversberg*, in Swabia, AD. 1215. He resided some time at Rome, in early life, and died AD. 1240. His Chronicle, from *Belus* king of Assyria, to AD. 1229, is useless for ancient history; but valuable for the times within his personal knowledge. He was no flatterer of the popes. The work was published at Strasburg, 1548, and 1609, Fol. with those of *Regino* and *Lambert* of Aschaffenburg. Tr.]

(27) [*William of Nangis*, a Benedictine monk of St. Denys, Paris, flourished AD. 1301; and wrote a Chronicle, from the creation to AD. 1301; also the Life of *Lewis IX*, and that of *Philip III*, kings of France. The Chronicle was published by *Dachery*, *Spicilegium*, Tom. xi. p. 405. and the two biographies, by *du Chesne*, *Scriptores Hist. Franc.* Tom. v. Tr.]

(28) See *Joh. Geo. Schelhorn*, *Amoenitates litter.* Tom. xi. p. 324 &c. [It was not *James de Vitriaco*, but *James de Voragine*, who composed the *historia Lombardica*; as is correctly stated, in chap. ii. § 45. *James de Voragine*, was born in Liguria in Italy, became a Dominican monk, provincial of his order for Lombardy, general of the order, archbishop of Genoa. He flourished AD. 1290; is said to have favored the emperor, against the pontiffs; and died about AD. 1298. He was a pious and charitable man, but credulous, and a great collector of fables. His *history of the Lombards*, is a mere collection of legends of the saints; often published in the 15th and 16th centuries, but always disliked by intelligent Catholics. He also wrote a Chronicle of Genoa; published by *Mura-tori*, *Scriptores rerum Ital.* Tom. ix. and many sermons, which have been printed. See *Cave's Historia Litteraria*, ad ann. 1290. Tr.]

(29) [This *John*, who is sometimes called *John de Balbis*, or *de Janua*, that is Genoa, cannot well be placed in this list. For he says of himself, near the beginning of the famous *Catholicon*, [a general Latin dictionary, Tr.] which he composed: Hoc difficile est scire, et maxime mihi, non bene scienti linguam graecam. And that this is not to be attributed to his excessive modesty, appears from the contents of the book. Schl.]

cients in such learning. The Arabic language and learning were studied by many of the Spaniards, and likewise by the Dominican monks, to whom the christian kings of Spain committed the instruction of the Jews and Arabians resident in Spain.(30) The Latin grammarians, even the best of them, are all jejune and barbarous. This is manifest from the one who had the highest reputation, and whose work was taught in all the schools, from this century on to the sixteenth, *Alexander de Villa Dei*, a Franciscan monk. His *Doctrinale*, composed in the year 1240, in what are called *Leonine verses*, involves the rules of grammar in more nonsense and darkness, than can well be supposed by one not acquainted with the book.

§ 7. The Latins, who had before philosophized variously, gradually submitted themselves, in this century, exclusively to the authority and the principles of *Aristotle*. Certain books of *Aristotle*, especially his *Metaphysics* were read in Latin, and publicly explained to the students at Paris, near the commencement of this century.(31) But as it appeared, that from these books, *Almeric* had derived his errors respecting God and some other subjects, the council of Sens, in the year 1209, publicly decreed, that these books should be disused.(32) Yet a few years afterwards, AD. 1215, the *Logic of Aristotle* was again introduced into the university of Paris; while his physical and metaphysical books were still excluded.(33) Subsequently, the emperor *Frederic II*, who was a great friend to learning, ordered the books of *Aristotle*, and of other ancient philosophers, to be translated, partly from Arabic, and partly from Greek, into Latin, by selected persons, (as he expresses it,)(34) well skilled in each language. And as this translation was recommended by the emperor himself, to the university of Bologna, and doubtless to others also, the influence of *Aristotle* was increased immensely, in all the schools of Europe. And this influence was extended by the many Latin translators of some of the works of *Aristotle*, who arose afterwards; as

(30) See *Rich. Simon's* *Lettres choisies*, Tome iii. p. 112. *Nic. Antonius*, *Biblioth. vet. Hispanica*, passim: and the *Historians of Spain*.

(31) *Franc. Patricius*, *Discussiones Peripatetici*, Tom. i. Lib. xi. p. 145. *Johs Lauoi*, *de varia Aristotelis fortuna in Academia Paris*. cap. i. p. 127. ed. Elswich. It is commonly said, that those books of *Aristotle* were translated into Latin from the Arabic. But *Rigordus*, (*de gestis Philippi regis Francor. ad ann. 1209. in Andr. du Chesne's* *Scriptores Hist. Franc.* p. 119,) expressly says: They were brought from Constantinople, and translated out of Greek into Latin.

(32) *Lauoi*, l. c. cap. iv. p. 195. and his *Syllabus rationum*, quibus *Durandi* *caussa defenditur*; *Opp. Tom. i. P. i. p. 8 &c.*

(33) *Natalis Alexander*, *Selecta Hist. eccles. Capita*, Tom. viii. c. iii. § 7. p. 76.

(34) *Peter de Vineis*, *Epistolar. Lib. iii. Ep. lxxvii. p. 503 &c.* This epistle is directed: *ad Magistros et Scholares Bononienses*. But it is probable, the emperor sent similar epistles to the other schools in Europe. It is commonly said, that *Frederic* caused Latin translations to be made of *all the works* of *Aristotle* that are extant, and that this was in the year 1220. But neither position can be proved from this epistle; nor, as I suppose, from any other testimonies.

Michael Scot, *Philip* of Tripoli, *William Fleming*, and others; though all of them were deficient in knowledge, and in acquaintance with the languages.(35)

§ 8. *Aristotle* reached the summit of esteem and reputation, when the mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, embraced his philosophy, taught it universally in the schools, and illustrated it by their writings. For these monks, from this time onward, stood foremost in learning, both sacred and profane, in Europe, and were followed by nearly all who would rise above the vulgar in knowledge. The first who published expositions of *Aristotle*, were *Alexander Hales*, an Englishman, and a Franciscan doctor at Paris, who acquired the title of the *Irrefragable Doctor*;(36) and *Albert the Great*, a German Dominican, and bishop of Ratisbon, a man of superior genius, and the guide of the age in which he lived.(37) After these, a pupil of *Albert*,(38) *Thomas Aquinas*, who was the great luminary of the schools, and was called the *Angelic Doctor*, a Dominican, exalted the glory of *Aristotle* more than all others. For he expounded his books, both orally and in writing, and also caused a new Latin translation of his works to be made by one of his associates, more correct and more perspicuous, than the former.(39) Through the influence of these men, therefore, and a few others, notwithstanding the opposition of many divines, and the disapprobation of the pontiffs, *Aristotle* became the dictator in philosophy, among the Latins.

§ 9. There were however, in Europe, several persons of superior genius and penetration, who, while they valued *Aristotle* highly, wished to extend the boundaries of human knowledge; and were disgusted with the meagre and jejune method of philosophizing, derived from the books of *Aristotle*.(40) Among them,

(35) Concerning these translators of *Aristotle*, see *Anth. Wood's* Antiquit. Oxon. Tom. i. p. 119. and *Sam. Jebb's* Praef. ad Opus majus Rogeri Baconi, Lond. 1733. Fol. I will subjoin the opinion of *Bacon*,—a very competent judge—concerning these translations of *Aristotle*, as taken by *Jebb* from a manuscript: *If I had control over these books of Aristotle, (the Latin translations,) I would cause them all to be burnt; for it is a loss of time to study in them, and a cause of error, and a furtherance of ignorance, beyond what can well be expressed.*

(36) See *Lucas Wadding's* Annales Minorum, Tom. iii. p. 233 &c. *Boulay's* Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iii. p. 200, 673 &c.

(37) *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, Biblioth. Lat. medii aevi, Tom. i. p. 113 &c.

(38) This is according to the opinion of the Dominicans, which appears most probable. See *Anton. Touron*, Vie de S. Thomas, p. 90. But the Franciscans eagerly maintained, that *Thomas* was a pupil of *Alexander Hales*. See *Wadding's* Annales Minorum, Tom. iii. p. 133 &c.

(39) Most persons suppose, that the author of this new Latin version of the works of *Aristotle*, which *Thomas Aquinas* caused to be made, was *William de Moerbeke*, a Dominican of Flanders, well acquainted with both Latin and Greek, and archbishop of Corinth. See *Jac. Echard's* Scriptores Dominici, Tom. i. p. 388 &c. *Casim. Oudin*, Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles. Tom. iii. p. 468. *Jo. Franc. Foppens*, Biblioth. Belgica, Tom. i. p. 416. But others, though supported by fewer authorities, attribute the work to *Henry Korbeyn*, who was also a Dominican. See *Echard's* Scriptores Dominici, Tom. i. p. 469 &c.

(40) *Roger Bacon*, quoted by *Steph. Jebb*, in the preface to *Bacon's* larger

the following obtained, very deservedly, the highest reputation; namely *Roger Bacon*, an Englishman, and Franciscan monk, called the *Admirable Doctor*; an extraordinary man, skilled far beyond the standard of his age, in philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, the mechanic arts, and in various languages, and also much renowned for his important discoveries: (41) *Arnold* of Villa Nova, a Frenchman, as many believe, though some make him a Spaniard; greatly distinguished for his knowledge of the medical art, philosophy, chemistry, poetry, languages, and of many other things: (42) and *Peter de Abano*, or de Apono, an Italian, and a physician of Padua, surnamed the *Reconciler*, on account of the book he wrote, entitled, *The Reconciler of the differences among philosophers and physicians*; a man of acuteness, and profoundly read in philosophy, astronomy, the medical art, and mathematics. (43) But all these received this, as the reward of their talents

work, says: "Never was there so great an appearance of wisdom, and so great ardor in study, in so many faculties, and so many countries, as during the last forty years; for doctors are scattered every where—in every city, in every castle, in every borough, students, principally under the two orders, (i. e. the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who were almost the only people that pursued literature,) which was never the case, till within about 40 years: and yet never was there so great ignorance, and so great misapprehension.—The mass of students doze and yawn like asses, over the bad translations, (he intends the books of *Aristotle*, the translations of which he would censure as being ridiculous and exceedingly faulty,) and waste altogether the time and labor and expense they lay out upon them. Appearances are all that engross their attention; and they care not, what it is they know, but only to appear very learned, before the senseless multitude."

(41) That such was his character, strikingly appears from his *Great Work*, (*Opus Majus*), as it is called, addressed to the Roman pontiff, *Clement IV*, and published by *Stephen Jebb*, M. D. from a Dublin manuscript, with a learned preface, and notes, London 1733. Fol. a work well worth perusing. The other works of *Bacon*, which were numerous, still remain for the most part in manuscript. See, concerning him, *Anth. Wood's* *Antiq. Oxonienses*, Tom. i. p. 136 &c. *Wadding's* *Annales Minorum*, Tom. iv. p. 264 &c. Tom. v. p. 51. *Thom. Gale*, ad *Jamblichum* de *mysteriis Aegyptior.* p. 235. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Crit.* Tom. i. art. *Baco*, p. 3 &c. [*Rees's* *Cyclopaedia*, Art. *Roger Bacon*. Tr.]

(42) See *Nic. Antonius*, *Biblioth. vetus Hispanica*, Tom. ii. Lib. ix. c. i. p. 74. *Peter Joseph*, *Vie d' Arnaud de Villeneuve*, Aix 1719. 12mo. *Nicéron*, *Memoires des hommes illustres*, Tome xxxiv. p. 82. *Nicol. Eymeric*, *Directorium Inquisitionum*, p. 282; where there is an account of his errors. [*Arnold*, or *Arnaud* de Villeneuve, was born about the middle of this century, studied at Paris and Montpellier, visited the schools in Italy, and in Spain, where he studied physic under Arabian masters, and learned their language. His reputation was very high as a physician and a scholar. At Paris, he uttered so freely his opinions of the monks and the mass, as to bring himself into danger: and he retired to the court of *Frederic* of Arragon. He died about AD. 1312. His works, which were numerous, were collected and published, at Lyons 1520. Fol. and at Basle 1565. See *Rees's* *Cyclopaedia*, Art. *Arnaud*. Tr.]

(43) Of him, no one has written with more industry, than *John Maria Mazzuchelli*, *Notizie Storiche e Critiche intorno alla vita di Pietro d' Abano*; in *Angeli Calogera's* *Opusculi scientifici et filologici*, Tom. xxiii. p. 1—54. [He was born at Apono or Abano, a village near Padua, about the year 1250, studied Greek at Constantinople, and medicine and mathematics at Paris, and taught medicine at Padua. He was prosecuted by the Inquisition, as being a magician, at the time of his death, AD. 1315. His book, entitled *Conciliator* &c. discusses more than 200 questions and problems, chiefly medical, but others philosophical, astrological, &c. It was first published, Venice 1471. Fol. and frequently afterwards.

and industry, that they were ranked by the ignorant multitude, among magicians and heretics; and hardly escaped being burned at the stake. *Bacon* was confined many years in a prison: and both the others, after their death, were by the *Inquisition* judged worthy of the flames.

§ 10. In what manner theology was taught, will be stated in a subsequent chapter. Law, now divided into sacred or *canon* law, and civil, was prosecuted by vast numbers: but each was disfigured and obscured, rather than elucidated, by numerous silly expositions. Several persons undertook to collect, what are called the *decretal* epistles of the pontiffs; which constitute no small part of the canon law.(44) The most distinguished in this labor was *Raymund* of Pennafort, a Catalonian, and general of the Dominican order. He compiled his work, under the directions of *Gregory IX*, and divided it into five books. *Gregory* directed this to be annexed to the *Decretum* of *Gratian*, and to be expounded in all the schools.(45) Near the end of the century, *Boniface VIII*, caused a new collection to be made; which being subjoined to the five previous books, is called the *sixth Book of the Decretals*.(46)

Bayle's Dictionaire, art. *Apon*, and *Schroeckh's* Kirchengesch. vol. xxiv. p. 539 &c. Tr.]

(44) Concerning them, see *C. E. de Boulay's* Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iii. p. 98 &c.

(45) *Gerh. von Maastricht*, Historia Juris Ecclesiastici, § 353. p. 384. *Jo. Chifflet*, de Juris utriusque architectis, cap. vi. p. 60 &c. *Jac. Echard* and *Quetif's* Scriptores Dominicani, Tom. i. p. 106 &c. *Acta Sanctor.* Antwerp. Tom. i. Januarii, ad diem vii. p. 404 &c.

(46) [The five Books of the Decretals are digested under a series of Tituli, and divided into Books according to the order of subjects. The *Liber sextus Decretalium*, pursues the same arrangement, and therefore is divided into five Books. Subsequently another collection was made, by order of *Clement V*, called *Clementina*, which is divided also into five Books. Several smaller collections, afterwards made, first by *John XXII*, and then by various pontiffs, are not so digested, but are thrown together promiscuously; and are therefore called *Extravagantes*. The *Decretum* of *Gratian*, the five Books of Decretals by *Gregory*, and the others mentioned in this note, constitute the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. The voluminous *expositors* of the Canon Law, do not comment upon all the Books now enumerated, in their order; but they follow the five Books of the Decretals regularly through, and introduce what occurs in *Gratian*, the *liber sextus*, &c. at the proper places: thus their Commentaries are always divided into five Parts, and generally, in five Vol. Fol. Tr.]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Corruption of the clergy.—§ 2. The Roman pontiffs.—§ 3. Their power of creating bishops &c.—§ 4. The authority of their legates.—§ 5. The pontiffs increase in wealth.—§ 6, 7, 8. The arrogant tyranny of Innocent III, shown by several examples.—§ 9. Honorius III.—§ 10. Wrong conduct of Gregory IX.—§ 11. Innocent IV.—§ 12. Alexander IV, and Urban IV.—§ 13. Gregory X.—§ 14. Innocent V, Hadrian VI, John XXI, and Nicolaus III.—§ 15. Martin IV, and Nicolaus IV.—§ 16. Coelestine V.—§ 17. Boniface VIII.—§ 18. New orders of monks.—§ 19. Orders of monks that have become extinct.—§ 20. The orders that still flourish.—§ 21. The Mendicants.—§ 22. Their history.—§ 23. They acquired great veneration in Europe.—§ 24. The Dominicans.—§ 25. The Franciscans.—§ 26. Both did good service to the pontiffs.—§ 27. Their contests with the university of Paris.—§ 28. Their adversary.—§ 29. Insolence of the mendicants.—§ 30. Conflicts between the Dominicans and the Franciscans.—§ 31, 32. Discord among the Franciscans respecting the true meaning of their rule.—§ 33. Other jars among them, respecting the Everlasting Gospel of Joachim.—§ 34. The book of Gerhard is condemned.—§ 35. The constitution of Nicolaus III, respecting the rule of St. Francis.—§ 36. It produces new commotions, and rouses up the Spiritual.—§ 37, 38. Continuation of these commotions.—§ 39. The Fratricelli, and the Beguards.—§ 40, 41. The Tertiarii, Bocasoti, and Beguins.—§ 42. The Lollards.—§ 43. The Greek writers.—§ 44. The Latin writers.

§ 1. Both the Greek and the Latin writers censure and condemn, without reserve, the iniquities and vices of their bishops and religious teachers. Nor will any one, acquainted with the events of this period, pronounce their complaints excessive. (1) Some men of high rank attempted to heal this malady, which from the head diffused itself throughout the body: but their power was inadequate to so arduous a task. The Greek emperors were impeded by the calamities of the times; and the Latins, on account of the power of the Roman pontiffs, and the superstition of the age, could effect nothing of importance.

§ 2. A vivid picture of this may be seen, by reading over the history of the Latin pontiffs. For, all who had any share in the government of the church, were like sovereign lords; at least in their feelings and disposition. They perseveringly urged, and with violence, with menaces, and frauds, and force of arms, *that* fundamental principle of the papal canon law, that the Roman pontiff is the sovereign lord of the whole world; and that all other rulers in church and state, have so much power and authority, as he sees fit to allow them to have. Resting on this eternal principle, as they conceived it to be, the pontiffs arrogated to them-

(1) See the expressive letter of the pontiff *Gregory IX*, to the archbishop of Bourges, A.D. 1227, for correcting the vices of all orders of the clergy; published by *Dion. Sammarthanus*, Gallia Christiana, Tom. ii. Appendix, p. 21 &c. See also *Charles du Fresne's* notes to the Life of St. Lewis, p. 99; where he treats especially of the disorders of the court of Rome.

selves, the absolute power not only of conferring sacred offices, or benefices, as they are called, but also of giving away empires, and likewise of divesting kings and princes of their crowns and authority. The more intelligent indeed, for the most part, considered [general] councils as superior to the pontiffs; and such of the kings and the princes, as were not blinded by superstition, restrained the pontiffs from intermeddling with worldly or civil affairs, and bid them be contented with the regulation of things sacred; they maintained their power to the utmost of their ability, and even claimed for themselves supremacy over the church, in their respective territories.(2) But they had to do these things cautiously, if they would not learn by experience, that the pontiffs had long arms.

§ 3. In order to reign more absolutely and more securely, both in church and state, the pontiffs claimed in particular, the right of appointing all presiding officers in the church, of every rank and description, *bishops, abbots, canons, &c.* at their discretion. Thus they who had formerly contended with so much zeal, for the free election of presiding officers in the church, against the encroachments of emperors and kings, now themselves prostrated the whole right of free elections; and either *reserved* to themselves the richer benefices, or *provided* for the vacant churches by assigning to them their dependants and friends; and even set aside prelates who were duly elected, in order to substitute others in their places.(3) The pretence was, care for the safety of the church, and fear lest *heretics* should creep into the fold of Christ.(4) *Innocent III*, first assumed this power; and after him, *Honorius III*, *Gregory IX*, and others. But the progress of this usurpation was resisted, in some measure by the bishops, who had before been accustomed to confer the smaller benefices, but most of all by the kings of France and England, who issued their complaints, their edicts, and their laws on the subject.(5) In particular, *Lewis IX*, or *St. Lewis*, king of France, in the year 1268, before he embarked in his crusade, published the famous ordinance called by the French, the *Pragmatic Sanction*, by which he carefully secured the rights of the Galican church against the

(2) As specimens, the reader may peruse the letters of *Innocent III*, and the emperor *Otto IV*, published by *Geo. Chr. Gebauer*, in his *German History of the emperor Richard*, p. 611—614. And the French and English kings, as well as some others, were equally active with *Otto*, in defending their rights against the pontiffs.

(3) A great many examples of such *Provisions* and *Reservations*, can be collected in this century. See *Stephen Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. vii. p. 443, 466, 470, 488, 491, 493, &c. *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. i. p. 69. Appendix. *Lucas Wadding's Annales Minorum*; in the *Diplomata* pertaining to this century, *passim*: *Anth. Wood's Antiquitates Oxonienses*, Tom. i. p. 148, 201, 202. [and *Hallam's View of the Middle Ages*, ch. vii. vol. iii. p. 103 &c. *Philadelph.* 1821. Tr.]

(4) See an epistle of *Innocent IV*. in *Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. vii. p. 468.

(5) See *Cass. Eg. de Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iii. p. 659 &c. and especially, Tom. iv. p. 911 &c.

machinations of the Pontiffs.(6) This vigilance rendered the pontiffs more cautious, and slow in their proceeding; but it did not divert them from their purpose. And *Boniface VIII*, declared boldly and distinctly, that the whole church is under the control of the pontiffs; and that kings, and patrons, and religious bodies, have only the powers which the vicars of Christ choose to give them.

§ 4. The legates, sent into the different provinces by the pontiffs, eagerly imitated their masters: for they unhesitatingly invaded the rights of religious bodies; and conferred the lesser benefices, and sometimes the larger also, at their pleasure, on such as they were partial to, on account of their money or for other reasons:(7) they extorted money, in various ways, and often in such as were most iniquitous: they deceived the unguarded, by forged [papal] briefs, and by other artifices: they not unfrequently disturbed the public tranquillity, and put themselves at the head of factions: they carried on a most scandalous and wicked traffic in *relics* and *indulgences*; and did other things even worse than these. And hence all the writers of those times, are full of complaints of the crimes and villainies of the papal legates.(8) And this led *Alexander IV*, in the year 1256, to issue a severe edict, against the fraudulence and avarice of legates:(9) but men who had influence in the court of Rome, and were supported by powerful friends, could easily evade its force.

§ 5. From the ninth century onwards, no additions of any consequence had been made to the wealth and the patrimony of the church of Rome: but in this century, under *Innocent III*, and then under *Nicolaus III*, very large accessions of property were obtained, partly by force of arms, and partly by the munificence of the emperors and kings. As soon as he was consecrated, *Innocent* brought under subjection to himself the prefect and senator(10) of the city Rome, who hitherto had sworn fealty to the emperor. He next recovered the marquisate of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, the county of Assissi, Montebello, and many other cities and fortresses; which, as he asserted, had been rent

(6) In addition to the other writers on the ecclesiastical law of France, see *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iii. p. 389. [The ordinance called the Pragmatic Sanction, may be seen in *Raynald's Annales Eccles.* Tom. ii. Apend. ad ann. 1268. no. 37. p. 618. See also *Gifford's History of France*, vol. i. p. 477. Tr.]

(7) Examples may be seen in *Baluze's Miscellanea*, Tom. vii. 437, 475, 480, &c.

(8) In place of all, the single and excellent historian, *Matthieu Paris*, may be consulted, *Historia major*, p. 313, 316, 549, and p. 637, where he says: "The legates, whoever they may be, and all papal nuncios, are wont to impoverish all the countries they enter, or in some way to throw them into disorder." See also, *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iii. p. 659 &c.

(9) It was published by *Jo. Lami*, *Deliciae eruditor.* Tom. iii. p. 300.

(10) [At that period, one man possessed all the powers of the Roman senate, and acting in their place, bore the title of the *Senator*. Tr.]

from the patrimony of St. Peter.(11) *Frederick II*, also, to secure the favor of the pontiff, in his contest with *Otto IV*, was very liberal to the Romish church, not only giving very valuable lands to *Richard*, the pontiff's brother,(12) but permitting *Richard*, count of Fondi, in the year 1212, to bequeath all his property to the church of Rome.(13) He likewise confirmed the donation of *Matilda*. Afterwards *Nicolaus III*, would not crown *Rudolph I*, until he had, in the year 1278, confirmed and acknowledged all the claims of the church, including many that were quite dubious: and the princes of the German Roman empire, were required to do the same. Having obtained this [general] acknowledgment, *Nicolaus* reduced to subjection many cities, villages, and towns of Italy, which had hitherto been subject to the emperors, and particularly the whole of Roman-diola and Bologna. Thus under these two pontiffs, on a full view of the subject, it appears, that the Romish church attained, by force, cunning, and management, to that extensive temporal dominion, which it possesses at the present day.(14)

§ 6. *Innocent III*, who governed the Latin church [from AD. 1198,] till the year 1216, was learned; according to the conceptions of that age, and also laborious; but rough, cruel, avaricious, and arrogant.(15) He adopted the principles of *Gregory IX*, and claimed absolute dominion, not only over the church, but also over religion, and over the whole world. He therefore created kings, both in Europe and Asia, according to his pleasure. In Asia, he gave a king to the Armenians. In Europe, he conferred the honors of royalty, AD. 1204, on *Primislaus*, the duke of Bohemia: and in the same year, by his legate, placed a royal crown on *Johannicius*, duke of the Bulgarians and Walachians; and in person crowned, at Rome, and saluted as king, *Peter II*, of Aragon, who had rendered his dominions tributary to the church.(16) Many other proofs of his claiming such absolute power over all the world, may be easily gathered out of his *Epistles*.

§ 7. Not content with these acts of sovereignty, he compelled emperors, and the greatest monarchs of Europe, to fear and respect the power of the Romish church. Near the commencement of the century, when *Philip*, duke of Swabia, and *Otto IV*, the third son of *Henry* the Lion, contended for the empire of Germany, he at first favored the side of *Otto*, and terrified *Philip* with his denunciations; and on the death of *Philip*, AD. 1209,

(11) See *Franc. Pagi*, Breviarium Romanor. Pontif. Tom. iii. p. 161 &c. *Muratori*, Antiq. Italicae, Tom. i. p. 328 &c.

(12) *Muratori*, Antiq. Italicae, Tom. v. p. 652.

(13) *Odor. Raynald's* Continuation of Baronius' Annals; ad ann. 1212. § 2.

(14) See *Raynald*, l. c. ad ann. 1278. § 47 &c.

(15) See *Matth. Paris*, Historia major, p. 206, 230.

(16) *Muratori*, Antiq. Ital. medii aevi, Tom. vi. p. 116. *Jo. de Ferreras*, Histoire d'Espagne, Tom. iv. p. 8.

he placed the imperial diadem upon *Otto* at Rome. But as *Otto* would not comply in all things with his wishes, he changed his mind, and pronounced him unworthy of the throne; and in the year 1212, substituted in his place *Frederick II*, his own pupil, son of *Henry VI*, and king of the two Sicilies.(17) *Philip Augustus*, king of France, he excommunicated, for having dismissed his wife, *Isemburgis*, daughter of the king of Denmark, and marrying another woman; nor did he cease to harrass the king with anathemas, till he received back his former wife.(18)

§ 8. But no one suffered more disgracefully and severely from the arrogance of *Innocent*, than *John*, surnamed *Lack-land*, (*Sine Terra, Sans Terre*,) the king of England and Ireland. He resolutely withstood the pontiff, who had designated *Stephen Langton* to be archbishop of Canterbury. The pontiff therefore, first excommunicated him, in the year 1208; and afterwards, in the year 1211, absolved the English and Irish from their oath of allegiance to the king; and finally, in the year 1212, divested him of his authority, and gave the kingdoms of England and Ireland to *Philip Augustus*, the king of France. Terrified by these decrees, and dreading a war, *John* made his kingdoms tributary to the pontiff in the year 1212.(19) This imprudence brought extreme disgrace and immense evils upon the king. Of the Lateran council, under *Innocent*, in the year 1215, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

§ 9. *Honorius III*, previously called *Centius Savelli*, who succeeded *Innocent*, AD. 1216, and governed the Roman church more than ten years, did not perform so many deeds worthy of being recorded; yet he was very careful, that the Romish power should receive no diminution. Pursuing this course, he had a grievous falling out, with the emperor *Frederic II*; a magnanimous prince, whom he himself had crowned at Rome, in the year 1220. *Frederic*, imitating his grandfather, labored to establish and enlarge the authority of the emperors in Italy, to depress the minor states and republics of Lombardy, and to diminish the immense wealth and power of the pontiffs and the bishops; and to accomplish these objects, he continually deferred the crusade, which he had promised with an oath. *Honorius*, on the other hand, continually urged *Frederic* to enter on his expedition to Palestine; yet encouraged, and animated, and supported the

(17) This history is drawn out at large in the *Origines Guelphicae*, Tom. iii. Lib. vii. p. 247 &c.

(18) *Boulay's Historia Acad.* Paris. Tom. iii. p. 8 &c. *Gabr. Daniel's Histoire de la France*, Tom. iii. p. 475 &c. *Gerh. du Bois, Historia Eccles.* Paris. Tom. ii. p. 204 &c. p. 257 &c.

(19) These events are stated at large by *Matthew Paris*, *Historia major*, p. 189 &c. 192, 195 &c. See also *Boulay's Historia Acad.* Paris. Tom. iii. p. 67. *Rapin Thoyras, Histoire d'Angleterre*, Tom. ii. p. 304 &c. [and *Hume's History of Eng.* vol. i. chap. xi. also *MacLaine's* translation and enlargement of this section. Tr.]

cities and republics, that resisted the emperor ; and raised various impediments to his increasing power. Yet this hostility did not, at present, break out in open war.

§ 10. But, under *Gregory IX*, whose former name was *Hugolinus*, and who was elevated from the bishopric of Ostia to the pontificate, AD. 1227, an old man, but still bold and resolute ; the fire which had been long burning in secret, burst into a flame. In the year 1227, the pontiff excommunicated the emperor, who still deferred his expedition to Palestine ; but without proceeding in due form of ecclesiastical law, and without regarding the emperor's excuse of ill health. In the year 1228, the emperor sailed with his fleet to Palestine : but instead of waging war, as he was bound to do, he made a truce with *Saladin*, on recovering Jerusalem. While he was absent, the pontiff raised war against him in Apulia, and endeavored to excite all Europe to oppose him. Therefore *Frederic* hastened back, in the year 1229, and after vanquishing his enemies, made his peace with the pontiff, in the year 1230. But this peace could not be durable, as *Frederic* would not submit to the control of the pontiff. Therefore, as the emperor continued to press heavily on the republics of Lombardy, which were the pontiff's friends ; and transferred Sardinia, which the pontiff claimed as part of the patrimony of the church, to his son *Entius* ; and wished to withdraw Rome itself from the power of the pontiff ; and did other things very offensive to *Gregory* ; the pontiff, in the year 1239, again laid him under anathemas ; and accused him to all the sovereigns of Europe, of many crimes and enormities, and particularly of speaking contemptuously of the christian religion. The emperor, on the other hand, avenged the injuries he received, both by written publications, and by his military operations in Italy, in which he was for the most part successful ; and thus he defended his reputation, and also brought the pontiff into perplexity and difficulty. To rescue himself, in some measure, in the year 1240, *Gregory* summoned a general council to meet at Rome ; intending to hurl the emperor from his throne, by the votes of the holy fathers. But *Frederic*, in the year 1241, captured the Genoese fleet, which was carrying the greater part of the prelates to the council at Rome, and seizing the persons and the treasures of the prelates, he cast them into prison. Broken down by these calamities, and by others of no less magnitude, *Gregory* sunk to the grave a few days after. (20)

§ 11. The successor of *Gregory*, *Geoffry* of Milan, who assumed the name of *Coelestine IV*, died before his consecration :

(20) Besides the original writers, who are all collected by *Muratori*, *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* and the authors of German and Italian history, of whom however, few or none are impartial ; the reader should consult, especially, *Peter de Vineis*, *Epistolar.* Liber i. and *Matthew Paris*, *Historia major*. Add also *Raynald's Annals* ; *Muratori's Annales Italiae*, Tom. vii. and *Antiq. Italicæ*, Tom. iv. p. 325, 517 &c. and others. But this whole history needs a fuller investigation.

and after a long interregnum, in the year 1243, *Sinibald*, of the Genoese family of *Fiesque* who were counts, succeeded, under the pontifical name of *Innocent IV*, a man inferior to none of his predecessors in arrogance and insolence of temper.(21) Between him and *Frederic*, there were at first negotiations for peace; but the terms insisted on by the pontiff, were deemed too hard by the emperor. Hence *Innocent*, feeling himself unsafe in any part of Italy, AD. 1244, removed from Genoa to Lyons in France; and the next year, assembled a council at Lyons, in the presence of which, but without its approbation, (whatever the Roman writers may affirm to the contrary,)(22) declared *Frederic* unworthy of the imperial throne. This most unrighteous decision of the pontiff had such influence upon the German princes, who were infected with the superstition of the times, that they elected, first, *Henry* landgrave of Thuringia, and on his death, *William* count of Holland, to the imperial throne. *Frederic* continued the war vigorously and courageously, in Italy, and with various success, until a dysentery terminated his life, in Apulia, on the 13th of December, AD. 1250. On the death of his foe, *Innocent* returned to Italy, in the year 1251.(23) From this time, especially, (though their origin was much earlier,) the two noted factions of *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, of which the former sided with the pontiffs, and the latter with the emperors, most unhappily rent asunder, and devastated, all Italy.(24)

§ 12. *Alexander IV*, whose name, as count of Segni and bishop of Ostia, was *Raynald*, became pontiff on the death of *Innocent*, AD. 1254, and reigned six years and six months. Excepting some efforts to put down a grandson of *Frederic II*, called *Conradin*, and to quiet the perpetual commotions of Italy, he busied himself more in regulating the internal affairs of the church, than in national concerns. The Mendicant monks, or the Dominicans and Franciscans, especially, owed much to his benevolence.(25) *Urban IV*, before his election to the pontificate in 1261, was *James*, patriarch of Jerusalem, a man born of obscure parentage at Troyes. He distinguished himself more by insti-

(21) See *Matthew Paris*, *Historia major*, especially on AD. 1254, p. 771.

(22) This council is classed among the *general councils*: yet the French do not so regard it. [See *Bossuet's* *Defensio declarationis cleri Gallici*, Tom. i. p. 311. *Natalis Alexander*, *Hist. Eccles. Selecta Cap. Saecul. xiii. Diss. v. art. iii.* § 8. *Du Pin's* *Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, Century XIII. cap. i. and *Walch's* *Historie der Kirchenversamml.* p. 739 &c. There were about 140 prelates in the council. *Frederic's* advocate appealed to a more general council. The pontiff maintained it to be general enough. *Walch* allows, that the counsel assented to the excommunication of the emperor, but not to his deposition, which was the mere sovereign act of the pontiff, and at which all present were astonished. Tr.]

(23) See, in addition to the writers already mentioned, *Nicol. de Curbio*, *Vita Innocentii IV.* in *Baluze's* *Miscellanea*, Tom. vii. p. 353 &c.

(24) *Muratori's* *Diss. de Guelphis et Gibellinis*; in his *Antiq. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. iv. p. 606.

(25) [Two biographies of him are found in *Muratori's* *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* Tom. iii. P. i. p. 592 &c. *Schl.*]

tuting the *festival of the body of Christ*, than by any other achievement. He indeed formed many projects : but he executed few of them, being prevented by death, in the year 1264, after a short reign of three years.(26) Not much longer was the reign of *Clement IV*, a Frenchman, and bishop of Sabina, under the name of *Guido Fulcodi*, who was created pontiff in the year 1265. Yet he is better known, on several accounts, but especially for his conferring the kingdom of Naples on *Charles of Anjou*, brother to *Lewis IX*, the king of France ; who is well known to have beheaded *Conradin*, the only surviving grandson of *Frederic II*, after conquering him in battle, and this, if not by the counsel, at least with the consent, of the pontiff.(27)

§ 13. On the death of *Clement IV*, there were vehement contests among the cardinals, respecting the election of a new pontiff ; which continued till the third year, when at last, AD. 1271, *Thibald* of Placentia, and archdeacon of Liege, was chosen, and assumed the name of *Gregory X*.(28) He had been called from Palestine, where he had resided ; and having witnessed the depressed state of the christians in the holy land, nothing more engaged his thoughts than sending them succor. Accordingly, as soon as he was consecrated, he appointed a council to be held at Lyons in France, and attended it in person, in the month of May, AD. 1274. The principal subjects discussed, were, the re-establishment of the christian dominion in the East, and the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches. This has commonly been reckoned the fourteenth *general* council ; and is particularly noticeable for the new regulations it established for the election of Roman pontiffs, and the celebrated provision, which is still in force, requiring the cardinal electors to be shut up in conclave.(29) Neither did this pontiff, though of a milder disposition than many others, hesitate to repeat and inculcate that odious maxim of *Gregory VII*, that the pontiff is supreme lord of the world, and especially of the Roman empire. For in the year 1271, he sent a menacing letter to the princes of Germany, admonishing them to elect an emperor, and without regarding the wishes or the claims of *Alphonsus* king of Castile ; otherwise, he would appoint a head of the empire himself. Accordingly, the princes assembled, and elected *Rudolph I*, of the house of Hapsburg.

§ 14. *Gregory X*, died in the year 1276, and his three immediate successors were all chosen and died in the same year. *Innocent V*, previously *Peter* of Tarantaise, was a Dominican monk,

(26) [His biography also may be seen in *Muratori's* *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* Tom. iii. P. i. p. 593, and P. ii. p. 405. - *Schl.*]

(27) [Two lives of him likewise, are in *Muratori's* *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* Tom. iii. P. i. p. 594. *Schl.*]

(28) The records of this election were published by *Lucas Wadding*, *Annales Minorum*, Tom. iv. p. 330 &c.

(29) [The acts of this council are in *Harduin's* collection, Tom. vii. p. 666 &c. *Tr.*]

and bishop of Ostia. *Hadrian V*, was a Genoese, named *Ottobonus*, and cardinal of St. Hadrian. *John XXI*, previously *Peter*, bishop of Tusculum, was a native of Portugal. The next pontiff, who came to the chair in 1277, reigned longer. He was *John Cajetan*, of the family of Ursini, a Roman, and cardinal of St. Nicolas, and assumed the title of *Nicolaus III*. He, as has been already observed, greatly enlarged what is called the patrimony of St. Peter; and, as his actions show, had formed other great projects, which he would undoubtedly have accomplished, as he was a man of energy and enterprize, had he not prematurely died in the year 1280.

§ 15. His successor, *Martin IV*, elected by the cardinals in 1281, was a French nobleman, *Simon de Brie*, a man of equal boldness and energy of character with *Nicolaus*. For he excommunicated *Michael Palaeologus*, the Greek emperor; because he had violated the compact of union with the Latins, which was settled at the council of Lyons: and *Peter* of Arragon, he divested of his kingdoms, and of all his property, because he had seized upon Sicily; and he bestowed them gratuitously on *Charles*, son to the king of France: and was projecting many other things, consonant to the views of the pontiffs, when he was suddenly overtaken by death, AD. 1285. His plans were prosecuted by his successor, *James Savelli*, who was elected in 1285, and took the name of *Honorius IV*. But his distressing disease in his joints, [both in his hands and his feet,] of which he died in 1287, prevented his attempting any thing further. *Nicolaus IV*, previously *Jerome d'Ascoli*, bishop of Palestrina, who attained to the pontifical chair in 1288, and died in 1292, was able to attend to the affairs both of the church and of the nations, with more diligence and care. Hence, he is represented in history; sometimes, as the arbiter in the disputes of sovereign princes; sometimes, as the strenuous asserter of the rights and prerogatives of the church; and sometimes, as the assiduous promoter of missionary labors among the Tartars and other nations of the East. But nothing lay nearer his heart, than the restoration of the dominion of christians in Palestine, where their cause was nearly ruined. In this he labored strenuously indeed, but in vain; and death intercepted all his projects. (30)

§ 16. After his death, the church was without a head till the third year, the cardinals disagreeing exceedingly among themselves. At length, on the 5th of July, 1295, they unanimously chose an aged man, greatly venerated for his sanctity, *Peter*, surnamed *de Murrone*, from a mountain in which he led a solitary and very austere mode of life, who assumed the pontifical name of *Coelestine V*. But as the austerity of his life tacitly censured

(30) [A biography of this pope may be seen in *Muratori's Scriptores rerum Italicar.* Tom. iii. P. i. p. 612. *Schl.*]

the corrupt morals of the Romish court, and especially of the cardinals, and as he showed very plainly, that he was more solicitous to advance the holiness of the church, than its worldly grandeur, he was soon considered as unworthy of the office, which he had reluctantly assumed. Hence some of the cardinals, and especially *Benedict Cajetan*, persuaded him very easily, to abdicate the chair, in the fourth month of his pontificate. He died AD. 1296, in the castle of Fumone, where his successor detained him a captive, lest he should raise disturbance. But afterwards, *Clement V*, enrolled him in the kalendar of the saints. To him, that sect of Benedictine monks, who were called, after him, *Coelestines*, owed its origin; a sect still existing in Italy and France, though now nearly extinct, and differing from the other Benedictines by their more rigid rules of life.(31)

§ 17. He was succeeded, AD. 1294, by *Benedict*, cardinal Cajetan, the man by whom especially he had been induced to resign the pontificate, and who now assumed the name of *Boniface VIII*. This was a man formed to produce disturbance both in church and state; and eager for confirming and enlarging the power of the pontiffs, to the highest degree of rashness. From his first entrance on the office, he arrogated sovereign power over all things sacred and secular; overawed kings and nations with the terror of his bulls; decided the controversies of sovereigns, as their arbiter; enlarged the code of canon law by new accessions, namely, by the *sixth Book of Decretals*; made war, among others, particularly on the noble family of *Colonna*, which had opposed his election; in a word, he seemed to be another *Gregory VII*, at the head of the church.(32) At the close of the century, [AD. 1300,] he established the year of jubilee, which is still solemnized at Rome. The rest of his acts, and his miserable exit, belong to the next century.(33)

§ 18. Although *Innocent III*, in the Lateran council of 1215, had forbidden the introduction of any *new religions*, that is, new orders of monks;(34) yet by *Innocent* himself, and by the sub-

(31) See *Hipp. Helyot*, Histoire des Ordres, Tom. vi. p. 180. [This pope wrote a history of his own life, which, with his other works, is in the Biblioth. max. Patrum Lugd. Tom. xxv. p. 765. Other biographies of him, are to be found in *Muratori's Scriptores rerum Italicar.* Tom. iii. P. i. p. 653 &c. His life is also written by *Papebrock*, Acta Sanctor. Tom. iv. mens. Maii. p. 483. *Schl.*]

(32) A formal biography of him, written by *Jo. Rubens*, a Benedictine monk, was published at Rome, 1651. 4to. under the title of Bonifacius viii. e familia Cajetanorum Principum Romanus Pontifex. [Another biography of him, by *Bernh. Guido*, is extant in *Muratori's Scriptores rerum Ital.* Tom. iii. P. i. p. 641. The history of his contests with the king of France, was written by *Peter de Puy*, entitled Histoire du differend de Philippe le Bel et de Boniface viii. Paris 1655. Fol. also by *Adr. Baillet*, Histoire des demelez du Pape Boniface viii. avec Philippe le Bel; Paris 1718, 12 mo. *Schl.* For a summary account of this quarrel, see *Gifford's History of France*, vol. i. p. 507 &c. *Tr.*]

(33) In this account of the pontiffs, I have followed, chiefly, *Dan. Papebrock*, *Francis Pagi*, and *Muratori*, in his Annales Italiae; yet always consulting the original writers, whom *Muratori* has collected in his Scriptores rerum Italicar.

(34) [Acta Concilii Lateran. IV. Canon 13. Ne nimia religionum diversitas

sequent pontiffs, many religious orders, before unknown, were not only tolerated, but approved, and endowed with various privileges and honors. And considering the state of the church in this age, it is not strange, that this law of *Innocent* was tacitly abrogated. For, passing by other reasons, the opposers of the church, particularly the *heretics*, were every where multiplying; the *secular clergy*, as they were called, were more attentive to their private interests than to those of the church, and lived luxuriously upon the revenues provided by their predecessors; the old orders of monks had nearly all abandoned their original strictness, and disgusted the people by their shameful vices, their sloth, and their licentiousness; and all advanced, rather than retarded the progress of the *heretics*. The church therefore had occasion for new orders of servants, who should possess both the power and the disposition, to conciliate the good will of the people, and diminish the odium resting on the Romish church, by the sanctity of their deportment, and to search out and harrass the heretics, by their sermons, their reasoning, and their arms.

§ 19. Some of the orders of monks that originated in this century, are now extinct, while others are in a very flourishing state. Among those now extinct, were, the *Humiliati*; who originated anterior to the 13th century, but were first approved, and subjected to the rule of St. Benedict, by *Innocent III.* These were suppressed, by *Pius V.* on account of their extremely corrupt morals, AD. 1571.(35) The *Jacobites*, mendicants; who were established by *Innocent III.* but ceased to exist in this very century, subsequently, I think, to the council of Lyons.(36) The *Vallischolares*; who were collected not long after the commencement of the century, by the *Scholares*, that is, the four professors of theology at Paris, and hence, were first called *Scholars*; but afterwards, from a certain valley in Campania, to which they retired in the year 1234, their name was changed to *Vallischolares* [Scholars of the valley].(37) This society was first governed by the rule of *St. Augustine*; but it is now united with the *canons regular of St. Genevieve*. The *fraternity of the blessed virgin, mother of Christ*; which began to exist AD. 1266, and was extinguished in the year 1274.(38) The *Knights of faith and charity*; established in France, to suppress public robberies, and approved by Gregory IX.(39) The *eremite brethren of St. Wil-*

gravem in ecclesia Dei confusionem inducat, firmiter prohibemus ne quis de cætero novam religionem inveniat: sed quicumque voluerit ad religionem converti, unam de approbatis assumat. Similiter qui voluerit religiosam domum fundare de novo, regulam et institutionem accipiat de religionibus approbatis. See *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. vii. p. 31. Tr.]

(35) *Helyot's Histoire des Ordres*, Tom. vi. p. 161.

(36) *Muth. Paris, Historia major*, p. 161.

(37) *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris*, Tom. iii. p. 15. *Acta Sanctor. mens. Februar.* Tom. ii. p. 482.

(38) *Dionys. Sammarthanus*, *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. i. p. 653. &c.

(39) *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. i. Append. p. 165. *Martene's Voyage littéraire de deux Benedictins*, Tom. ii. p. 23 &c.

liam, duke of Aquitaine.(40) I pass over the *Brethren of the sack, the Bethlehemites*, and several others. For scarcely any age was more fruitful than this, in new sects of monks, living under various rules and regulations.(41)

§ 20. Among the new monastic sects, that still exist, were the *Servants of the ever blessed Virgin*, a fraternity founded in the year 1233, in Tuscany, by seven pious Florentines, at the head of whom was *Philip Benizi*. This sect adopted indeed the rule of *St. Augustine*, but it was consecrated to the memory of the holy widowhood of the blessed virgin, and therefore wore a black habit,(42) and had other peculiarities. The holy wars of the christians in Palestine, in which many christians became captives among the Muhammedans, produced near the close of the preceding century, the order of *Brethren of the holy Trinity*, which first acquired stability and permanence in this century. Its originators were *John de Matha* and *Felix de Valois*, two pious men who led a solitary life at *Cerfroy* in the diocess of Meaux, where the principal house of the sect still exists. These monks were called *Brethren of the holy Trinity*, because all their churches are dedicated to the holy Trinity ; also *Mathurini*, because their church in Paris has for its tutelar saint *St. Mathurin*; and likewise *Brethren of the redemption of captives*, because they are required to make the redemption of christian captives from the Muhammedans a primary object, and to devote one third part of their revenues to this purpose. Their rule of life formerly was austere ; but by the indulgence of the pontiffs, it is now rendered easy to be kept.(43)

§ 21. But the sects now mentioned, and indeed all others, were far inferior in reputation, in privileges, in the number of members, and in other respects, to the *Mendicant Orders*, (those which had no permanent revenues or possessions,) which were first established in Europe during this century. This sort of monks had now become exceedingly necessary in the church. For the wealthy orders, withdrawn by their opulence from solicitude about

(40) *Jo. Bolland*, de Ordine Eremitar. S. Guelielmi Comment. in the *Acta Sanctor*. Febr. Tom. ii. p. 472 &c.

(41) *Matth. Paris*, *Historia major*, p. 815. ed. Watts. 'Tot jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio inordinata. The same thing occurred in other countries of Europe in this age.

(42) Besides the common historians of the monastic orders, who are not always accurate, see *Paul* the Florentine's *Dialogus de origine ordinis Servorum* ; in *Jo. Lamy's Deliciae Eruditorum*, Tom. i. p. 1—48.

(43) Besides *Helyot* and the others, see *Toussaint du Plessis*, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux*, Tom. i. p. 172, and 566 &c. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. ii. p. 523 &c. *Ant. Wood's Antiq. Oxonienses*, Tom. i. p. 133 &c. In ancient writers, this sect is called the *Order of asses*, because their rule required the brethren to ride on asses, and forbid their using horses. See *Charles du Fresne's* *Notes on Joinville's life of St. Lewis*, p. 81 &c. But by the allowance of the pontiffs, they may at the present day, use horses, if they have occasion ; and they do use them. A similar Order was instituted in Spain, AD. 1228, by *Paul Nolasco*, and called the *Order of St Mary for the ransoming of captives*. See the *Acta Sanctor*. Januarii Tom. ii. p. 980 &c.

religion, and from obsequiousness to the pontiffs, and indulging in idleness, voluptuousness, and all kinds of vice, could no longer be employed in any arduous enterprise; and the heretics were allowed to roam about securely, and to gather congregations of followers. Besides, all the parties opposed to the church, looked upon voluntary poverty as the primary virtue of a servant of Jesus Christ: they required their own teachers to live in poverty, like the apostles; they reproached the church for its riches, and for the vices and profligacy of the clergy growing out of those riches; and by their commendation of poverty and contempt of riches, especially, they gained the attention and the good will of the people. A class of people therefore was very much wanted, who, by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external sanctity of their rules of life, might resemble such teachers as the heretics both commended and exhibited; and whom neither their worldly interests and pleasures, nor the fear of princes and nobles, could induce to neglect their duties to the church and to the pontiff. The first to discern this, was *Innocent III*, whose partialities for the orders professing poverty, were most manifest: (44) and the subsequent pontiffs, learning by experience the great utility of these orders, continued to cherish and encourage them. And this partiality of the pontiffs becoming manifest, so great was the increase of numbers in these orders, that they became a heavy burden, not only upon the people, but also upon the church.

§ 22. This serious evil, *Gregory X*, endeavored to obviate, in the general council of Lyons, AD. 1272. For he prohibited all the orders that had originated since the council of *Innocent III*, held at Rome, in 1215: and in particular, he reduced the *unbridled throng*, (as he denominates them,) of the *mendicants*, to four orders; namely *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, *Carmelites*, and *Augustinian Eremites*. (45) The *Carmelites*, who were first established in Palestine, in the preceding century, were in this removed to Europe; and by *Honorius III*, AD. 1226, placed among the approved orders in the western church. The order of *Augustinians* or *Eremites*, was formed by *Alexander IV*, in the year 1256; for he required various societies of *Eremites*, of which some followed the regulations of *William the Eremite*, and others wished to be considered as following *Augustine*, and others

(44) [*Innocent* sent these Mendicant monks into all parts of the world, as heralds of the papal power; and to increase their respectability and influence, he exempted them from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and declared them to be responsible immediately and solely to the see of Rome. *Schl.*]

(45) Concilium Lugdun. II. AD. 1274. Can. xxiii. (in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. vii. p. 715.) Importuna petentium inhiatio religionum (thus the monastic orders are described) multiplicationem extorsit, verum etiam aliquorum præsumptuosa temeritas diversorum ordinum, præcipue Mendicantium—effrenatam quasi multitudinem adinvenit.—Hinc ordines post dictum concilium (Lateranense AD. 1215.) adinventos—perpetuæ prohibitioni subjicimus.

called themselves by other names, to all unite in one fraternity, and live under the same rules, namely those said to be prescribed by *Augustine*.(46)

§ 23. As these orders had liberty from the pontiffs to spread themselves every where, and to instruct the people and to teach the youth; and as they exhibited a far greater shew of piety and sanctity than the older orders of monks; all Europe suddenly burst forth in admiration and reverence for them. Very many cities, as appears from the most credible documents, were divided for their sakes into four sections; of which, the first was assigned to the Dominicans, the second to the Franciscans, the third to the Carmelites, and the fourth to the Augustinians. The people frequented, almost exclusively, the churches of the mendicants, and but seldom asked for the sacraments, as they are called, or for burial, except among them: which naturally called forth grievous complaints, from the ordinary priests who had the charge of the parishes. Indeed the history of this and the following centuries, shews, that so great was the reputation and the influence of these *mendicant Friars*, that they were employed in transactions of the highest magnitude, in negotiations for peace, in the ratification of treaties, in shaping the policy of courts, in arranging financial concerns, and in various other functions totally at variance with the monastic profession.

§ 24. But the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* acquired much greater glory and power, than the other two orders of mendicants. During three centuries they had the direction of nearly every thing in church and state, held the highest offices both ecclesiastical and civil, taught with almost absolute authority in all the schools and churches, and defended the authority and majesty of the Roman pontiffs, against kings, bishops, and heretics, with amazing zeal and success. What the *Jesuits* were, after the reformation by *Luther* commenced, the same were the Dominicans and Franciscans, from the thirteenth century to the times of *Luther*, the soul of the whole church and state, and the projectors and executors of all the enterprises of any moment.—*Dominic*, a Spaniard of Calahorra, and of the illustrious family of *Gusman*, a regular canon of Osma, a man of very ardent temperament, burning with hatred against the heretics, who then greatly disquieted the church, went with a few companions into France to engage in combat with them; and with sermons and written compositions, with military force and the tremendous tribunal of the *Inquisition*, which owed its origin to him, he attacked most vigorously, and not without success, the Albigenses and the other opposers of the church. Then going into Italy, he readily ob-

(46) This ordinance is found in the *Bullarium Romanum*, Tom. i. p. 110. of the new edition. Besides the writers on all the monastic orders, and the historians of the Augustinian order in particular, see the *Acta Sanctorum mensis Februarii*, Tom. ii. p. 472.

tained, after such achievements, great favor with the pontiffs, *Innocent III*, and *Honorius III*, and obtained leave to establish a new fraternity, to be especially opposed to heretics. At first, he and his associates adopted the rule of the canons, commonly called *St. Augustine's*, with the addition of a few precepts that were more rigid : but he afterwards went over to the class of monks, and in a convention of the fraternity at Bologna, in the year 1220, he enjoined upon them poverty and contempt for all permanent revenues and possessions. Soon after the transaction at Bologna, he died, in the year 1221.(47) The members of the order were at first called *Preaching friars* (*Fratres Praedicatorum*) ; because their attention was principally devoted to instructing mankind by preaching : but afterwards they were named, from their founder, *Dominicans*.(48)

(47) See *Jac. Echard* and *Jac. Quetif's* *Scriptores Ordinis Domin.* Paris 1719. Fol. Tom. i. p. 84 &c. *Acta Sanctor.* April. Tom. iii. p. 872 &c. *Nicol. Jansenius*, *Vita S. Dominici*, Antw. 1672. 8vo. and the long list of writers mentioned by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Lat. medii aevi*, Tom. ii. p. 137 &c. to which may be added several others, and especially *Anton. Bremond's* *Bullarium Ordinis Dominici*, published at Rome ; but which has not fallen in my way. [Also the *Annales Ord. Praedicatorum*, Rom. 1756. Fol. Tom. i. which volume is wholly devoted to the life of *St. Dominic*. *Schl.*—That *St. Dominic* was of the noble family of *Guzman*, has been disputed : but it is agreed, that he was born at Calahorra, AD. 1170 ; and that he was early sent to the high school at Valencia, where he studied theology four years, and led an austere, and studious life. In the year 1199, the bishop of Osma made him a presbyter, and a canon of his cathedral. He soon after became sub-prior of that body. He was now very devotional, studious, zealous for the faith, and a great preacher. In 1206, the bishop took *Dominic* with him into the south of France, where they met the papal legate and others, then laboring with little effect to convert the Albigenses. The bishop of Osma told them, they did not take the right course ; that they ought to go forth unadorned, and without purse or scrip, like the apostles. He and *Dominic* set them a pattern, which they followed, with better success. After visiting Rome, the bishop had leave from the pope to preach in France during two years. He did so, with *Dominic* to assist him. Many others also labored with them. After the return of the bishop to Spain, *Dominic* continued to preach to the heretics, sometimes with assistants, and sometimes almost alone. In 1208, a papal legate was murdered, and a crusade commenced. *Dominic* persevered, with great zeal and fortitude, preaching, and begging his bread from door to door. He gradually drew around him several persons of like spirit. In the year 1215, he attended the general council of the Lateran, and obtained leave to establish a new order of monks ; yet adopting some one of the already approved rules. He adopted that of *St. Augustine* : founded monasteries of *Preaching Friars* in diverse places ; and was constituted General of the whole. He was very active, and efficient, till his death in 1221. His sixty monasteries, divided into eight provinces, now fell under the care of his successor and biographer, *Jordan*, a noted preacher of the Order, educated at Paris. He presided over the Dominicans, till AD. 1237 ; and was succeeded by *Raymund de Pennafort*, till 1275 ; when *John of Wildeshausen* became the general. In the year 1277, the Order had thirty-five cloisters for men in Spain, fifty-two in France, thirty-two in Tuscany, fifty-three in Germany, forty-six in Lombardy, thirty in Hungary, thirty-six in Poland, twenty-eight in Denmark, forty in England, besides some in other countries, and a large number of nunneries. The next year, it counted four hundred and seventeen cloisters. See *Schroeckh's* *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxvii. p. 392 &c. *Tr.*]

(48) In ancient writers, they are sometimes called also *Major Friars* (*Fratres Majores*). See *Ant. Mutthaeus*, *Analecta veteris aevi*, Tom. ii. p. 172. But this was rather a nick-name, by which they were distinguished from the *Franciscans*, who called themselves *Minor Friars* (*Fratres Minores*). In France, and the

§ 25. *Francis*, the son of a merchant of Assisi in Umbria, a dissolute and reckless youth, upon recovering from a very threatening sickness, which he had brought upon himself by his licentious, vicious conduct, exhibited in his life and behavior a kind of religious idiocy; and subsequently, in the year 1208, having accidentally heard in a church the words of the Savior, *Math. x. 10. [Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, &c.]* he conceived, that the essence of the Gospel, as taught by Jesus Christ, consisted in absolute penury of all things; and this therefore he prescribed for himself, and some others who followed him. He was unquestionably, an honest and pious man; but grossly ignorant, and weakened in his intellect by the force of his disease. His new fraternity was viewed by *Innocent III*, as well suited to the exigences of the church at that time, and was formally approved by *Honorius III*, AD. 1223, and had become very numerous, when its founder died, in the year 1226. To manifest his humility, *Francis* would not allow the members of his order to be called *Brethren (Fratres)*, but only *Little Brothers (Fraterculi)*; in Italian *Fratricellos*; in Latin, *Fratres Minores* [Minorites]: which is the name they still retain.(49)

neighboring countries, they were called *Jacobins* or *Jacobites*; because the first domicile granted to them at Paris, was and is still sacred to *St. James*, [*Rue de St. Jacques*].—In England, they were called *Black Friars*, from the color of their habit; and the part of London where they first dwelt, is still called by this name. Tr.]

(49) The life of *St. Francis* was written by *Bonaventura*; and has been often published. But of all the writers who give account of him, the most full, is *Lucas Wadding*, [an Irish Franciscan monk, who died at Rome, AD. 1657,] in the first volume of his *Annales Minorum*; a work containing a very ample history of the Franciscan Order, confirmed by innumerable documents, and published with considerable enlargement, by *Joseph Maria Fonseca ab Ebora*, Rome 1731 and onwards, in eighteen volumes, Folio. The same *Wadding* published the *Opuscula Sti Francisci*, Antw. 1623. 4to. and the *Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum*, Rome 1650. 4to. The other writers on this celebrated sect, are mentioned by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Latina medii aevi*, Tom. ii. p. 573 &c. [*St. Francis* was born at Assisi, AD. 1182; and at his baptism, was named *John*. But his father, being a merchant, who did much business in the south of France, brought him into such familiar intercourse with Frenchmen, that he learned to speak their language fluently; and was thence called *Franciscus*. His father educated him for his own business, and early employed him in traffic. But he was negligent in business, profligate, and debauched; yet generous to the poor, and brave. He always acted from the impulse of feeling, and his imagination overpowered his judgment. After his sickness, he resolved to be religious, and became as extravagant in this course, as he was before in his worldly pleasures. Meeting one day a leper, he dismounted from his horse, kissed the sores of the sick man, and gave him alms; and this, to overcome the revolting feelings of his nature. He fancied, that Christ appeared to him, and that he had visions and prophetic dreams. In a pilgrimage to Rome, he saw a multitude of beggars about the church of *St. Peter*, and exchanged clothes with one of the most shabby, and herded some days with the rest. Praying one day near the walls of a decayed church at Assisi, he heard a voice saying: Go *Francis*, and repair my house, which you see is decayed. He immediately went and sold a large amount of cloth belonging to his father, and brought the avails to the priest of that church, who hesitated to receive it. His father was offended, and attempted to arrest him as a deranged person; in which light he was now generally viewed by his

§ 26. These two orders wonderfully supported the tottering fabric of the Romish church, in various ways; as, by searching out and extirpating *heretics*, by performing embassies for the advantage of the church, and by confirming the people in their loyalty to the pontiffs. Sensible of their good services and fidelity, the pontiffs employed them in all the more important offices and transactions, and likewise conferred on them the highest and most invidious privileges and advantages.(50) Among these prerogatives, it was not the least, that in all places, and without license from the bishops, they might preach publicly, be confessors to all who wished to employ them, and grant absolutions. They were also furnished with ample power to grant *indulgences*; by which the pontiffs aimed to furnish the Franciscans especially, with the

fellow townsmen. In the year 1206, his father took all property out of his hands, lest he should squander it; and he now clothed himself in skins, and lived like a beggar, travelling up and down the country, and exhorting all to be religious. Some regarded him as insane, and others as a saint. By begging, he raised money to repair not only the old church before mentioned, but likewise two others; one of which, near Assisi, was called the church of Portiuncula, where he fixed his head quarters, and at length established his new order of monks, about the year 1208. Absolute poverty, entire obedience, much fasting and prayer, with constant efforts to convert sinners, were the requisites for admission to his Order. In the year 1210, he had but eleven followers, when he obtained leave of the pope to continue his monastery. In 1211, he sent his monks all over Italy, to preach, and beg their bread. The order now increased rapidly, and was in high repute. *Francis* himself travelled, and preached, and had revelations, and wrought miracles. Once, while preaching, he could not be heard, for the chattering of numerous swallows. He turned to them, and said: "My sisters, you have talked long enough, it is time now for me to speak: do you keep silence, while the word of God is preached." They instantly obeyed. In 1212, he attempted to sail to the East, in order to preach to the Muhammedans; but the winds drove him back. In the year 1214, he went to Morocco, and preached awhile, without effect, among the believers in Muhammed. In 1215, he attended the Lateran council, when *Innocent III.* publicly declared his approbation of the Franciscan society. In 1216, he held at Assisi the first general chapter of his order; the next year cardinal *Ugolino*, afterwards pope *Gregory IX.* became patron of the order: the year following, 1219, no less than five thousand, are said to have attended the general chapter. He now sent his preachers abroad all over Europe. He himself, this year went to Egypt, and preached to the Sultan of that country. On his return he found that his deputy general, *Elias*, had relaxed somewhat the strictness of his rules; but he restored things to their former state. He would not allow splendor in his churches, nor the formation of libraries; and individuals must not own even a psalter or hymn book. In 1220, five Franciscan missionaries were put to death in Morocco; which contributed much to raise the fame of the order, and to enlarge it. In 1222, the pope gave the Franciscans a right to preach every where, and to hear confessions, and grant absolutions, in all places. In 1224, *St. Francis*, after praying for greater conformity with Christ, had scars, or fungus flesh, it is said, formed on his hands and feet and side, to represent the five wounds of Christ. During the two following years, he lived an invalid, at Assisi, and at last died, the 14th of October, 1226. See *Bonaventura*, l. c. and *Schroeck's Kirchengesch.* vol. xxvii. p. 405 &c. *Tr.*]

(50) *Math. Paris*, *Historia major*, p. 634, says: Our lord the pope now made the Franciscans and Dominicans, contrary to their wishes, I suppose, and to the injury and scandal of their Order, his publicans and his bedels.—*Idem*, p. 639. Our lord the pope has not ceased to amass treasures, making the Dominican and Franciscan monks, even against their inclinations, not *fishers of men*, but of *money*. See also p. 662, 664, and many other places. At the year 1236, p. 354, he says: The Franciscans and Dominicans were counsellors and envoys of princes,

means of support.(51) But these favors, conferred in such profusion upon the Dominicans and Franciscans, while they weakened the ancient discipline, and infringed upon the rights of the first and second orders of the clergy, produced deadly hatred between the mendicant orders on the one hand, and the bishops and priests on the other, and caused violent struggles and commotions in every country of Europe, and even in the city of Rome itself.(52) And although the pontiffs of this and the following centuries, used various means to compose and terminate these commotions, yet they were never able to extinguish them, because the interests of the church required, that its most faithful servants and satellites, the mendicant monks, should continue to be honored and be safe.(53)

§ 27. Among these contests of the mendicants with the bishops, the priests, the schools, and the other monastic orders, the most noted is that of the Dominicans with the university of Paris; which commenced in the year 1228, and was protracted with various success till AD. 1259. The Dominicans claimed the privilege of having *two* theological chairs in that university. One of these, the university took from them; and also passed a statute, that no order of monks should be allowed *two* theological chairs in the university. The Dominicans pertinaciously insisted on having a second chair: and, as they would not be quiet, the university sever-

and even secretaries to our lord the pope; thus securing to themselves too much secular favor. At the year 1239, p. 465. he says: At that time the Dominicans and Franciscans were the counsellors and special envoys of kings; and, as formerly those clothed in soft raiment were in king's houses, so at this time, those clothed in vile raiment, were in the houses, the halls, and the palaces of princes.

(51) See *Baluze*, Miscellanea, Tom. iv. p. 490. Tom. vii. p. 392. It is notorious, that no sect of monks had more or ampler *indulgencies* for distribution, than the Franciscans. Without them, these good friars, who were required to have no possessions and revenues, could not have lived and multiplied. As a substitute for fixed revenues, therefore, this extensive sale of *indulgencies* was granted them.

(52) See *Baluze*, Miscellanea, Tom. vii. p. 441.

(53) See *Jo. Launoi*, Explicata ecclesiae traditio circa canonem: *Omnis utriusque sexus*; Opp. Tom. i. P. i. p. 247 &c. *Rich. Simon*, Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiast. par M. du Pin, Tome i. p. 326. *Jac. Lenfant*, Histoire du Concile de Pise, Tom. i. p. 310. Tom. ii. p. 8. *Jac. Echard's* Scriptores Dominicani, Tom. i. p. 404 &c. The writers of this and the following centuries are full of these contests. [Ecclesiastical discipline was injured, by the privileges granted to the mendicant monks, especially, because these monks, being dependant on the kindness of the people for their daily support, (as in after times the Jesuits were,) endeavored to secure the good will of the people, by the indulgent manner of treating them in their confessions; and thus the parish churches became almost empty, while those of the Mendicants were full of worshippers. They also received pay for saying masses; and allowed to the rich a burial in their inclosures; for which they were very generously rewarded. This however was only the beginning of the disquietude. As the proceedings of the mendicants were supported by the ambitious pontiff, *Gregory IX*, they kept no terms with the bishops, nor with the civil authorities. They depreciated, in their writings, and in the schools, the power of the bishops, and exalted that of the pope. They spoke of the former as mere clergymen, who were bound to obey implicitly the commands of Christ's vicegerent; while the latter, they represented as a visible deity. Such good services must be appreciated and rewarded, and such useful men must be esteemed and valued. *Schl.*]

ed them from its connexion. Violent commotion ensued, on both sides. The controversy was carried before the court of Rome; and *Alexander IV*, in the year 1255, ordered the university, not only to restore the Dominicans to their former standing in that literary body, but also to allow them as many [professorial] chairs as they chose to occupy. The university boldly resisted; and a dubious contest ensued. But *Alexander IV*, terrified and bore down upon the Parisian doctors, with so many severe edicts, mandates, and epistles, (to the number, it is said, of forty,) that, in the year 1259, they yielded, and according to the will of the pontiff, conceded both to the Dominicans and to the Franciscans all they wished for.(54) And hence arose that inveterate dislike and alienation, not yet entirely done away, between the university of Paris and the mendicant orders, especially that of the Dominicans.

§ 28. In this famous dispute, no one pleaded the cause of the university more strenuously and spiritedly, than *William* of St. Amour, a doctor of the Sorbonne, a man of genius and worthy of a better age. For in his other writings and sermons, but more especially in his book on *the Perils of the latter times*, he attacked with great severity all the mendicants collectively; maintaining, that their mode of life was contrary to the precepts of Christ, and that it had been inconsiderately, and *through mistake*, (*per errorem*,) as he expresses it, confirmed by the pontiffs, and the church. This very celebrated book derived its title from the position of its author, that the predictions of Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 1 &c. concerning the perils of the latter times, was fulfilled in the mendicant friars; which he endeavors to evince from their *Everlasting Gospel*, a book of which more will be said hereafter. Against this formidable adversary, the ire of the Dominicans especially was kindled; and they did not cease to persecute him, till *Alexander IV*, in the year 1256, ordered his book to be publicly burnt, and the author to quit France; that he might no more excite the Sarbonne to hostility against the mendicants. *William* obeyed the mandate of the pontiff, and retired to his native country in Burgundia. But, under *Clement IV*, he returned to Paris, explained his book in a larger work, and at last died there, in the highest estimation.(55)

(54) See *Caes. Egasse de Boulay's* Historia Acad. Paris, Tom. iii. p. 138 &c. 240, 244, 248, 266 &c. *Jo. Cordesius*, (whose assumed name is *Aliophilus*,) Praefatio Histor. et Apologetica ad Opera Guil. de S. Amore. *Anton. Tourn.* Vie de S. Thomas, p. 134. *Wadding's* Annales Minorum, Tom. iii. p. 247, 366 &c. Tom. iv. p. 14, 52, 106, 263. Among the ancients, *Matth. Paris*, Historia major, AD. 1228. and *Nangis*, Chronicon; in *Dachery's* Spicilegium, Tom. iii. p. 38 &c.

(55) The Parisian theologians to this time, hold *William* and his book in high estimation; and warmly contend that he was not enrolled among the *heretics*; while the Dominicans regard him as a *heretic* of the first rank. His works, so far as they could be found, were published by *John Cordesius*, at Constance, (as the title page expresses; but in fact, at *Paris*,) 1632, 4to. with a long and learned

§ 29. This general odium against the mendicant orders, arising from the high privileges conferred on them by the pontiffs, was not a little increased, by the immense pride and arrogance which they displayed on all occasions. For they pretended to be divinely excited and commissioned, to explain and defend the religion of Christ; the priests of all other classes and orders, they treated with contempt, declaring that themselves alone understood the true way of salvation; they extolled the efficacy of their *indulgences*; and they boasted immoderately of their familiar intercourse with God, with the virgin Mary, and with all the glorified saints: and by such means, they so deluded and captivated the uninformed, and simple multitude, that they employed *them* only as their spiritual guides. (56) A prominent place among the instances of their crafty arrogance, is due to the fable, circulated by the Carmelites, respecting *Simon Stock*, a general of their order, who died near the beginning of the century. They said, the virgin *Mary* appeared to him, and promised him, that no person should be eternally lost, who should expire clothed in the short mantle, worn on their shoulders by the Carmelites, and called the *scapular*. (57) And this fiction, equally ridiculous and impious, has found advocates even among the pontiffs. (58)

§ 30. But these very orders, which seemed to be the principal supports of the Romish power, gave the pontiffs immense trouble, not long after the decease of *Dominic* and *Francis*: and the difficulties, though often dispelled for a time, continually recurred, and brought the church into great jeopardy. In the first place, these two most powerful orders, contended with each other for precedence; and attacked and warred upon each other in their publications, and with invectives and criminations. Attempts were frequently made to stop these contentions; but the firebrand that kindled them could never be extinguished. (59) In

preface, in which the reputation and the orthodoxy of the author are vindicated and maintained. To elude the resentment and enmity of the mendicant Orders, the editor assumed the fictitious name of *John Aliophilus*. But the fraternity obtained a decree from *Lewis XIII*, in the year 1633, suppressing the book. The edict is given us, by the Dominican, *Anton. Tournon*, in his *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 164. Respecting *William*, his life, and fortunes, see also *Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. iii. p. 366. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris*, Tom. iii. p. 266 &c. *Natalis Alexander*, *Historia Eccles. Sæc. xiii. cap. iii. Art. vii.* p. 95. *Rich. Simon*, *Critique de la Bibliotheque Eccles. de M. du Pin*, Tom. i. p. 345 &c. and others.

(56) See, among others, *Matthew Paris*, *Historia major*, in various places, and particularly, on AD. 1246. p. 607, 630 &c.

(57) See the tract of *Jo. Launoï*, de viso *Simonis Stockii*; in his *Opp.* Tom. ii. P. ii. p. 379 &c. *Acta Sanctor.* Tom. iii. ad diem xvi. mensis Maii. *Theoph. Raynaud*, *Scapulare Marianum*; in his *Opp.* Tom. vii. p. 614. and others.

(58) Even the modern pontiff *Benedict XIV*, [who died AD. 1758,] did not hesitate to give countenance to this fable, yet in his usual prudent and cautious manner; de *Festis B. Mariæ virginis*, Lib. ii. cap. vi. *Opp.* Tom. x. p. 472. ed. Rome.

(59) See the *Alcoran des Cordeliers*, Tom. i. p. 256, 266, 278 &c. *Lucas Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. iii. p. 330. and the whole history of these times.

the next place, the Franciscan fraternity was early split into factions, which time only strengthened and rendered inveterate; and these factions not only disturbed the peace of the church, but shook even the sovereign powers and majesty of the pontiffs themselves. Nor will it appear doubtful, to one who attentively considers the course of events in the Latin church from this period onward, that these mendicant orders, in part undesignedly, and in part knowingly, and intentionally, gave mortal wounds to the authority of the Romish church, and caused the people to wish for a reformation in the church.

§ 31. *St. Francis* prescribed absolute poverty to his friars. While all the previous monastic orders adopted the policy, of denying to their members severally, the right of private property, but allowed the collective bodies or fraternities to possess estates and revenues, from which all the individuals received support; *Francis* would not allow his friars, either individually, or collectively, to be owners of any property.(60) But immediately after the death of their founder, many of the friars-minors departed from this rigorous law; and their inclinations were gratified by *Gregory IX.* who in the year 1231, published a more mild interpretation of this severe rule.(61) But others among them, were greatly dissatisfied with this relaxation of their primitive austerity. These, being persons of a morose disposition, and prone to go to extremes, were by some called the *Zealous (zelatores)*, or the *Spiritual*; and by others the *Caesarians*, from one of their number named *Caesarius*, who was their leader.(62) A perplexing controversy having thus arisen, *Innocent IV.* in the year 1246, decided according to the views of those who wished their rule to be relaxed; declaring, that they might hold lands, houses, furniture, books &c. and might use them freely; but that the *right of property*, the *legal possession* or *ownership* of the whole, should belong to *St. Peter*, and to the church of Rome, without whose consent nothing should be sold, exchanged, or in any way transferred to others. This exposition of their rule, the *Spiritual* declared to be an unrighteous perversion of it; and some of them retired into the woods and deserts, and others were sent into exile by *Crescentius*, general of the order.(63)

§ 32. *John* of Parma, who was elected general of the whole order, AD. 1247, changed the face of things among them. Being himself in sentiment with the *Spirituals*, he recalled the ex-

(60) The Rule of *St. Francis*, cap. vi. is this: Fratres sibi nihil approprient, nec domum, nec locum, nec aliquam rem: sed sicut peregrini et advenae in hoc saeculo, in paupertate et humilitate famulantes Domino, vadant pro elemosyna (i. e. must beg) confidenter.—Haec est illa celsitudo altissimae paupertatis, quae vos carissimos meos fratres haeredes et reges regni coelorum instituit.

(61) His Bull is extant in *Emman. Roderic's Collectio privilegiorum regularium Mendicantium et non Mendicantium*, Tom. i. p. 8.

(62) *Lucas Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. iii. p. 99 &c.

(63) *Wadding*, Tom. iv. p. 128, and Tom. iii. p. 171 &c.

iles, and required the brethren to conform to the letter of the law, as prescribed by *St. Francis*.(64) But the recompence he received for restoring the Franciscan community to its pristine state, was, that in the year 1249, he was accused before the pontiff, *Alexander IV*, and was compelled to resign his office. His companions, who refused to abandon their opinions, were thrown into prison: and he himself with difficulty escaped the same fate.(65) His successor, the celebrated *Bonaventura*, who ranked high among the scholastic theologians, wished to take neutral ground; and made it his grand object, to prevent an open rupture and separation between the two parties. Yet he could not prevent the laxer party from obtaining, in the year 1257, a solemn ratification from *Alexander IV*, of the interpretation put upon their rule by *Innocent IV*.(66) On the other hand, those who held to the views of the *Spirituals*, were so successful, that, in an assembly of the order, AD. 1260, they procured the abrogation of the interpretation of *Innocent*, and particularly, so far as it differed from the previous interpretation of *Gregory IX*.(67)

§ 33. To this first contest respecting the meaning of their rule, another was added of no less magnitude. From the beginning of the century, there were circulated, in Italy and in other countries, various prophesies of the famous *Joachim*, abbot of Flora in Calabria, who was considered by the vulgar as a man divinely inspired, and equal with the ancient prophets. Most of these prophesies were included in a book, which bore the title of *The everlasting Gospel*, and also that of *The Book of Joachim*.(68) This true, or fictitious, *Joachim*, among many other things, foretold in particular, the destruction of the Romish church, the defects and corruptions of which he severely censures; and also the promulgation of a new and more perfect *Gospel*, by poor persons divinely commissioned, in *the age of the Holy Spirit*. For he taught, that two *imperfect ages*, [or dispensations,] that is,

(64) *Wadding's Annales*, Tom. iii. p. 171.

(65) *Wadding's Annales*, Tom. iv. p. 4 &c.

(66) The decree is exhibited by *Wadding*, among other documents, *Annales*, Tom. iv. p. 446.

(67) *Wadding's Annales*, Tom. iv. p. 128. The miserable and distracted state of the Order, is lucidly depicted in an Epistle of *Bonaventura*, which may be seen in *Wadding*, l. c. p. 58.

(68) What *Merlin* is to the English, *Malachy* to the Irish, and *Nostradamus* to the French, the same is the abbot *Joachim* to the Italians; a man who foretells what is to come, who is divinely aided, and foresees the fate of empires and the revolutions in the church. Great numbers of his predictions were formerly in circulation, and are so still; nay have had not a few, who attempted to explain them. That *Joachim* predicted some things, and also spoke of a future reformation in the church, which he saw to be very necessary, I have no doubt. But most of the predictions, once believed to be his, undoubtedly originated from other authors. And among these, I place *the Everlasting Gospel*, which was the production of an obscure and insipid writer, who published his dreams under the splendid name of *Joachim*, in order to give them currency. The title of this foolish book was borrowed from the Apocalypse, ch. xiv. v. 6. It consisted of three parts [or Libri]; of which, the first was entitled *Liber Concordiarum, vel Concordiæ Veri-*

modes of worshipping God, had already passed; namely, those of the *Father* and of the *Son*; and that a third, more perfect, was at hand; namely, that of the *Holy Spirit*. These predictions, and whatever affirmations were attributed to *Joachim*, were eagerly swallowed down by the *Spirituals*, who were, for the most part, well-meaning, but delirious and fanatical persons, and who applied them to themselves, and to the rules of life prescribed by *St. Francis*: (69) for they maintained, that *he* had taught men the true *Gospel*; and that he was that *angel*, whom *John*, in the apocalypse, xiv. 6, saw flying through the heavens. (70)

§ 34. At the time these contentions were at their height, about the year 1250, *Gerhard*, one of the *Spirituals*, wrote an avowed exposition of this *Eternal Gospel*, ascribed to *Joachim*; and entitled his work, an *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*. (71) This treatise, among many other absurd and impious things, contained this most detestable asseveration: that the true and eternal

iatis; the second, *Apocalypsis nova*; and the third, *Psalterium decem chordarum*. This is remarked by *Jac. Echard*, *Scriptores Dominicani*, Tom. i. p. 202, from a MS copy in the Sorbonne.

(69) This, *Wadding* himself does not deny, though he is a staunch friend to the *Spirituals*; *Annales Minorum*, Tom. iv. p. 3—6. He also speaks favorably of the abbot *Joachim*.

(70) See *Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. i. p. 221, 228, 235, 246. *Echard*, *Scriptores Dominicani*, Tom. i. p. 202. *Codex Inquis. Tholosanae*, published by *Limborch*, p. 301, 302, 305, &c.

(71) As both the ancients and the moderns have given inaccurate accounts of this infamous book, I will here subjoin some remarks, which may serve to correct their mistakes.

I. They nearly all confound the *Everlasting Gospel*, (or the *Gospel of the Holy Spirit*; which was another title of the book, according to *William* of *St. Amour*, *de Periculis novissimorum temporum*, p. 38,) with the *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*; or, to the books of the abbot *Joachim*. Yet these two books were totally different. The *Everlasting Gospel* was attributed to the abbot *Joachim*; and consisted, (as before observed,) of three Books. But the *Introduction to this Gospel*, was the work of some Franciscan monk; and it explained the obscure predictions of this Gospel, and applied them to the Franciscans. Neither the university of Paris, nor *Alexander IV*, complained of the *Everlasting Gospel* itself: but the *Introduction to it* was complained of, and condemned, and burnt: as is manifest from the Epistles of *Alexander* on the subject, published by *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iii. p. 292. The book of the abbot *Joachim*, or the *Everlasting Gospel*, was undoubtedly, as such worthless books usually are, made up of enigmas, and ambiguous assertions; and it was therefore treated with contempt. But the Interpretation of it, or the *Introduction to it*, was a very dangerous book.

II. As to the author of the *Introduction*, the ancient writers are not agreed. All make it the production of some one who belonged to an order of mendicants. But those who favor the Franciscans, say, he must have been a Dominican; while those who defend the Dominican cause, throw back the accusation on the Franciscans. The majority, however, assert that *John* of *Parma*, general of the Franciscans, who belonged to the party of the *Spirituals*, and is known to have too much favored the opinions of the abbot *Joachim*, was the author of the disgraceful production. See *Lucas Wadding*, *Annales Minorum*, Tom. iv. p. 9. who endeavors, though very unsatisfactorily, to exonerate him from the charge. See also the *Acta Sancti*. Tom. iii. Martii, p. 157 &c. for *John* of *Parma* obtained a place among the glorified saints that reign with Christ, notwithstanding he is represented as preferring the Gospel of *St. Francis* to the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*. *James Echard*, however, in his *Scriptores Dominicani*, Tom. I. p. 202, 203, has shown, from the MS. records of the legal process against the *Everlasting Gospel*,

Gospel of God was exhibited to mankind by *St. Francis*, who was the angel mentioned in the Apocalypse, chap. xiv. v. 6; that the Gospel of Christ would be abrogated in the year 1260, and this new and eternal Gospel take its place; and that the ministers by whom this great change would be brought about, were to be itinerant barefooted friars.(72) When this book was published at Paris, AD. 1254, the theologians there, and all good men, burst out in the highest indignation against the mendicant monks; who were before sufficiently odious, on other accounts. For this reason, *Alexander IV.*, though reluctantly, in the year 1255, forbid the circulation of the book; yet in a manner so guarded, and cautious, as to injure the reputation of the mendicant orders as little as possible. But the university of Paris did not desist from complaints and accusations, till the book was publicly burnt.(73)

§ 35. The dissensions of the Franciscans, which were quieted by the prudence of *Bonaventura*, broke out again after his death. For that portion of the order, who desired greater liberty, wished to have the rule of the founder wholly abrogated, as being moral-

which are still preserved in the Sorbonne, that the author of the infamous book, was a Franciscan friar, named *Gerhard*. This *Gerhard* was the intimate friend of *John* of Parma: and he not only maintained fiercely the cause of the *Spirituals*, but he so heartily imbibed all the opinions ascribed to the abbot *Joachim*, that he chose to lie in prison 18 years, rather than to abandon them. See *Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. iv. p. 4, 7. And yet those Franciscans who are called *Observants*, that is, such as pretend to follow the rules of their founder more strictly than the others, place this *Gerhard* among the saints of the highest order; and they tell us, that he possessed both the gift of prophecy, and the power of working miracles. See *Wadding's Annals*, Tom. iii, p. 213, 214.

III. Nearly all tax with the crime of producing this detestable book, the whole body of mendicant monks, or at least the two orders of Dominicans and Franciscans; and they think, both these orders were willing to advance their fame for piety and their influence among mankind, by means of this work. But the fact was far otherwise. The crime is chargeable only on the Franciscans; as is evident from the remains of the book itself: yet not on all the Franciscans, as justice requires us to state, but only on that class of them, who are called the *Spirituals*: indeed, it is perhaps not chargeable on all of these, but only on that portion of them who believed in the prophecies of the abbot *Joachim*.

After these remarks, it will be more easy to understand correctly, what the following writers tell us concerning the *Everlasting Gospel*; namely, *Jo. Andr. Schmid*, in his Diss. on this subject, Helms. 1700. 4to. *Juc. Usher*, de Successione ecclesiarum Occidentis, cap. ix. § 20. p. 337. *Caes. Egasse de Boulay*, Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iii. p. 292 &c. *Natalis Alexander*, Historia eccles. Saecul. xiii. Artic. iv. p. 9. and many others. This book is not a monument of the pride and insolence of all the mendicant orders, as most writers have supposed; but of the impious folly of a part, and a very small part, of the Franciscan family.

(72) See *Gulielmus de S. Amore*, de periculis novissimorum. temporum, p. 38, 39. who tells us, that this book was first published, in the year 1254; but that the opinions contained in it had originated 50 years before, i. e. AD. 1200. Copious extracts from the book are given by several of the ancient writers. See *Herm. Cörneri* Chronicon; in *Echard's Corpus Histor. medii aevi*, Tom. ii. p. 850. The Chronicon Egmondanum; in *Anton. Matthaci* Analecta vet. aevi, Tom. ii. p. 517. *Ricobaldus*; in *Echard's Corpus &c.* Tom. i. p. 1215. and others. Yet among these extracts, there is much discrepancy; which originated, I suppose, from some writer's quoting from the *Everlasting Gospel of Joachim*, while others quoted from friar *Gerhard's* Introduction to it, without discriminating between the two works.

(73) See *Boulay's* Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iii. p. 299 &c. *Jordani* Chronicon; in *Murator's* Antiquitt. Ital. Tom. iv. p. 998.

ly wrong, and requiring what is beyond the powers of human nature: but, at the solicitation of those attached to the primitive strictness, *Nicolaus III.*, resisted the measures of these innovators, and published, in 1279, the famous constitution, by which he not only confirmed the rule of *St. Francis*, but interpreted it in the most particular manner.(74) In this constitution he enjoined upon the Friars, as their rule demanded, an expropriation or renunciation of all right of property or ownership; but allowed them *the simple use of things necessary, the retention, not the property*; and ordained, that the dominion of these necessities, houses, books, and other furniture, should belong, as *Innocent IV.*, had decided, to the church of Rome. In the conclusion, he severely prohibited all private expositions of his law, lest it should afford new grounds of contention; reserving the right of interpreting it, exclusively, to the Roman pontiffs.(75)

§ 36. This constitution of *Nicolaus* did not satisfy the *Zealous*, or the *Spirituals*, who were considerably numerous, particularly in Italy and France, and especially in the province of Narbonne. Those in Italy made no disturbance; but those in France, and particularly in Narbonne, being of a warmer and more excitable temperament, and led on by *Peter John Oliva*, openly testified their dissatisfaction, and again produced violent contentions.(76) This *Peter*, famed for his writings, his opinions, and his sufferings, was in high estimation for sanctity and learning, and therefore had numerous followers; and he really inculcated many things wisely and well. In particular, he censured with great freedom the corruptions and defects of the Romish religion. This he did both in his other writings, and particularly in his *Postilla* or *Commentary* on the Apocalypse; in which he did not hesitate to affirm, that the church of Rome was that whore of Babylon, that *John* saw in vision. Yet he was at the same time most profoundly superstitious, and contaminated with a large part of those opinions, which the *Spirituals* pretended to have learned from the abbot *Joachim*; and he had an impious veneration for *St. Francis*, who, he maintained, was *wholly conformed to Christ* (totum Christo configuratum).(77) In the great dispute respecting the rule of *St. Francis*, he seemed to be of neither party: for he conceded to the brethren the *beggarly use of things necessary*; (pauperem

(74) Some contend, that this constitution was promulgated by *Nicolaus IV.* but they are confuted by *Wadding*, *Annales Minorum*, Tom. v. p. 73.

(75) This celebrated constitution is inserted in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Lib. vi. Decretal. [Lib. v.] Tit. xii. c. p. 3. 1028. ed. *Boekmer*: and is commonly designated by its first word: *Exiit*.

(76) He is also called, in ancient writers, *Peter of Beziers* (Biterrensis), because he lived long, and was a teacher, in the monastery of Beziers. Sometimes also, he is called, from his native place, *Peter of Serignam*: for he was born in the castle of St. Mary at Serignam in France. I note these circumstances, because some have made three persons out of this individual.

(77) See the *Littera Magistrorum* de *Postilla* fratris P. Joh. Olivi; in *Baluze's* *Miscellanea*, Tom. i. p. 213. and *Wadding's* *Annales Minorum*, Tom. v. p. 51.

rerum necessariarum usum;) and when several times summoned before his superiors, he would not express dissatisfaction with the interpretation of *Nicolaus III.* Yet he inclined much to the side of the more strict, or the *Spirituals*, who would not allow even the order collectively, to possess any property; and he contended, that such as held these views were to be esteemed and loved, rather than persecuted.(78) And he is therefore regarded as the leader and head of all those among the Franciscans, who maintained these contests with the pontiffs respecting the *expropriation* required by *St. Francis*.(79)

§ 37. Relying on the influence of this man, whom the multitude accounted a prophet of God, and a most holy man, the *Spirituals* resolutely assailed the opposite party: but the prudence of the generals of the order, for a time, so held their passions in check, that neither party could overcome the other. Such prudence, however, was not in *Matthew Aquaspartanus*, who was made general of the order in the year 1287. He suffered the ancient discipline to become prostrate, and even the appearance of poverty to become extinct. Hence there arose, first in the marquisate of Ancona in Italy, and afterwards in France, and in other countries, great commotions among the *Spirituals*, both the more moderate and the more rigid; and *Matthieu*, after laboring in vain to quell these commotions, by imprisonments, and penalties, at length, in the year 1289, resigned his office.(80) His successor, *Raymund Gaufredi*, endeavored to restore peace, by recalling the exiles, liberating the imprisoned, and banishing a few of the more untractable into Armenia. But the evil had now become too inveterate to be easily cured. For the more lax censured the tenderness and kindness of the general towards the *Spirituals*; nor did they cease to persecute him, till, under *Boniface VIII.*, they got him deposed. At the same time, the *Spirituals*, especially in France, seceded from the rest; and openly condemned the interpretation of their rule by *Nicolaus III.* Hence, from the year 1290 onwards, the prospect was open sedition and schism.(81)

(78) His sentiments may be learned, best of all, from his last discourse, in *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iii. p. 535. and *Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. v. p. 378.

(79) See, concerning this celebrated man, who died AD. 1297, in addition to the common writers, (*Raynald, Nat. Alexander, Oudin*, and others,) *Stephen Baluze's* Miscellanea, Tom. i. p. 213. and his *Vitae Pontiff. Avenion.* Tom. ii. p. 752 &c. *Charles Plessis d'Argentre's* Collectio judiciorum de novis eccles. erroribus, Tom. i. p. 226 &c. *Luc. Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. v. p. 108, 121, 140, 236. and especially p. 378, where he labors with all his might, though with little success, to excuse and justify the man. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iii. p. 535 &c. *Jo. George Schelhorn's* Amoenitates litter. Tom. ix. p. 678 &c. *Histoire generale de Languedoc*, par les Moines Benedict. Tom. iv. p. 91, 179, 182. His bones together with his books, were burnt by order of the pontiff, in the year 1325. See *Raynald's Annales*, ad ann. 1325. § 20.

(80) See *Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. v. p. 210, 211, 235.

(81) *Wadding's Annales Minor.* Tom. v. p. 108, 121, 140, and especially, p. 235, 236.

• § 38. Some of the Italian *Spirituals*, in the year 1294, asked permission of the pontiff *Coelestine V.*, to form themselves into a distinct community, which might live in that real poverty, absolutely void of all possessions and all property, which *St. Francis* had prescribed to his followers : and the indulgent pontiff, who was a great admirer of poverty, readily granted their request ; and placed at the head of this new fraternity, friar *Liberatus*, a man of a most austere life.(82) But as *Coelestine*, soon after, resigned the pontificate, his successor *Boniface VIII.*, who rescinded all the acts of *Coelestine*, suppressed this new order, which had assumed the name of *Coelestine Eremites of St. Francis*.(83) The more lax Franciscans, therefore, now persecuted this class, with great severity, and accused them, among other things, of Manichaeism. Hence many of them emigrated, first to Achaia, and afterwards from thence to a small island ; in order there to lead that miserable kind of life, which they regarded as the most holy. But the fury of their brethren still pursued them in their exile. Those who remained in Italy, in spite of *Boniface VIII.*, continued to live according to their favorite rules ; and they gathered associations of their order, first in the kingdom of Naples, and then in the marquisate of Ancona, and in the Milanese territory. From Italy, they at length spread themselves over the greatest part of Europe ; and quite down to the reformation by *Luther*, they were involved in the hottest warfare with the church of Rome, in which vast numbers of them perished miserably in the flames, through the efforts of the *Inquisition*.(84)

(82) *Wadding's Annales*, Tom. v. p. 324, 338 &c.

(83) *Wadding's Annales*, Tom. vi. p. 1 &c. *Bullarium Magnum*, Contin. lii. i. [ed. Luxemb. 1741. Tom. ix.] p. 108.

(84) In what I here state, and also in what I am about to state, on this subject, I can not name any writers whom I have followed. For this part of the church history of the middle ages, has not been accurately and faithfully delineated ; although it is well worthy of being placed in a clearer light, for it exhibits great examples ; and these rebellious Franciscans, though superstitious, hold a distinguished rank among those who prepared the way for the reformation in Europe, and instilled into the people a hatred of the church of Rome. *Raynald*, *Bovius*, and *Spondanus*, in their *Annals*, and *Eymericus*, in his *Directorium Inquisitorum*, *Natalis Alexander*, and others, all treat of these subjects ; which are of greater importance than most persons are aware ; but they do not treat them properly, fully, and distinctly. And as the Protestant historians all borrow from these, it is not strange, that they also are defective. *Wadding*, though an indefatigable writer, yet while handling these subjects, proceeds like one treading upon coals of fire concealed under ashes, he obscures, suppresses, dissembles, excuses, concedes, and doubts. For he was favorably disposed towards the more rigid Franciscans ; yet he dared not openly say, that they were injuriously treated by the pontiffs. He saw, that the Romish church was shaken by these his friends, and that the majesty of the pontiffs was seriously injured and depressed by them ; but he is extremely cautious not to let this appear too clearly to his readers. I could not, therefore, follow any writer throughout, as my guide. But I have access to various testimonies of the ancient writers, and I also have in my hands not a few documents that were never published, namely, diplomas of the pontiffs and temporal sovereigns, Acts of the *Inquisition*, and others ; from which, every thing I shall say may be fully substantiated. And if God shall spare my life, these documents may perhaps come before the public. [This has not taken place : and it is desirable, that those who have these documents in their possession, should not withhold them from the world. *Schl.*]

§ 39. At this time therefore, or near the close of this century, originated in Italy the *Fratricelli* and *Bizochi*, parties that in Germany and France were denominated *Beguards*; and which, first, *Boniface VIII*, (85) and afterwards other pontiffs, condemned, and wished to see persecuted by the *Inquisition*, and exterminated in every possible way. The *Fratricelli*, who also called themselves, in Latin, *Fratres parvi*, (Little Brethren,) or *Fratriculi de paupere vita*, (*Little brothers of the poor life*,) were Franciscan monks, but detached from the great family of Franciscans; who wished to observe the regulations prescribed by their founder *St. Francis*, more perfectly than the others, and therefore possessed no property, either individually or collectively, but obtained their necessary food from day to day by begging. (86) For they said, that Jesus Christ and his apostles had neither individual nor common property; and that the Franciscans were ordered by their founder to imitate them. They likewise, after the example of *St. Francis*, wore tattered, shabby, and sordid garments: they declaimed against the corruptions of the Romish church, and the vices of the pontiffs and bishops: they predicted a reformation and purification of the church, and the restoration of the true Gospel of Jesus Christ by the genuine disciples of *St. Francis*: in short, they assented to nearly all the opinions, which were circulated as coming from the abbot *Joaachim*. They extolled *Coelestine V*, as the legal founder of their sect; but *Boniface*, and the succeeding pontiffs, who opposed the *Fratricelli*, they denied to be true pontiffs. (87)

(85) See *Jo. Trithemius*, *Annales Hirsauigienses*, Tom. ii. p. 74. Yet this writer is faulty in many particulars, and deserves no credit in what he says of the origin and the opinions of the *Fratricelli*. He every where confounds, indiscriminately, the sects of this period. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iii. p. 541. where may be seen the decree of *Boniface viii*, against the *Bizochi* and *Beguards*, passed AD. 1297. *Jordani Chronicon*; in *Murator's Antiquit. Italiae*, Tom. iv. p. 1020. Add also the common writers; though none of them is free from errors.

(86) The *Fratricelli* held many common principles with the *Spirituals*; yet they were diverse from them. The *Spirituals* did not renounce communion with the other Franciscans from whom they differed, and they were not disposed to form a new sect: but the *Fratricelli* would have nothing to do with the great family, deriving its name from *St. Francis*; and they appointed for themselves a distinct head or leader. The *Spirituals* did not wholly prohibit the Franciscan family from holding property in common, provided they were not the legal owners of the property; but the *Fratricelli* would not allow their members, either separately or collectively, to hold any property; and they observed that absolute poverty, which *Francis* had required both in his *Rule* and in his last *Testament*. Some other particulars are omitted.

(87) The accounts given of the *Fratricelli*, by both the ancients and the moderns, and even by those who exhibit most accuracy and research, are more confused and contradictory, than can well be imagined. *John Trithemius*, (*Annales Hirsauigiens*. Tom. ii. p. 74.) makes them to be the progeny of *Tanchelinus*; and he most unsuitably confounds them with the *Cathari* and other sects of those times. And most of the others who treat of the *Fratricelli*, are no better informed than he. The Franciscans leave no stone unturned, in order to evince, that the pestilent sect of the *Fratricelli* did not originate from their Order. Of course, they resolutely deny, that the *Fratricelli* professed to follow the Franciscan rule; and they maintain, that this name designated a confused rabble of various sorts

§ 40. As the great Franciscan family had its associates and dependants, who observed the third rule prescribed by *St. Fran-*

of persons, of different religious views, which *Hermann Pongilupus* of Ferrara in Italy, first collected together, near the close of the century. In place of all others, may be consulted, on this subject, *Lucas Wadding*, *Annales Minorum*, Tom. vi. p. 279 &c. who is most copious in wiping this disgrace from his order. But the indefatigable man has accomplished nothing by all his efforts. For he himself concedes, and also proves, by unquestionable authorities, that the *Fratricelli* did profess, and did in practice follow, the Rule of *St. Francis*. And yet he denies, that they were Franciscans; meaning, however, only this, that they were not *such* Franciscans, as those were, who lived in subordination to the general prefect of the order, and who admitted the exposition of the rule of *St. Francis*, given by the pontiffs. He therefore proves, only, that the *Fratricelli* were Franciscans who had withdrawn from the great family of the order, and who rejected the decrees of the pontiffs, and the authority of the general prefect; which no one calls in question. This *Hermann* (or *Armann*, as he is constantly named in the records of the trials,) *Pongilupus*, whom *Wadding* with many others, represent as being the parent of the *Fratricelli*, lived at Ferrara, in this century, and was highly esteemed for his sanctity; and after his death, in 1269, he was magnificently entombed in the principal church of Ferrara, and was long held by all for a distinguished saint, whose sanctity God had demonstrated by numerous miracles. But as the *Inquisitors* of heretical pravity had long been suspicious of him, because he led that austere course of life, pursued by the class of the *Cathari* denominated the *Comforted*, after his death they made such critical enquiries into his life, that after several years they detected his impieties. Hence, in the year 1300, by order of *Boniface VIII.*, his bones were burnt, his tomb demolished, and an end put to the extravagant reverence of the people for *Pongilupus*. The records of this judicial process were first published by *Lewis Ant. Muratori*, in his *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, Tom. v. p. 93—147. From these ample records it is most manifest, that all those learned men are mistaken, who represent *Armann Pongilupus* as the parent of the *Fratricelli*. He had no concern with them whatever: nay, he was dead, some time before this sect arose. On the contrary, this celebrated man was one of the *Cathari* or *Paulicians* or *Manichaeans*, and of that branch of them called *Bagnolists*, from the town *Bagnolo* in Languedoc. Some of the moderns have correctly understood this point, that the *Fratricelli* were a more rigid sort of Franciscans; but they have erred in supposing them to differ from the *Beguards* or *Beguins*, in nothing but their name. See *Phil. Limborch*, *Historia Inquisitionis*, Lib. i. c. xix. p. 69. who shows himself not well acquainted with these affairs. *Stephen Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. i. p. 195. and in his *Vitae Pontiff. Avenionens.* Tom. i. p. 509. *Isaac de Beausobre*, *Diss. sur les Adamites*; subjoined to his *History of the Hussite war*, p. 380. And even *Wadding* is not opposed to this opinion. See his *Annales Minor.* Tom. v. p. 376. But the *Fratricelli* certainly did differ, as I shall presently show, from the *Beguards*, not only in their opinions, but also in their practice and mode of life.

The principal cause of the numerous mistakes made in the history of the *Fratricelli*, undoubtedly was, the ambiguity of the name. *Fratricellus* or *Fraterculus* (Little Brother) was a term of reproach, among the Italians of that age, which they applied to any one that assumed the appearance of a monk, and in his dress, demeanor, and habits, made a considerable show of piety or holiness, yet did not belong to any of the approved monastic sects. See *Jo. Villani*, *Istoria Fiorentine*, Lib. viii. c. 84. p. 423. *Imola* on *Danté*; in *Muratori's* *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. i. p. 1121. As there were in those times many such persons strolling the country, though differing much in their mode of life and opinions, this term was of course applied to persons of various descriptions and characters. Thus the *Cathari*, the *Waldenses*, the *Apostoli*, and many other sects, who broached new doctrines, were commonly branded with this epithet;—and foreign writers, not aware of this fact, thought they discovered, sometimes in one sect, and sometimes in another, those noted *Fraterculi* who gave the pontiffs so much trouble. But this term *Fratricelli* or *Fraterculi*, when applied to those stricter Franciscans, who aimed to observe the rule of their master perfectly, had not its vulgar import, and was not a term of reproach or a nick-name, but an honorable appellation, which these devotees of the severest poverty, coveted and preferred before all other names. *Fratricellus*, is the same as *Fraterculus*,

cis, and who were usually called *Tertiarii*; (88) so also the sect of the *Fratricelli*, which wished to be thought the genuine fraternity of *St. Francis*, had numerous *Tertiarii* of its own. These were called, in Italy, *Bizochi* and *Bocasoti*; in France, *Beguini*; and in Germany, *Beghardi*, by which name *all the Tertiarii* were commonly designated. (89) These differed from the

or *Little Brother*; and this is equivalent to *Frater Minor*. And every body knows, that the Franciscans chose to be called *Fratres Minores*; as expressive of their humility and modesty. These well meaning people, therefore, did not assume a new name; but only applied to themselves the ancient name of their order, in the form it took in the Italian language: for those who are, in Latin, called *Fratres Minores*, are in Italian, called *Fratricelli*. Of the many proofs which are at hand, I will subjoin one only; namely, a passage from *William de Thoco*, in his life of *St. Thomas Aquinas*, in the *Acta Sanctor. Tom. i. Martii*, cap. ii. § 21. p. 666. *Destruxit* (ss. *St. Thomas*), *et tertium pestiferum pravitatis errorem—cujus sectatores simul et inventores se nominant Fraterculos de vita paupere*, ut etiam sub hoc humilitatis sophistico nomine simplicium corda seducant—*Contra quem errorem pestiferum Johannes Papa xxii, mirandam edidit decretalem*.

And this very decretal of *John XXI*, which *Thoco* calls *admirable*, to mention no other proofs, is sufficient to evince, that what I have here said of the *Fratricelli* is accordant with truth. It is extant in the *Extravagantes* of *John XXII*. [Tit. vii. cap. i. Tr.] in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Tom. ii. p. 1112. ed. Boehmer*. The pontiff says: *Nonnulli profanae multitudinis viri, qui vulgariter Fratricelli, seu Fratres de paupere vita, Bizochi, sive Beguini nuncupantur, in partibus Italiae in insula Siciliae—publice mendicare solent. These Fratricelli, he then divides into monks and Tertiarii; or, what is the same, as I shall presently show, into the Fratricelli and the Beguini. Of the proper Fratricelli, he thus speaks: Plurimi eorum regulam, seu ordinem Fratrum Minorum—se profiteri ad literam conservare confingunt—praetendentes se a sanctae memoriae Coelestino Papa quinto, praedecessore nostro, hujus status seu vitae privilegium habuisse. Quod tamen, etsi ostenderent, non valeret, cum Bonifacius Papa octavus ex certis causis rationabilibus omnia ab ipso Coelestino concessa—viribus penitus evacuaverit.—What could be more explicit and clear?—The pontiff then proceeds to the other portion of these people, who were called Bizochi, or Beguini: Nonnulli etiam ex ipsis asserentes se esse de tertio ordine beati Francisci Poenitentium vocato, praedicatum statum et ritum eorum sub velamine talis nominis satagunt palliare*

(88) Besides his two rules, both very strict and austere, the one for the *Friars Minors* [or *Minorites*], and the other for the *Poor Sisters*, called *Clarissians*, from *St. Clara*, [the first abbess, among the Franciscans,] *St. Francis* also prescribed a *third rule*, more easy to be observed, for such as wished to connect themselves in some sort with his order, and to enjoy the benefits of it, and yet were not disposed to forsake all worldly business, and to relinquish all their property. This rule required only certain pious observances, such as fasts, prayers, continence, a coarse and cheap dress, gravity of manners, &c. but did not prohibit private property, marriage, public offices, and worldly occupations. This *third rule* of *St. Francis*, is treated of by all the writers on the Franciscan order; and especially, by *Lucas Wadding*, *Annales Minorum*, Tom. ii. p. 7 &c. and by *Helvot*, *Histoire des Ordres*, Tom. vii. p. 214. Those who professed this *third rule*, were called *Fratres de poenitentia* [Penitentiary Brethren]; sometimes also, *Fratres de sacco*, on account of the meanness of their dress; but more commonly *Tertiarii* [Tertiaries]. This institution of *St. Francis* was copied by other orders of monks in the Romish church, as soon as they perceived its advantages. And hence, most of the orders, at the present day, have their *Tertiarii*.

(89) The *Tertiarii* connected with those rigid Franciscans who were distinguished by the title of *Fratricelli*, sprung up in the marquise of Ancona, and in the neighboring regions, in the year 1236 or 1297, and were called *Bizochi*; as we learn from the bull of *Boniface VIII*, against them, drawn up in 1297, and which is published by *Boulay*, in his *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iii. p. 441. *John XXII*, mentions the same appellation, in his bull quoted in a preceding note. See also *C. du Fresne*, *Glossar. Latinit. mediae*, Tom. i. p. 1188, who observes, that the name is derived from *Bizocho*, in French *Besace*, on account of the wallet or

Fratricelli, not in their opinions, but only in their mode of life. The *Fratricelli* were real monks, living under the rule of *St. Francis*; but the *Bizochi* or *Beguini* lived in the manner of oth-

bag which these mendicants used to carry. [No: he says, *Some* have supposed it so derived; but *he* thinks, they were called *Bizochi* and *Bicchini*, from the *gray* color of their garments; for from the Italian *bigio*, he says, is derived the French *bis*, *gray*, or *ash-colored*. *Tr.*] The name *Bocasotus*, or (as it is written in *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iii. p. 510.*) *Vocasotus*, is undoubtedly of the same origin and import. It occurs in *Jordanus*; from whom a signal passage will hereafter be quoted. The names *Beghardi* and *Beguini*, by which this sort of people were called in France and Italy, are very notorious in the church history of the middle ages. But what both the ancients and the moderns state, concerning the persons who bore these appellations, is so vague and contradictory, that it is not strange, we should find no part of the religious history of this period involved in more obscurity and uncertainty, than that of the *Beghardi* and *Beguini*. I will therefore dispel this obscurity, as far as I am able, and expose the origin of these sects.

The words *Beghardus* or *Beggehardus*, and *Begutta*; and also *Beghinus* and *Beghina*, differ only in orthography, and are all of the same import. The Germans and the Dutch say *Beghard* and *Begutte*; which are the forms most used in the ancient German language. But the French substituted the Latin in stead of the German orthography, and pronounced *Beghinus* and *Beghina*, after the Roman manner. Thus, those who in Germany and Holland were called *Beghardi* and *Beguttas*, were in France and Italy called *Beghini* and *Beguinae*: yet the Latin form was gradually preferred before the German, even by the Germans and the Dutch; for which, very probable reasons might be assigned, if this were the proper place. [It probably arose from the fact, that such as wrote on the subject, were priests, and retained the orthography that was adopted in the papal bulls. *Sch.*] Concerning the derivation and the import of these names, there are many opinions, which it would be tedious to enumerate and to refute. I have done this in another place: for I have commenced and nearly completed an extensive and copious work, concerning the *Beghardi* and *Beghinæ*; in which I have carefully investigated the history of all the sects, to which these names were applied, examining numerous monuments, a great part of which were never published; and I have detected very many mistakes of learned men, in this part of church history. In this place, therefore, disregarding the various conjectures and opinions of others, I will briefly state the true origin and signification of these terms. Beyond all controversy, they are derived from the old German word *beggen*, or *beggeren*, [in English, *to beg*. *Tr.*] which we now pronounce in a softer manner, *begehren*. It signifies *to beg* for any thing, *earnestly and heartily*. The syllable *hard*, which is a frequent termination of German words, being subjoined to this, produces the name *Beggehard*, which denotes a person who begs often and importunately. And as none ask and importune more frequently and earnestly than the mendicants do; hence, in the language of the old Germans, a *Beghard* is a mendicant, [or *beggar*.] which word still exists in the language of the English. *Beghutta*, is a female who gets her living by begging. Christianity being introduced into Germany, the word *beggen* or *beggeren* was applied to religion, and denoted that duty, which is enjoined upon christians, namely, to offer devout and fervent prayer to God. This word *beggen*, therefore, as we may learn from the Gothic or Francic version of the IV Gospels by *Ulphilas*, [in which, *bidjan* is, *to pray*; and *bidagwa* is, a beggar. *Tr.*] signifies: *to pray earnestly and devoutly to God*. This application of the word coming into use, a man distinguished from others by praying much and fervently, was called a *Beghard*, or *one that prays*; and a woman constant in this duty, was called *Begutta*, a female that prays. And as those who pray more than others, make a display of unusual piety, therefore all who wished to be accounted more religious than others, were usually denominated *Beghardi* and *Beguttas*; that is, in modern phraseology, *Praying Brothers*, and *Praying Sisters*.

Whoever duly considers these statements, will successfully find his way, amidst the many difficulties attending the history of the *Beghardi* and *Beghinæ*; and he will see whence arose such a multitude of *Beghardi* and *Beghinæ*, in Europe, from the 13th century onward; and why so many sects, (more than 30 might be named,) differing greatly in their sentiments, institutions, and practice, were all called by these names. In the first place, *Beghardus*, (or *Beggert*, as it was com-

er people, except in regard to dress, and a few observances prescribed for this class of persons by *St. Francis*; so that they were mere *laics*, or *secular brethren*, as the ecclesiastical phrase is. (90) These *Bizochi* moreover were divided into two classes,

monly uttered,) was the term among the Germans for an *importunate beggar*. Therefore when they saw persons, under the pretence of piety and devotion, addicting themselves to a life of poverty, and neglecting all manual labor, begging their daily bread, they called them all by the common name of *Beghardi*, or if females, *Beghuttæ*; without any regard to the sentiments or opinions, by which they were distinguished from each other. Those called *Apostoli*, were beggars: the more rigid Franciscans were beggars: the *Brethren of the free spirit*, (of whom we shall treat hereafter,) were beggars: and others were beggars. Among these, there was a vast difference; yet the Germans called them all *Beghardi*, on account of that mendicity, into which they had thrown themselves: nor was this strange; for this their common characteristic was visible to all eyes; while their other traits of character were not so easily discerned.

But secondly, the term *Beghard*, in this century, also denoted a *man who prayed very much, and affected uncommon piety*. Thus it was equivalent to the modern term *Pietist* [among the Germans]. Therefore all those who forsook the ordinary mode of living, and were distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their manners, were designated by the common appellation of *Beghardi* or *Beguttæ*, or, among the French, *Beguini* and *Beguinae*. This use of these terms was at first so extensive, (as might be shown by many examples,) that even the monks and nuns were called *Beghardi* and *Beguttæ*. But afterwards, their application was more restricted; and they were appropriated to those, who formed an intermediate class, between the monks and common citizens, yet resembled the former in their habits and manners. The *Tertiarii* therefore, of all the different orders, Dominicans, Franciscans, &c. were called *Beghardi*, as is abundantly attested: for, although they were only citizens, yet they were more strict in their devotional exercises than common citizens. The Brother Weavers, the Brethren of St. Alexius, the followers of Gerhard the Great, and many others, in short, all who exhibited an exterior of higher sanctity and piety, were *Beghardi* and *Beguttæ*, notwithstanding they obtained their support by labor, and troubled no one by their begging.

The terms *Beghardi* and *Beguttæ*, *Beguini* and *Beguinae*, if we regard them in their origin, were therefore honorable appellations; and they were used as such, in works of the highest respectability, in that age; as for instance, in the Testament of St. Lewis, the king of France. But gradually these words, as often happens, changed their original import, and became terms of reproach and derision. For, among those mendicant monks, and among those professing more than ordinary piety, there were found many, whose piety was childish and superstitious, or who were crafty impostors, concealing crimes and villanies under a mask of piety, or who united with their piety corrupt doctrines which were contrary to the prevailing religion of the age. These characters caused the appellation *Beghard* or *Beguini* to become dishonorable, and to be used for one who is stupidly or anilely religious, or who imposes upon mankind by a show of piety and poverty, or who debases his piety by grievous errors in doctrine. The term *Lollard* underwent a similar change in its import, as will be shown hereafter.

(90) See the *Acta Inquisit. Tholosanae*, published by Limborch, p. 298, 302, 310, 313, but especially, p. 307, 329, 382, 389 &c. Of the other passages illustrative of the history of the *Fratricelli* and *Beguini*, I will subjoin one from *Jordan's Chronicon*, ad ann. 1204. in *Muratorii's Antiquitates Ital. mediæ ævi*, Tom. iv. p. 1020. which will briefly confirm nearly all I have said. *Petrus de Macerata et Petrus de Forosempronio, apostatae fuerunt ordinis Minorum et hæretici. His petentibus eremitice vivere, ut regulam B. Francisci ad litteram servare possent. Quibus plures apostatae adhaeserunt, qui statum communitatis damnabant et declarationes regulæ, et vocabant se Fratres S. Francisci, (he ought to have said: *Fratricellos*, or parvos fratres de paupere vita,) et Saeculares (these were the *Tertiarii*, the friends and associates of the *Fratricelli*, but who continued to be *seculars*, and were excluded from the rank of Friars). Saeculares autem vocabant *Bizocios*, vel *Fratricellos*, vel *Bocasotos*. (Here Jordan errs, in saying that the *saeculares* were called *Fratricellos*: for this name was appropriated to the real monks of St. Francis, and did not belong to the *Tertiarii*. His other state-*

the *perfect*, and the *imperfect*. The former lived by begging, did not marry, and had no fixed residence : while the latter had permanent places of abode, married, possessed property, and engaged in the various occupations of life, like other citizens.(91)

§ 41. Totally different from these austere Franciscan *Beguini* and *Beguinae*, were the German and Belgic *Beguinae*, who did not indeed originate in this century, but now first came into notice, and in a short time became immensely numerous.(92) Certain pious females, including both widows and maidens, in order to keep themselves pure from the corruptions of the age, formed themselves into associations, and lived in appropriate houses, amidst exercises of devotion, and regular manual labor, under a directress ; yet reserving to themselves the right of marrying, and of withdrawing from the association, at their pleasure. And as all females who made pretensions to more than ordinary piety, were called *Beguttæ* or *Beguinae*, that is, *praying Ladies* ; so these also received the same appellation.(93) The first associa-

ments are correct ; and they show, that these more rigid adherents to the rule of St. Francis, were divided into *two classes* ; namely *Friars*, and *Seculars* ; and that the latter were called *Bizochi*.) *li dogmatizabant, quod nullus summus Pontifex regulam B. Francisci declarare potuit. Item, quod angelus abstulit a Nicolao tertio Papatus auctoritatem.—Et quod ipsi soli sunt in via Dei et vera ecclesia. &c.*

(91) This distinction appears clearly, from comparing, among others, several passages in the *Acta Inquisit. Tholosanae*. See *pa.* 303, 310, 312, 313, 319, &c.

(92) There was much discussion in the Netherlands, in the seventeenth century, respecting the origin of these *Beghardi* and *Beguinae*, of which I have given a full account, in a work not yet published, *de Beguinis*. During this discussion, the *Beghinæ* brought forward diplomas or written documents, of the most authentic and unexceptionable character, from which it appears, that there were associations of *Beguinae* in the Netherlands, as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They were able indeed to produce but three such documents, the first dated AD. 1065, the second, AD. 1129, and the third AD. 1151. The whole were published at Vilvorden, by the *Beghinæ* then resident there. See *Hubertus Mirasus*, *Opera diplomatico-historica*, Tom. ii. cap. 26. p. 948. and Tom. iii. p. 628. ed. nova. *Erycius Putcanus*, *de Beghinarum apud Belgas instituto et nomine suffragio* ; which tract, with another of the same *Putcanus* on the same subject, is extant in *Joseph Geldolph a Ryckel's Vita S. Beggae cum annotationibus*, p. 65, 227. Douay 1631. 4to. Hence, while it must be admitted, that those are in error, who affirm that the class of females that are still called *Beguinae* or *Beguttæ*, first appeared in the twelfth or thirteenth century ; yet the very small number of the documents and testimonies, puts it beyond controversy, that the *Beguinae* were a very obscure party, previously to the 13th century ; it may be, that they possessed only that one *Beguinagium*, which was at *Vilvorden* in Brabant.

(93) All the *Beghardi* and *Beghinæ* still existing in the Netherlands, though existing under regulations very different from their original ones, eagerly maintain, that they derived their name and their institution, in the seventh century, from *St. Begga*, duchess of Brabant, and daughter of *Pipin*, mayor of the palace in Austrasia ; which lady, they of course revere as their patroness, and regard as a kind of tutelary divinity. See *Jos. Geld. a Ryckel, Vita S. Beggae cum annotat.* published at Douay and Louvain. This is a ponderous volume ; but in other respects, a slender work, and stuffed with anile fables. Those who are unfriendly to the *Beguini* and *Beguinae*, contend that they derived their origin from *Lambert le Begue*, a priest of Liege, in the twelfth century, and a very pious man. See *Peter Coens*, (a learned canon of Antwerp,) in his *Disquisitione Historica, de origine Beghinarum et Beghinagiorum in Belgio* ; Louvain 1627. 12mo. than whom, no one has more learnedly defended this opinion. Both these opin-

tion of this description, was formed at Nivelles, in Brabant, AD. 1226; and so many others followed soon after, throughout France, Germany, and the Netherlands, that from the middle of the century onward, there was scarcely a city of any note, which had not its *Beguinagia*, as they were called, or, *Vineyards*, as such associations were sometimes denominated, borrowing a name from the book of Canticles.(94) All these female associations did not adopt the same regulations; but the greater part of them, devoted the time that was not occupied in prayer and other religious exercises, to various kinds of labor, and especially to *weaving*. Such of them as were really indigent, or disabled, or sick, sought relief in the kindness of the pious and benevolent.

§ 42. This female institution was soon after imitated, in the Netherlands, by unmarried men, both widowers and bachelors; who associated and lived together in appropriate houses, praying and laboring unitedly, under a director or chief, yet reserving to themselves in the same manner as the females, the liberty of returning at any time to their former mode of life, if they pleased.(95) These were called, according to the phraseology of the age, *Beghards*, corruptly pronounced *Bogards* by the Belgians; and by some, *Lolhards*; and in France, at first, *Bons Valets* (*boni valeti*), or *Bons Garçons* (*boni pueri*), and afterwards *Beguins*, and also, from the occupation of most of them, *Brother Weavers* (*Fratres textores*). The first association of these *Beghards*, it appears, was formed at Antwerp, in the year 1228; and it continues still in a flourishing state, though the fraternity have departed widely from their pristine mode of life. This association was followed by many others, in Germany, the Netherlands, and France; yet these associations of *Beghards* were not so numerous as those of the *Beghinæ* [or female *Beghards*].(96) The Roman pontiffs never formally approved, and confirmed with their sanction, these associations of male and female *Beghards*:

ions have many and distinguished advocates, but none that are good authorities; and both of them may be easily confuted.

(94) See *Matth. Paris*, *Historia major*, ad ann. 1243 and 1250, p. 540, 606. *Thomas Cantimprænsis*, in *Bono universali de apibus*, Lib. ii. cap. 51. p. 478. ed. Colvener. *Peter de Herenthal*, in his unpublished *Annals*; an important extract from which, is exhibited by *Jos. Geld. a Ryckel*, in his notes ad *Vitam S. Beggæ*, § 196. p. 355 &c. The origin and establishment of the *Beguinagia*, founded in the Netherlands, during this and the following century, are detailed at great length by *Aub. Miræus*, in his *Opera historico-diplomatica*; by *Jo. Baptistæ Gramayæ*, in his *Antiquitates Belgicæ*; by *Anton. Sanderus*, in his *Brabantia et Flandria illustrata*; and by other historians of Belgian affairs.

(95) *Matth. Paris*, *Historia major*, ad ann. 1253. p. 539, 540.

(96) See *Ryckel's Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 635. *Anton. Sander's Flandria illustrata*, Lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 136. *Jo. Bapt. Gramayæ*, in his *Antiq. Flandriæ*, and especially, in *Gandavo*, p. 22. *Aubert. Miræus*, *Opera diplomatico-histor.* Tom. iii. c. 168. p. 145. and in several other places. *Hipp. Helyot*, *Histoire des Ordres*, Tom. vii. p. 248, who, however, makes many mistakes. *Gerhard Antonius*, the *Pater Minister* (as the head of the sect is called,) of the *Beghards* of Antwerp, in his *Epistola ad Ryckium de Begharden origine et falis*; in *Ryckel's Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 489; who studiously casts obscurity on not a few things, in order to exalt his sect.

yet they tolerated them ; and often, at the request of principal men and women, protected them with their edicts and bulls against the violence and the plots of their enemies ; of whom they had not a few. At the present day, most of the houses belonging to both the sexes of *Beghards*, are either destroyed, or converted to other uses : yet in the Belgic provinces, the houses of female *Beghards* are sufficiently numerous, while those for males are very few.

§ 43. It remains, that we briefly notice the names and merits of those among the Greeks and the Latins, who acquired most fame by their writings. Among the Greeks, the following are the most noted : (97) *Nicetas Acominatus*, to whom we are indebted for a history, and a Thesaurus of the orthodox faith : (98) *Germanus*, patriarch of Constantinople, of whose productions there are extant, among others, a tract against the Latins, and an Exposition of the Greek Liturgy : (99) *Theodorus Lascaris*, who has left us several tracts on different topics in theology ; and who also wrote against the Latins, as nearly all the Greek authors did, this being a subject, to which their genius and their national attachments both prompted them : (100) *Nicephorus Blemmida*, one of those who endeavored to produce harmony between the Greeks and Latins : (101) *Arsenius*, whose Synopsis of the Greek ecclesiastical law is pretty well known : (102) *George Acropolita*, known as the author of a history, and a man in public life : (103) *John Beccus*, or *Veccus*, who brought himself into much trouble,

(97) Concerning them all, in addition to the writers de Scriptioribus Ecclesiasticis, see *Jo. Alb. Fabricius's Bibliotheca Graeca*.

(98) [See above, p. 340, note (1). Tr.]

(99) [He was called *Germanus II*, in distinction from a patriarch of the 8th century. He was a monk of the Propontis, created patriarch about AD. 1222, deposed in 1240, restored again, and died in 1254. His exposition of the liturgy, sadly interpolated, was published, Greek and Latin, in the *Auctuarium Duceanum*, Tom. ii ; and about twelve of his sermons and homilies, with seven of his epistles and decrees, have been published in different collections of ancient works, by *Combefis*, *Gretser*, *Leo Allat.* *Cotelier*, *Leunclavius* &c. Tr.]

(100) [*Theodorus Lascaris*, was born at Nice, was much devoted to literature, became emperor AD. 1255, waged successful wars against the Bulgarians and others, during three years ; then resigned the empire, and retired to a monastery, where he died AD. 1259, aged 36. Very few of his tracts have been published. Tr.]

(101) [See above, pa. 341, note (5). Tr.]

(102) [*Arsenius*, surnamed *Autorianus*, was born at Constantinople ; became a monk and an abbot at Nice ; retired from office, and lived at mount Athos ; was made patriarch of Constantinople, by Theodore Lascaris, AD. 1255, and tutor to Lascaris' son, at his father's death, AD. 1259 ; resigned the patriarchate soon after ; resumed the office in 1261 ; opposed and excommunicated the emperor *Michael*, who had put out the eyes of *Arsenius*' royal pupil ; was deposed and banished to the Proconnesus, where he lived in exile many years. The time of his death is not ascertained. His *Synopsis divinatorum Canonum*, written while he was a monk, and arranged under one hundred and forty-one Tituli, is in *Justell's Biblioth. Juris Canon. Greek and Latin*, Tom. ii. p. 749. His Testament or will, was published Gr. and Lat. by *Cotelier*, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Gr.* Tom. ii. p. 168. Tr.]

(103) [See above, pa. 340, note (2). Tr.]

by advocating the cause of the Latins with more warmth, than the zeal of most Greeks for their church, would tolerate: (104) *George Metochita*, (105) and *Constantine Meliteniota*, (106) who expended much effort, without effect, to unite the Greeks and Latins: *George Pachymeres*, famed for his Exposition of *Dionysius* the father of the mystics, and for a History of his own times: (107) and *George of Cyprus*, who acquired more fame by his invectives against the Latins, and his attacks upon John Veccus, than by his other writings. (108)

(104) [*Veccus* was chartophylax of the great church of Constantinople, and a man of genius and learning. He at first strenuously opposed the Latins. For this the emperor *Michael* imprisoned him, with others. By reading the writings of *Nicephorus Blemmida*, *Veccus* was converted into a friend, and most zealous advocate of the Latins. *Michael* now made him patriarch of Constantinople, AD. 1274. On the death of *Michael*, AD. 1283, fearing the rage of the people, he resigned his office; was the next year banished, and passed the remainder of his days in exile. His writings, in defence of the Latins, and in apology for his conduct, are numerous, and were published, Gr. and Lat. by *Leo Allatius*, in *Graecia Orthodoxa*, Tom. i. and ii. and elsewhere. Tr.]

(105) [*George Metochita* was a deacon of the great church of Constantinople, and a friend and associate of *John Veccus*. With him he contended in behalf of the Latins, and with him suffered exile, for this offence. He flourished AD. 1276; the time of his death is not known. His writings, all in defence of the Latins, were published by *Leo Allatius*, *Graecia Orthodoxa*, Tom. ii. Tr.]

(106) [*Constantine Meliteniota* was archdeacon of Constantinople, under *John Veccus*; joined with *Veccus* and *Metochita*, in defending the cause of the Latins; and passed through much the same sufferings. He died in exile, in Bithynia. His Tract on a union of the Greek and Latin churches, and another on the procession of the Holy Spirit, are extant, Gr. and Lat. in *Leo Allatius*, *Graecia Orthodoxa*, Tom. ii. Tr.]

. (107) [See above, p. 340, note. (3) Tr.]

(108) [*George of Cyprus*, who assumed the name of *Gregory*, was born and educated in the Latin church, in Cyprus. At the age of 20, he went to Constantinople; changed his sentiments; became a monk, and one of the court clergy; was created patriarch, AD. 1234. opposed and persecuted *Veccus*; was obliged to resign his office, in 1229: retired to a monastery; and died not long after. He wrote largely against the Latins, and in confutation of *Veccus*. His chief works are his *Tomus Orthodoxus*, or *Columna Orthodoxiae*, and *Discourses* against the blasphemies of *Veccus*; still remaining in manuscript.

Besides the Greek writers enumerated by Dr. *Mosheim*, the following are noticed by *Cave*, in his *Historia Litteraria*, Tom. ii.

Nicolaus Hydruntinus, who flourished AD. 1201, and was the Greek interpreter, in all the negotiations of cardinal *Benedict*, both at Constantinople and in Greece, for a reconciliation of the Greek and Latin churches. He wrote in Greek various tracts against the Latins, from which only some extracts have been published.

Nicetas Maronias, chartophylax of the great church of Constantinople, and then archbishop of Thessalonica, who flourished AD. 1201. He wished to effect a union of the Greek and Latin churches; and wrote six books on the procession of the Holy Spirit, with a view to reconcile the two parties. *Leo Allatius* has published some extracts from the work; adv. Hottinger. cap. 19. His Answers to the questions of Basil, are extant, Greek and Latin, in the *Jus Gr. Rom. Lib. v. p. 345*.

Manuel Caritopolus, patriarch of Constantinople about AD. 1250, wrote some tracts on ecclesiastical or canon law; which *Leunclavius* published, Greek and Latin, in his *Jus Gr. Rom. Lib. iii. p. 238 &c.*

George Moschamper, chartophylax of the great church of Constantinople, who flourished about AD. 1276. He was bitterly opposed to the Latins, and wrote several pieces against them; which were answered by *John Veccus*. Nothing of his has been published.

Simon, born in Crete, but of a Constantinopolitan family, is supposed by *Cave*,

§ 44. The Latin writers form a long list; from which we shall produce those only, who are most frequently quoted. *Joachim*, abbot of Flora in Calabria, was perhaps a pious man, and not wholly ignorant of the truth; but he was a man of small parts, of weak judgment, and addicted to visionary and enthusiastic notions: both in his life-time, and after his death, the ignorant multitude regarded him as inspired of God. His predictions became far-famed, and have been often published. (109) *Stephen Langton*, archbishop of Canterbury, expounded many of the books of holy scripture. (110) *Francis*, founder of the famous society, denominated *Minorites* or *Franciscans*, wrote some pieces designed to enkindle devotional feelings in the soul, but they display little energy or ingenuity. (111) *Alanus* ab Insulis was not the least among the dialecticians and acute reasoners of that age; he also paid attention to chemistry, and has said many things wisely and well. (112) *Jacobus* de Vitriaco obtained reputation by his *Oriental History*: (113) as did *Jacobus* de Voragine, by his *His-*

to have flourished about AD. 1276. A long epistle of his, addressed to *John Nymphyllax*, de conciliis quae processionem Spiritus Sancti a Filio definiverunt, was published, Gr. and Lat. by *Leo Allatius*, adv. Hottinger. p. 324. He wrote two other tracts on the same subject, never published. Tr.]

(109) *Gregory di Lauro*, composed in Italian, a copious life of *Joachim*, which was published at Naples, 1660, 4to. His prophecies were first printed at Venice, 1517. 4to. and subsequently, often. [He was a Cistercian monk and abbot of different monasteries in Italy; the last of which, that at Flora, he founded himself. He flourished AD. 1201, and died previously to AD. 1215. He wrote de Concordia veteris et novi Testamenti Libri v. Commentaries on Jeremiah, Psalms, Isaiah, some portions of Nahum, Habakkuk, Zechariah and Malachi, on the Apocalypse; also fifteen prophecies concerning the Roman pontiffs; besides some other prophecies. All the above were printed at Venice, in different years, previously to AD. 1600. Tr.]

(110) [*Stephen Langton* was an Englishman, but educated at Paris, where he became chancellor of the university, and a canon of Paris. *Innocent III.* invited him to Rome, and made him a cardinal. In the year 1206, the same pontiff made him archbishop of Canterbury, against the will of the king, who refused him access to his see, till he was compelled to it by the pope in 1212. In 1215, *Langton* encouraged rebellion in England, and aided the invasion by the French; for which he was accused, and had to pay a heavy fine in 1218. He died in 1222. He wrote Commentaries on a large part of the bible, besides letters and sermons; nearly all of which remain in manuscript, in the public libraries of England. Tr.]

(111) [See above, p. 355, § 25, and note (49). His works, consisting of epistles, discourses, prayers, and monastic regulations, were collected and published by *John de la Haye*, Paris 1651. Fol. Tr.]

(112) There were several of the name of *Alan* in this century; who have been strangely confounded, both by the ancients and the moderns. See *Jac. le Boeuf*, *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, Tom. i. p. 300. and *Diss. sur l'Hist. Eccles. et civile de Paris*, Tom. ii. p. 293 &c. [This *Alanus de insulis*, or *Alain de l'Isle*, was a native of Flanders; studied at Paris; was called the *Doctor Universalis*, on account of his extensive learning; was for a time bishop of Auxerre, but resigned the mitre, and became a Cistercian monk. *Carc* supposes he flourished about AD. 1215. His works, as collected and published by *Charles du Visch*, Antw. 1655. Fol. consist of a commentary on the Canticles, on the art of preaching, a poeniential, on the parables, a collection of memorable sayings, a poem in eleven books on a perfectly good man, two books against the Waldenses, eleven sermons, and a few other tracts. *Du Visch*, in his *Biblioth. Scriptor. Cisterciens. Colon.* 1656, 4to. added *Alain's* commentary on the prophecies of *Mertin*, and his tract on the philosopher's stone. Tr.]

(113) [*Jacobus de Vitriaco*, or *James of Vitry*, was born near Paris, educated

toria Lombardica.(114) Among those who cultivated metaphysical or philosophical theology in this age, the most distinguished were *Albertus Magnus*,(115) *Thomas Aquinas*,(116) and Bo-

in that city, became a priest in his native village, and a regular canon in the diocese of Namur. His zeal lead him to Toulouse, where he preached against the Albigenses; thence he went to Palestine, and became bishop of Acco, or Ptolemais. About AD. 1220, the pope recalled him to Rome, made him cardinal bishop of Tusculum, and sent him as his legate into France, to preach up a crusade. He returned to Rome, spent several years tranquilly, and died AD. 1244. His oriental and occidental History is in three books; the first describes the country and nations of the East, and traces their history, from the time of Muhammed, to AD. 1210: the second book, gives the history of Europe, during the author's own times: the third returns to the oriental nations, and brings down their history, to AD. 1218. The first and third books were printed at Douay, 1597. 8vo. and in *Bongarsius*, Gesta Dei per Francos, Tom. ii. He also wrote a letter, describing the capture of Damietta; which is in *Bongarsius*, l. c. and an epistle to pope Honorius III, and sermons on the Gospels and Epistles for the year. Tr.]

(114) See *Jac. Echar'd's* *Scriptores Dominici*, Tom. i. p. 454. and *Jo. Boland's* *Praef. ad Acta Sanctor.* Tom. i. p. 9. [also p. 335. note (28) of this vol. Tr.]

(115) Concerning *Albertus Magnus*, see *Jac. Echar'd's* *Scriptores Dominici*, Tom. i. p. 162. [*Albert the Great* was born of noble parentage, at Lauingen in Swabia, AD. 1205: was early sent to Passau for education, and became a Dominican monk in 1223. Strange stories are told of his obtuseness in early life, and of his subsequent miraculous facility in acquiring knowledge. He was a universal scholar; but particularly distinguished in mathematics, natural philosophy, metaphysics, and scholastic theology. He taught at Hildesheim, Regensburg, Cologne, and other places in Germany, and likewise at Paris. In 1238, he was made vicar general of the Dominicans, for two years; and afterwards provincial of the order for Germany. In 1249, he fixed himself at Cologne, and was president of the school there. In 1260, the pontiff obliged him to accept the bishopric of Ratisbon; but he resigned it in 1263, and retired to his favorite literary retreat at Cologne. He died in 1280, aged 75. His works, in twenty-one volumes Fol. were published by *Peter Jammy*, at Lyons, AD. 1651. They comprise eight works on dialectics; twenty-eight on natural philosophy; Commentaries on the Psalms, Lamentations, Baruch, Daniel, the twelve minor prophets, the four Gospels, and the Apocalypse; many sermons; a Compendium of theology, in seven books; Commentaries on *Lombard's* four books of Sentences; and various other pieces. Tr.]

(116) Concerning *Thomas Aquinas*, called the *Angel of the schools*, see the *Acta Sanctor.* Tom. i. Martii, p. 655 &c. and *Ant. Touron's* *Vie de St. Thomas*, Paris 1737. 4to. [*Thomas* was of the family of the counts of Aquino, in the kingdom of Naples; and was born at Aquino, AD. 1224. Educated in monasteries, where he displayed great precocity of genius, he became a Dominican monk at Naples, in the year 1241, contrary to the will of his parents. His mother was denied access to him, by the monks, who sent Thomas from one place to another, to conceal him. At length, in his attempted removal to Paris, she and her other sons seized him. For two years they kept him a prisoner in their castle, and used every effort to persuade him to renounce a monastic life, without effect. In 1244, he escaped, through a window; went to Naples, and was conducted to Paris, and thence to Cologne, where he heard the lectures of *Albert the great*. From Cologne, he was called to Paris to lecture on the Sentences. He and *Bonaventura* received their doctorates in theology at Paris, on the same day, AD. 1255. A few days after, he returned to Italy, and taught theology in the universities of Bologna, Rome, Fondi, Foggia, and Pisa. In the year 1263, he was appointed provincial *Definitor* (Visitor) of his order, for the province of Rome; and in that capacity, attended the general convention of the order in London, the same year. He at last settled down at Naples, on a stipend from the king, as a permanent teacher there. He now refused the archbishopric of Naples, offered him by the pope. In 1274, the pope called him to the council of Lyons, to maintain the principles of the Romish church against the Greeks: but he died on his way thither, at Tarracina, on the 7th of March, 1274, aged 50 years. His works, as printed at Rome, 1570, fill 18 vol. Fol. and in the ed. of Paris, 1636—1641, 23 vol. Fol. They comprise comments on nearly all the works of Aristotle; and

naventura.(117) That these men possessed very inquisitive minds, acute and superior understandings, and uncommon penetration in regard to abstruse and difficult subjects, no candid man will deny; and this, notwithstanding they assented to various things that are incorrect. Of the others who prosecuted the same species of theology, a long list appears, in which are found men of subtlety and dexterity. That age held in reputation *William of Paris*, a man of acuteness;(118) *Alexander Hales*, the expounder of Aristotle;(119) *Robert Capito*;(120) *Thomas Can-*

on the Sentences of Lombard: a huge system of theology, entitled *Summa Theologiae in partes iii. divisa*; many miscellaneous pieces, commentaries on the scripture, sermons &c. Tr.]

(117) Concerning *Bonaventura*, the patron saint of Lyons in France, see *Colonia's Histoire litter. de la ville de Lyon*, Tome ii. p. 307. *Histoire de la vie et du culte de S. Bonaventure*, par un Religieux Cordelier, Lyons 1747. 8vo. [*John Bonaventura*, (called *Eustachius* and *Eutychius*, in Greek,) was born of honorable parentage, at Bagnarea in Tuscany, AD. 1221, and became a Franciscan monk in 1243. He studied and gave lectures on the Sentences, at Paris, where he took his doctor's degree in 1256. The next year he was unanimously elected general of his order, an office which he held till his death, and filled with great advantage to the fraternity. He was called the *Seraphic Doctor*, and was a man esteemed and confided in by every one. In 1272, the cardinals being unable to agree upon a new pontiff, submitted the election to *Bonaventura*, who nominated *Theobald* of Liege, or *Gregory X.* In 1274, *Gregory* created *Bonaventura* cardinal bishop of Alba, and called him to the general council of Lyons. He died at Lyons, while the council was in session, July 15th, AD. 1274, aged 53. His funeral was attended by the pope, the emperor, and the whole council. *Bonaventura* was a scholar, a man of an acute mind, a good writer, and a very devout man. He united mystic with scholastic theology, and was a voluminous writer on practical religion. His works as printed at Rome, 1558, in viii. vol. Fol. comprise commentaries on the scriptures: a full comment on the Sentences of Lombard; a great number of tracts, chiefly on ascetic and practical subjects; letters, sermons, &c. Tr.]

(118) See especially, the *Gallia Christiana*, of the Benedictines, Tom. vii. p. 96. [*William of Paris*, D. D. was born at Aurillae in Auvergne, (and thence called *William Alterneus*,) became an eminent scholar and divine, and was bp. of Paris from AD. 1228, till his death, March 29th, 1249. His works were printed by *Bart. Ferroneus*, Orleans, 1674, in ii. vol. Fol. They consist chiefly of tracts on moral and practical subjects; yet there are several on dogmatic theology.—He is not to be confounded with *Matthew Paris*, the historian; as he too often is in the references throughout the original of this work of *Mosheim*, through the mistake, no doubt, of the printer. Tr.]

(119) *Alexander Hales*, or *de Hales*, was an Englishman, of Gloucestershire; but was early sent to Paris, where he spent most of his life, in the study of scholastic theology and canon law, and in teaching them to others. He was called the *Irrefragable Doctor*. He was a Franciscan, flourished about AD. 1230, and died at Paris, August 27th, AD. 1245. His works, as published separately, consist of commentaries upon the scriptures; commentaries on certain books of Aristotle; commentaries on the Sentences of Lombard; a system of theology; and a few tracts. Tr.]

(120) Concerning him, *Ant. Wood* has written largely, *Antiq. Oxonienses*, Tom. i. p. 81, 105. [*Robert Grosthead*, or *Capito*, was born at Stradbrook in Suffolk, and educated at Oxford and Paris. Returning to England, he became archdeacon of Leicester, and then bishop of Lincoln, from AD. 1235, till his death, Oct. 9th, 1253. He was a man of great learning, and of an independent mind. The physical sciences, law, divinity, and the original languages of the bible, all engaged his attention. He resisted the domination of the pope, and labored to reform the clergy. His writings consist of translations, comments on Aristotle and Dionysius Areop. sermons, letters, and other tracts; most of which still remain in manuscript. For a full account of him, see *Milner's Church Hist.* Cent. xiii. c.7. Tr.]

tipratensis; (121) *John Peckham*; (122) *William Durand*; (123) *Roger Bacon*; (124) *Richard Middleton*; (125) *Aegidius de Colonna*; (126) *Armand de Bello Visu*; (127) and others. But

(121) [*Thomas Cantipratensis* was born of noble parents, at Lewe near Brussels, studied under *Albert the Great*, at Cologne, became a regular canon at Cantimpre or Champre near Cambray, and afterwards a Dominican monk, subprior at at Louvain, and a bishop, suffragan and assistant to the bishop of Cambray. He flourished AD. 1255. His principal work is entitled *Bonum Universale, de apibus*; in which he gives precepts for the conduct of all orders of men, deriving his illustrations from bees. He also wrote several lives of reputed saints. *Tr.*]

(122) [*John Peckham* was born of low parentage, at Chichester in Sussex, England; studied at Oxford and Paris; became a Franciscan; taught with applause at Oxford, Paris, Lyons, and Rome. While at Rome, AD. 1278, the pope created him archbishop of Canterbury. On his arrival in England, the pope demanded of him 4000 marks of silver for the use of the holy see. Peckham had to pay it. He next had contention with the archbishop of York. He became vastly rich, founded a college, raised his relatives to affluence, and died about AD. 1291. He wrote *Collectanea Bibliorum*, and 47 synodical decrees, which have been published; and a number of theological tracts, which remain in manuscript. *Tr.*]

(123) *William Durand*, LL. D. was born in Provence, France, of noble parents. He studied the civil and canon laws at Bologna, and took his doctorate there. He also taught law at Bologna, and Mutina; and became so famous as a pleader, that he was called the *father of practice*. He was auditor general in the court of Rome, canon of Beauvais, and dean of Chartres. In 1274, he was the pope's proctor at the general council of Lyons. *Nicolaus III.* made him governor of the papal dominions, with the title of rector and count of the patrimony. In this capacity, he commanded successfully in several battles. In 1286, he was made bishop of Mende in France. In 1296, the pope sent him as ambassador to the Saracens in the East; but he died at Nicotia in Cyprus. He was a learned man, a profound jurist, and a respectable theologian. He wrote *Speculum Juris*, a large work, divided into three parts; *repertorium Juris*, extracted from the preceding; *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, in eight Books; also some law tracts. *Tr.*]

(124) [See above, p. 338, note (41). *Roger Bacon* was nobly born at Ichester, Somersetshire, England, about AD. 1206. He studied at Oxford, and then at Paris, where he took his degree. Languages, history, law, the physical sciences, and theology, were his pursuit. Returning to England, he taught at Oxford, became a Franciscan monk, devoted himself to the physical sciences, expended much time and money on experiments in optics, mechanics, and chemistry, was esteemed a magician, and confined many years as such to a monastery. He died about the year 1284, aged 78, and was buried at Oxford. His *Opus Majus*, addressed to pope Clement IV, contains an abstract, by his own hand, of all the works he had then published, and nearly supersedes the necessity of reading any of his other printed works. *Tr.*]

(125) [*Richard Middleton*, or *de Medinavilla*, the Doctor solidus et copiosus, was an English Franciscan monk and theologian, who first studied philosophy, law, and theology at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris, where he obtained a high reputation. In the year 1222, he was one of the commissioners, appointed by the provincial of his order, to try the cause of *Peter John Olivi*; which trial has been censured. He returned to England, and taught with great applause at Oxford; and died about AD. 1300. He wrote four Books of questions on *Lombard's Sentences*; and *Quodlibeta theologica*, containing 80 questions in theology; both of which works have been published; also commentaries on the Gospels, and the epistles of Paul, and some tracts, which are not published. *Tr.*]

(126) [*Aegidius Colonna*, or *de Columna*, the Doctor fundatissimus, was born at Rome, of the illustrious family of Colonna; studied at Rome, and in other places; became an Augustinian eremite monk; was invited to Paris, to be tutor to prince Philip, son of Philip the Bold; and taught many years in the university of Paris. In 1292, he was made prior general of his order. In 1296, Boniface VIII, made him archbishop of Bourges. Whether he became a cardinal or not, has been disputed. He died AD. 1316, aged 69. His writings are very numerous, though but partially published, and never collectively. They are on scholastic theology, dialectics, on the Sentences of Lombard, vindications of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, and numerous other tracts. *Tr.*]

none of these attained to equal renown with the triumvirate above mentioned. *Hugo* de S. Caro was thought to have done much to advance sacred knowledge, by his *Concordance* to the holy scriptures.(128) *William* of St. Amour waged war upon the fraternities that sought renown for piety in mendicity, with boldness and resolution, but not successfully.(129) *Humbert* de Romanis endeavored by his writings to guide the conduct, and regulate the lives of the monks.(130) *William Perald* acquired very high reputation in that age, by his *Summa virtutum et vitiorum*.(131) *Raymund Martini* still lives in his *Pugio Fidei*, or his work against the Jews and Saracens.(132) *John* of Paris deserves an honorable place among the defenders of the truth and the right, because he contended for the power of temporal sovereigns against the machinations of the pontiffs, and because he openly professed his dissatisfaction with the prevailing doctrine respecting the Lord's Supper.(133)

(127) *Armand of Bellevue*, or *de Bello visu*, was a Dominican monk, born at Bologna, and master of the sacred palace at Rome. He is supposed to have lived near the end of this century. His works are a commentary on the Psalms, meditations, prayers, sermons, and an explanation of difficult terms in theology and philosophy. Tr.]

(128) *Hugo* of St. Cher, D. D. or *de Sancto Caro*, a Dominican monk, was born in Dauphiny, and studied at Paris; was papal ambassador to Constantinople under *Gregory IX*, became provincial of his order for France; was created a cardinal in 1245, after which he was repeatedly papal legate, especially to Germany. He died AD. 1260. His works are, *Postillæ*, or a brief commentary, on the whole bible, Venice 1600. in 8 vol. sermons for the year; *Speculum sacerdotum et ecclesiarum*; and a *Concordance* to all the declinable words in the Latin bible, to which *Conrad* of Halberstadt added the particles, about AD. 1290, and which has been often printed. Tr.]

(129) *William* of St. Amour, or *de S. Amore*. He was a native of Burgundy, and one of the leading doctors at Paris, in the middle of this century. In the controversy between the university and the Dominicans, he stood in the front of the battle. The pope ordered him to be degraded and banished, in 1256. But supported by the university, he held his ground, and fought more eagerly. See above, page 358. His works were published at Constance (Paris) 1632. 4to. Tr.]

(130) [*Humbert* de Romanis, or of Romans in Burgundia, became a Dominican monk, while studying at Paris, AD. 1225; was made general of the order in 1264, resigned the office 1263, and died in 1274. He wrote Instructions for monks, in six Books; a commentary on the rule of St. Augustine; two hundred sermons on various subjects; lives of monks; on the three monastic vows; and on the erudition of preachers. Most of these are in the Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. xxv. Tr.]

(131) See *Colonia*, Histoire littéraire de la ville de Lyon, Tome ii. p. 322 &c. [*William Perald*, or *Perali*, i. e. *de Petra Alta*, was born in the diocese of Vienne, became a Dominican monk in 1219, and some say archbishop of Lyons in 1272. He died in 1275. His *Summa* (elementary treatise) de virtutibus et vitiis, has passed through numerous editions. This is his only work known; unless he is the author of the sermons for the year, ascribed to *William* of Paris. Tr.]

(132) [*Raymund Martini*, or *des Martins*, a Catalonian, and a very celebrated Dominican monk, who flourished in Spain, AD. 1278. At the suggestion of *Raymund* de Pennafort, general of his order, he composed his celebrated *Pugio Fidei*, (Dagger of the Faith,) in three Parts, in which he confutes the Jews and Saracens out of their own writers. It is a learned work, was long the chief arsenal for other writers against the Jews and Muhammedans, and was printed, with notes by *Voisin*, Paris 1661. Fol. and Lips. 1687. Fol. Tr.]

(133) His *determinatio de S. Coena*, was published by *Peter Miz*, London 1686. 8vo. See *Echard's Scriptores Dominicani*, Tom. i. p. 501 &c. *Stephen Baluze*, *Vitae Pontiff. Avenion.* Tom. i. p. 4, 576, 577, &c.—[*John of Paris* was a Dominican monk, and a distinguished theologian of Paris, about AD. 1290. When *Boniface VIII* attacked *Philip the Fair* king of France, *John* stood forth in defence of the king, in a tract *de regia potestate et papali*. While he was preaching in the assemblies of his order, and giving theological lectures in the schools, with much applause, he advanced the idea, that possibly Christ's presence in the eucharist was by impanation, or uniting himself to the elements, and not by a transmutation of their substance: the masters of Paris cried out against him. He was condemned of error, and forbidden to preach or to lecture: but he appealed to the pope, went to Rome, and died soon after his arrival, AD. 1304. His tract *de regia potestate et papale*, is in *Goldast's Monarch.* Imp. Tom. ii. p. 107.

Besides those named by *Dr. Mosheim*, *Cave* notices the following Latin writers of this century.

Sylvester Gyraldus, called *Cambrensis* from his country, and *Barrius* from his family. He was the son of *William de Barri*, and born at Mainarpu, near Pembroke in south Wales, England. His uncle *David*, bishop of Man, made him archdeacon of Brechin. He went to Paris for study, and there taught theology in the English college, three years. On his return, he made some figure at the court of *Henry II.* In 1185, he attended the prince *John*, commanding an expedition to Ireland, was offered the bishopric of Wexford, which he refused. He continued some time in Ireland, to examine its geography and antiquities; then returned to Wales, where he composed his history. Afterwards he accompanied *Baldwin* archbishop of Canterbury, in his pilgrimage to Palestine. In 1198, he was made bishop of Man; and a controversy arising respecting that see, he went to Rome in the year 1300, and finally lost his prelacy. He lived to be more than seventy years old, but the time of his death is unknown. His printed works are, a *Topography of Ireland*; the *Conquest of Ireland* by the English; *Travels in Cambria (Wales)* in two Books; and a *Description of Cambria*: all extant in the *Scriptores x. Anglici Normanci, Franci.* 1602. Fol. Several of his theological productions remain in manuscript.

Gervasius, an English Benedictine monk of Canterbury, well acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon history. He flourished AD. 1201, and wrote, an *Account of the conflagration and repair of the cathedral of Canterbury*; *Sketches of the dissensions between the monks of Canterbury, and the archbishop Baldwin*; a *Chronicle of English history, from AD. 1112, to AD. 1199*; and *Lives of the archbishops of Canterbury, from Augustine, to Hubert*, inclusive: all of which are in the *Scriptores x. Anglici*, Lond. 1652. Fol.

William de Seligniac, made bishop of Auxerre AD. 1206, and afterwards bishop of Paris, till his death, AD. 1223. He wrote a *Summa Theologica*, (system of theology,) printed at Paris, 1500.

Arnold of Hildesheim, and abbot of Lubec, flourished AD. 1209, and continued *Helmold's Chronicle*, from 1171, to 1209. He is considered as good authority in Slavonic affairs; but not in others. His continuation is published, in some editions imperfect, with *Helmold*.

Absalom, a canon of St. Victor, Paris, and an abbot in the diocese of Treves, AD. 1210, has left us fifty-one sermons on the festivals.

Robert de Monte, or *Robert de Torinneio*, abbot of St. Michael de Monte in the diocese of Avranches, in Normandy. Some think he flourished AD. 1210; but others make him to have died AD. 1186. The continuation of the *Chronicon of Sigebert Gemblacensis*, from 1112, to AD. 1210, or at least to AD. 1182, is ascribed to him. He also wrote some historical and other tracts. All are published by *Lx. Dachery*, in *Append. ad Opp. Guiberti*, Paris 1651, and in his *Spicilegium*.

Willibrand of Oldenburg, canon of Hildesheim AD. 1211. After visiting Palestine, he wrote an account of his travels in that country; published by *Leo Allatius*, Symmict. Part i. p. 104.

Helinandus, a Frenchman, who after a dissolute life became a Cistercian monk, at Mons Frigidus, in the diocese of Beauvais. He flourished AD. 1212, and died AD. 1227. His great work, or Chronicle, from the creation, to AD. 1204, in forty-eight Books; with some sermons, martyrdoms of saints, &c. was published by *Bertr. Tassier*, in his *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*, and by *Surius*.

Alexander Neckam, born at St. Albans, studied in England, visited the universities of France and Italy, returned to St. Albans, removed to Excester, became

a canon regular of St. Augustine, and was abbot there, from 1215, till his death AD. 1227. His works, which are chiefly commentaries on the scriptures, were never published; but are preserved in manuscript.

Honorius III, pope AD. 1216—1227, famous for his zeal for crusades against the Saracens and the Albigenses, and for excommunicating the emperor Frederic II, has left us nineteen epistles; extant in the Collections of councils, *Baluze's* Miscellanies, and *Wadding's* Annals.

Antonius de Padua, a Portuguese of Lisbon, who removed to Italy, lived at Padua, became a Franciscan theologian and preacher, was called to Rome and honored by the pope and cardinals, and died AD. 1231. He was a weak man, though a popular preacher. Many of his sermons, and mystic expositions of the scripture, have been published.

Jordan, of Saxon origin, born in the diocese of Mayence, became a Dominican monk, in 1220, provincial of his order for Lombardy, in 1222, and general of the order in 1223. He died about 1236, leaving a tract on the origin of his order, and one or two devotional works.

Caesarius, a German, who became a Cistercian monk at Heisterback in the diocese of Cologne, AD. 1119, was made master of the novices there, and then prior of a monastery near Bonn. He flourished AD. 1225; and wrote *de Miraculis et Visionibus sui temporis*, in twelve Books or Dialogues; (full of fables); a life of St. Engelbert, bishop of Cologne, in three Books; and a number of sermons: all of which have been published.

Gregory IX, pope AD. 1227—1241, famous for his conflicts with the emperor Frederic II. His works, consisting of numerous epistles, and decrees, were collected, and published with notes, by *Jac. Pamelius*, Antw. 1572. Fol.

John Algrin, a French divine, dean of Amiens, chantor of Abbeville, archbishop of Besançon in 1225, and a cardinal AD. 1227; after which he was sent into Spain, to preach a crusade against the Saracens. He died AD. 1236. His commentary on the Canticles was printed, Paris 1521. Fol.

Raymund de Pennaforti, or *de Rupe-Porti*, a Catalanian of Barcelona, descended from the royal line of Arragon and the counts of Barcelona, born AD. 1175, taught canon law at Bologna, became canon and archdeacon of Barcelona, a Dominican monk, served the papal court in the department of confessions, was general of his order AD. 1238—1240, resigned, and refused the archbishopric of Tarragona, and some other sees, and died AD. 1275, aged one hundred years. He wrote *Summa de casibus poenitentialibus, seu de Poenitentia et matrimonio*, in four Books, printed, with notes, Fribourg 1603: and compiled, by order of Gregory IX, the part of the Corpus Juris Canonici; called *Libri v. Decretalium*, or the Decretals of Gregory.

Philipp Greivius, chancellor of the university of Paris, about AD. 1230; has left us 330 sermons on the Psalms of David, printed, Paris 1523. 8vo. Some other of his commentaries exist in manuscript.

Conrad of Marburg, a distinguished Dominican monk and preacher, confessor to Elizabeth, margravine of Thuringia. He flourished AD. 1230; and wrote the Life and miracles of Elizabeth, his patroness: published by *Leo Allatius*, Symmicta, P. i. p. 269.

Petrus de Vineis, chancellor to the emperor Frederic II, and the defender of his rights against the pope. He made a public speech against the papal encroachments, in a diet at Pavia, AD. 1239; and was the emperor's ambassador and advocate in the council of Lyons, AD. 1245. His six Books of Epistles relating to the affairs of the emperor Frederic, were first published, Basil 1566. 8vo.

Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, AD. 1234—1240. He was a great patron of learning, as his foundations at Oxford declare; and a zealous reformer of the discipline of the church and the morals of the clergy. He went to Rome to complain of the vices and corruptions in the church, spoke boldly there, incurred enmity and a heavy fine, returned discouraged, resigned his office, and went to France, where he died. In 1456, he was canonized as a saint. His *Speculum Ecclesiae*, is in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xxv. and his twelve ecclesiastical laws are in *Lindwood's* Provinciale Anglicum.

Lucas, a Spaniard of Leon, who after travelling in Italy, Greece, and Palestine, was in 1236, made bishop of Tuy, in Galicia, Spain. He wrote a confutation of the errors of the Albigenses, in three books; printed in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xxv. the life and miracles of St. Isidore; published by *Mabillon*, and Boland; and continued the Chronicon of *Isidore*, to his own times; extant in *Schott's* Hispania illustrata. Tom. iv.

Godefridus, a German monk in the convent of St. Pantaleon within the city, Cologne. He flourished AD. 1237, and wrote *Annals*, from AD. 1162, to AD. 1237; published by *Freher*, *Scriptores Germanici*, Tom. i. p. 239.

Innocent IV, pope. AD. 1243—1254, a very ambitious and arrogant pontiff. He wrote commentaries on the five books of *Decretals*; and a very large number of epistles, which are extant in the collections of councils, and in *Wadding's Annales* and *Regestum Pontificum*.

John de S. Geminiano, a Dominican monk, intimate with *Thomas Aquinas*, and an eminent theologian and preacher, who flourished about AD. 1244. *Gregory IX*, sent him to preach up a crusade in the region about Naples, against the emperor *Frederick II*. His *summa de Exemplis et rerum similitudinibus*, was often published, and particularly, Cologne 1670. 4to. His funeral and Quadregesimal sermons, have also been published.

Peter, the son of *Cassiodorus*, was an English knight, who flourished about AD. 1250. His epistle to the English church, advising to shake off the tyrannical yoke of the Roman pontiff, is in the *Catalogus Testium veritatis*, p. 365.

Theobald Stampensis, an English secular priest, who perhaps flourished AD. 1250, by some placed much earlier, has left five epistles; in *Dachery's Spicilegium*, Tom. iii.

David de Augusta, a Franciscan monk of Augsburg, AD. 1250, wrote some directions for monks; extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxv.

John Seneca, a distinguished jurist, and rector of the church of Halberstadt, AD. 1250. When *Clement IV*, demanded a tenth of all clerical salaries in France and Germany, for a crusade to Palestine, AD. 1265, *John* resisted openly, and accused the pontiff of avarice; for which he was deposed and excommunicated. He died AD. 1267. His commentary on the Decretum of *Gratian*, has been often printed with the text.

Gertrude, a German Benedictine nun at Rodalsdorf, abbess there in 1251, and afterwards removed to Heldenfen, where she died AD. 1290. She wrote in German *Exercitia Spiritualia*, which being translated into Latin, were published with the works of *Mechtilda*, a contemporary sister in the same nunnery.

Robert de Sorbona, or *de Sorbonne*; confessor, or at least chaplain, to *St. Lewis* king of France; a canon, first at Soissons, and then at Paris. In the year 1252, he founded the divinity college, called the Sorbonne, in the university of Paris. He died after the year 1271, leaving three devotional tracts, on conscience, on confession, and the journey to Paradise; extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxv.

Reinerius Sachonus, of Placentia, a distinguished philosopher and theologian. He was first a leading man among the Waldenses; but abandoning them he became a Dominican monk, and Inquisitor general. He flourished AD. 1254, and died in 1259. He wrote *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*, in ten chapters; extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxv. and with the notes of *Gretser*, Ingolst. 1613. 4to.

Alexander IV, pope AD. 1254—1261, has left us nearly three hundred epistles; three of which are in the collections of Councils, and the rest in *Wadding's Annales* and *Regestum Pontificum*.

Albert, a Benedictine monk of Stade, in the archbishopric of Bremen; and AD. 1232, abbot there, till 1236, when he went to Rome, resigned his abbacy in 1340, became a Franciscan, and at length general of the latter order. He wrote a Chronicle from the creation, to AD. 1256; which is better than most others. It was printed, Helmst. 1587, 4to. and Wittemb. 1608. 4to.

John Guallensis, or *Wallis*, an English Franciscan monk of Worcester, who taught philosophy and theology at Oxford and at Paris; and was called the *Arbor Vitae*, on account of his excellent doctrines. He flourished AD. 1260, and died at Paris, in a year not ascertained. His *Alphabetum vite religiosae*; *Breviloquium de philosophiæ dignitate et ejus abusu*; *Breviloquium de iv. cardinalibus virtutibus antiquor. philosophor. et principum*; *Compendioquium de Vita illustri. philosophorum*; and *Margarita Doctorum, seu Summa de regimine vite humane*: were all published at Lyons, 1511. Fol. Some other of his works, on canon law, have also been published.

Bonaventura Brocardus of Strasburg, a Dominican monk who went into the East, and resided long there, about the middle of the century. His Description of places in the holy land, was printed, Ingolst. 1604. 4to. Cologne 1624. 8vo. and elsewhere, often.

Urban IV, was papal legate in Pomerania, Prussia, Livonia, and Germany; then patriarch of Jerusalem; and AD. 1261—1264, pope. His paraphrase on the 50th

Psalm, is in the *Biblioth. Patrum*; two of his epistles are in the collections of Councils; and twenty-four others in *Wadding's Annales* and *Regestum Pontif.*

Henry de Segusio, bishop of Ambrun, before AD. 1258, and cardinal bishop of Ostia, AD. 1262, died AD. 1271; so distinguished for knowledge of both civil and canon law, that he was called *Fons et Splendor Juris*. He wrote *Summa utriusque Juris*, which is often called *Aurea Summa Hostiensis*; also an exposition of the six books of the Decretals: both have been printed.

Clement IV., pope AD. 1265—1268, has left us numerous epistles and bulls; extant in various collections of documents.

Gilbert, or *Guibert*, a Franciscan monk, and professor of theology in the university of Paris, AD. 1270. Several of his tracts are extant.

Nicolaus Hanapus, a Dominican monk, penitentiary in the court of Rome, and then patriarch of Jerusalem, died at Ptolemais, AD. 1288. His *Biblia Pauperum*, or *Examples of virtue and vice*, has been often printed.

Gregory X., pope AD. 1271—1276, has left us twenty-five epistles.

Robert Kilwardby, studied at Oxford and Paris, became a Franciscan, and archbishop of Canterbury AD. 1272, went to Rome in 1277, was made a cardinal, and died in 1280. He left a number of theological and scientific works, preserved in manuscript, but never published.

Innocent V., pope AD. 1276, during five months; left a *Compendium theologiae* and a *Commentary* on the four books of Sentences.

Jonn XXI. (or *XIX.*), pope, AD. 1276—1288, has left several epistles, some treatises on logic, and one on the cure of diseases, which have been published.

Henry of Ghent, or *Gandavensis*, long a teacher of philosophy and theology in the Sorbonne, and called doctor *Solemnis*. He died AD. 1293, leaving a *Summa Theologiae*; *Quodlibeta theologica*, on the four books of Sentences; *de Viris Illustribus*, or an account of ecclesiastical authors; besides several other works, never printed.

Udabrie, Ulric, a German of Strasburg, pupil of *Albertus* the Great, a Dominican monk, and theologian of Paris, died prematurely, about AD. 1280, leaving a *Compendium* of theology, besides other works not printed.

Mechtildis, a German lady of high family, and a Benedictine nun of Helfenden. She flourished AD. 1280, and died before AD. 1290. Her *Revelation*, or five books of spiritual grace, composed in German, and translated into Latin, were published, with other works of a similar character, Paris 1513, and Cologne 1536.

Guido Baijus, a native of Reggio, and a citizen and archdeacon of Bologna, an eminent jurist, flourished AD. 1283. He wrote three books of Commentaries, entitled the *Rosarium*, on the five books of the Decretals; published, Venice 1580.

Nicolaus IV., pope AD. 1288—1292, left numerous epistles, many of which are published by *Bzovius*, and *Wadding*; besides commentaries on the scriptures, and theological treatises and sermons, never published.

Theodoric de Apoldia, a native of Erfurth, and a Dominican monk, who flourished AD. 1289. He wrote the life of *Elizabeth*, daughter of Andrew king of Hungary, and widow of Lewis landgrave of Thuringia, in 8 Books; published by *Canisius*, *Lectiones Antiq.* P. ii. p. 147. also the life of *St. Dominic*, founder of the order of Dominicans, in 8 Books; published by *Surius*, at August 5th.

Augustinus Triumphus, of Ancona, an Augustinian eremite monk, who spent several years at the university of Paris, but more at Venice, and at last fixed his residence at Naples, where he died AD. 1298, aged 85. He wrote *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica*; published Rome 1479. 4to. and 1582. Fol. several devotional pieces, a book of extracts from St. Augustine: besides several theological works, extensive commentaries on the scriptures, and many sermons; never published.

William Major, a Frenchman, penitentiary of Angers, and bishop of the same, AD. 1290—1314. He wrote the history of his episcopacy up to the year before his death; published by *Dachery*, *Spicileg.* Tom. x.

Guido, of noble birth in Burgundia, studied theology and canon law nine years at Paris and Orleans, and after filling several other offices, was abbot of St. Germain of Auxerre, from AD. 1277 to 1309, when he resigned his office, and lived a retired life till his death in 1313. He wrote the history of the abbots of his monastery, from AD. 1189, to 1277, published by *Labbé*, *Biblioth. Nov. MS.* Tom. i.

Henry, (according to some *Amandus*), Suso, of noble birth in Swabia, a distinguished Dominican theologian, and lecturer at Constance, who flourished AD. 1290, and died about the close of the century. He wrote various tracts, epistles, and sermons, in German, which *Laur. Surius* translated into Latin, and published, Cologne 1588. 8vo.

Boniface VIII, Pope AD. 1294—1303, has left numerous epistles and bulls, published by *Bzovius* and *Wadding*; besides the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*, which is a part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

Engelbert, a Benedictine monk, distinguished as early as AD. 1273, and abbot of Admont in Styria from AD. 1297. He wrote an heroic poem or panegyric, on the coronation of *Rodolph* of Hapsburg; and a tract on the rise, progress, and fall of the Roman empire; the last is in the *Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xiv.* and the first is in all the collections of German historians.

Thomas Wicke, or *Wiccius*, an English regular canon of St. Augustine, in the monastery of Osney, near Oxford, who flourished about AD. 1299. He wrote a *Chronicle of England*, from William the Conqueror AD. 1066, to the year 1304, which was published among the *Scriptores Historiae Anglicanae*, Tom. ii. Oxford 1687. Fol.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. The general state of religion.—§ 2. New articles of faith introduced by Innocent.—§ 3. The sect of Flagellants.—§ 4. Exegetical theology.—§ 5. Dogmatic theology.—§ 6. The greater part pursued *positive* theology.—§ 7. A few were *Sententiarii*.—§ 8. The opposers of the dialecticians.—§ 9. The mystics.—§ 10. Moral theology.—§ 11. Its character.—§ 12. Polemic theology.—§ 13. Controversies between the Greeks and the Latins.—§ 14. Dispute concerning Christ's presence in the eucharist.

§ 1. The inveterate defects of the prevailing religion, though very great and fundamental, were yet increased by considerable accessions. The Greeks and orientals were gradually diverted more and more from the principles of truth and rectitude, by their hatred of the Latins, by their immoderate veneration for the fathers and the former ages, by the calamities of the times, and by the heedlessness and stupidity of their prelates. Among the Latins, besides the sovereign pontiffs, who, it appears, would tolerate nothing that was even remotely injurious to their majesty and authority, the scholastic doctors, among whom the Dominican and Franciscan monks stood foremost and were the most subtle, by philosophising, disputing, dividing, and distinguishing, exceedingly obscured the simple and beautiful religion of Christ. The most pernicious among them,—for all were not equal offenders,—were those who led the mass of people to believe, that men can perform more than God requires of them, and that all religion consists in the external homage of the lips, and in certain bodily gestures.

§ 2. In the *fourth*, and very full council of the Lateran, AD. 1215, *Innocent III*, a most imperious pontiff, without asking the opinion of any one, published seventy decrees; in which, besides other enactments, calculated to increase the power of the pontiffs and to give importance to the clergy, he widened the religious system, by adding to it some new doctrines, or as they are called, *articles of faith*. For whereas there had hitherto been different opinions, respecting the *manner* in which Christ's body and blood are present in the eucharist, and no public decision had defined what must be held and taught on this point, *Innocent* pronounced *that* opinion to be the only true one, which is now universal in the Romish church; and he consecrated to it the hitherto unknown term *Transubstantiation*.(1) He also required it to be

(1) See, among many others, *Edm. Albertin*, de Eucharistia, Lib. iii. p. 972. [The decree of *Innocent*, is in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. vii. p. 16, 17. Una vero est fidelium universalis ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse Sacerdos et Sacrificium Jesus Christus: cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, *transubstantiatis*, pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem, potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium

held as an article of faith, that every one is bound, by a positive divine ordinance, to enumerate and confess his sins to a priest; which indeed had before been the opinion of some doctors, but it was not the public belief of the church; for up to this time, although the confession of sins was held to be a duty, yet every one had been at liberty, according to his pleasure, either to confess them mentally to God alone, or orally to a priest also. (2) The reception of both these dogmas, as of divine authority, in consequence of the injunction of *Innocent*, produced many regulations and decisions, wholly unknown in the scriptures or in the early ages of the church, and calculated to foster superstition rather than piety.

§ 3. Nothing perhaps will shew more clearly the unsoundness of the religion of the age, generally, and its discordance with the bible, than the history of the societies of *Flagellants*; which first originated in Italy, in the year 1260, and afterwards spread over a large part of Europe. A great multitude of persons, of all ranks and ages, and both sexes, ran about the streets of cities and country towns, with whips in their hands, lashing miserably their naked bodies; and they expected, by this voluntary punishment, by their frightful countenances and their distracted cries, to procure the divine compassion for themselves and others. (3) This method of placating the supreme Being, was perfectly accordant with the nature of religion as it existed in that age. Nor did these *Flagellants* do any thing but what they had learned from the monks, and particularly from the mendicant orders. And hence they were at first highly revered, and extolled for their sanctity, and not only by the populace but also by their rulers and governors. But when the turbulent and extravagant, and those contaminated with ridiculous opinions, joined themselves to the primitive more decent and moral *Flagellants*, the emperors and the pontiffs issued decrees to put a stop to this religious frenzy.

§ 4. The expounders of the sacred volume, in this century, differed not at all from those who assumed that office in the previous times. Most of them endeavored, as they express it, to draw out the internal juice and marrow of the sacred books, that is, to elicit their recondite or secret sense; and they do it so clumsily,

unitatis accipiamus de suo quod accepit ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi sacerdos, qui fuerit rite ordinatus secundum claves ecclesiae, quas ipse concessit apostolis et eorum successoribus Jesus Christus. Tr.]

(2) See *Jo. Dallaeus*, de Confessione auriculari; and many others. [This decree of *Innocent*, is in *Harduin*, l. c. p. 35. art. xxi. It is in this form: Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti; et injunctam sibi poenitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, &c. alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiae arceatur, et moriens christiana careat sepultura. Tr.]

(3) *Christ. Schöngen*, Historia Flagellantium. *Jac. Boileau*, Histoire de Flagellans, cap. ix. p. 253. A drawing descriptive of this penance of the *Flagellants*, is given by *Edm. Martene*, Voyage littéraire de deux Benedictins, Tome ii. p. 105. Compare *Muratori's* Antiq. Ital. medii aevi, Tom. vi. p. 460 &c.

for the most part, that a discerning man can hardly escape a nausea while reading their commentaries. Such as are disposed to put their power of endurance to the test, may peruse the lucubrations of *Hugo* of St. Cher, *Stephen Langton*, and *Anthony* of Padua, on various parts of the bible. None pursued this course more diligently, or rather, more foolishly, than the *mystic* doctors; of whom not one is so obtuse but he can see clearly, in the sacred writers, all the principles of his mystic theology. Nor were their opposers, the *scholastics*, entirely averse from this method of interpretation; though they were at more pains to collect the opinions of the ancient interpreters, than to devise new ones; as the example of *Alexander Hales*, *William Alvernus*, and *Thos. Aquinas*, will shew. They likewise call in, occasionally, the aid of dialectics. To assist the expounders of the sacred books, *Hugo* of St. Cher, composed his index of the words in these books, or his *Concordance* to them.(4) The Dominicans, by direction of *Jordan* the general of their order, set forth a new edition of the Latin version of the scriptures, carefully corrected by the older copies.(5) The Greeks attempted nothing in this department, which is worthy of notice. But among the Syrians, *Gregory Abulpharajus* very learnedly explained a large part of the bible.(6)

§ 5. It would be tedious to enumerate all those, who treated systematically, either theoretical or practical theology: for all that possessed a tolerable share of discernment, and ability to write, applied themselves to this branch of theology; and especially all those that taught in the schools; among whom the Dominicans and the Franciscans held the first rank. Nor is it necessary to recite the names of these doctors, or to specify all their lucubrations; for whoever has made himself acquainted with *Albertus Magnus*, or with *Thomas Aquinas*, his disciple, has knowledge of them all. The first place among these writers on systematic theology, belongs to *Thomas Aquinas*; who was commonly called the *Angel of the schools*, or the *Angelic Doctor*. For as soon as his *Summa*, or system of theology both dogmatical and practical, began to circulate, all eagerly caught hold of the work, and made it, in connexion with *Lombard* the Master of the Sentences, the basis of instruction and the source of correct knowledge. Some indeed have denied, that this celebrated work was the production of *Thomas*:(7) but their reasons are by no means solid and satisfactory.(8)

§ 6. The greatest part of these doctors followed *Aristotle* as

(4) See *Jac. Echard's* *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicator*. Tom. i. p. 194.

(5) *Rich. Simon*, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs eccles.* par M. du Pin, Tome i. p. 341.

(6) *Jos. Sim. Asseman*, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, Tom. ii. p. 277.

(7) See *Jo. Launois*, *Traditio ecclesiae Romanae circa Simoniam*, p. 290.

(8) See *Natalis Alexander*, *Historia Eccles. saecul. xiii.* p. 391. *Jac. Echard* and *Quetif's* *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicator*. Saecul. xiii. Tom. i. p. 293 &c. *Ant. Tournon's* *Vie de St. Thome*, p. 604.

their model; and applied his principles, both dialectical and philosophical, to the investigation and explication of christian doctrines. In explaining metaphysically the more abstruse doctrines, they followed the opinions of the *Realists*. For this sect had far more followers, in this century, than the *Nominalists*; which may be attributed to the vast influence of *Albertus* and *Thomas*, who stood at the head of the *Realists* at this time. But although these *most lucid, irrefragable, seraphic, and angelic* doctors, as they were called, may have viewed themselves as sagacious and powerful defenders of revealed religion, yet they very often poured darkness, rather than light, upon their subjects. For not to mention their intolerable and often ridiculous phraseology, or their disgusting barbarity of style, and to pass by their senseless eagerness for prying into subjects inscrutable to man, they failed in the very points in which true philosophers ought least of all to be found defective. For their definitions are obscure and inaccurate, and their divisions are unsuitable and illogical. And these faults, which necessarily produce confusion of thought and obscurity in reasoning, are chargeable on the great *Thomas* himself.

§ 7. This propensity to examine religious subjects by the powers of reason and human sagacity, greatly lessened the number of those, who in the manner of the ancients, were accustomed to demonstrate religious truths by the scriptures and by the authority of the fathers, without employing philosophy, and who were therefore called *biblical divines*. Certain pious men indeed, (9) and even the Roman pontiffs, (10) seriously admonished the theologians, and more especially those of Paris, to avoid the subtleties of philosophy, and to teach the doctrines of salvation according to the scriptures, with simplicity and purity: but their admonitions were fruitless. For so great was the enthusiasm for metaphysics, dialectics, and philosophy, that no arguments or exhortations could control it. The scholastic doctors did not indeed wholly disregard the *scriptures* and *tradition*; but what they adduce from these sources, showed plainly, that they did not pay much attention to them. (11) And at length, they gave up the examining of these sources to others, altogether, and reserved to themselves merely the province of disputing and philosophizing. And the outward circumstances of these doctors, were not the

(9) See *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iii. p. 9, 120, 180. Anton. Wood's Antiq. Oxonienses, Tom. i. p. 91, 92, 94.*

(10) See, especially, a sharp and memorable epistle of *Gregory IX.* to the Parisian masters; in *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iii. p. 129.* which concludes with these words: *Mandamus et districtè præcipimus, quatenus sine fermento mundanae scientiae doceatis theologiam puritatem, non adulterantes verbum Dei philosophorum figmentis—sed contenti terminis a patribus institutis mentes auditorum vestrorum fructu coelesti eloquii saginetis, ut hauriant de fontibus Salvatoris.*

(11) *Peter Faydit's Alteration du dogme theologique par la philos. d' Aristote, p. 280. Rich. Simon's Critique de la Biblioth. des Auteurs eccles. par M. du Pin, Tome i. p. 170, 187.*

least cause of their pursuing such a course. For most of them were Dominican and Franciscan monks. And these sects held no property, had no libraries, and were moreover required to lead unsettled and vagrant lives. And of course, such of them as wished to make a figure as writers, were under necessity to rely wholly upon their own ingenuity.

§ 8. The followers of the old divines, deemed it the more necessary to resist strenuously these new dialectical theologians, in proportion as they instilled corrupt and dangerous sentiments into the youth in their schools. For they not only explained the mysteries of religion according to the principles of their dialectics, subjecting them to the empire of reason, but they also brought forward doctrines that were absolutely impious, and manifestly hostile to religion, doctrines relating to God, to matter, the world, the origin of all things, and the nature of the human soul; and if any one taxed them with the fact, it was their custom to answer, that these doctrines were *philosophically true*, and consonant with right reason; but that they readily admitted them to be *theologically false*. And hence, throughout this century, in all the universities and particularly at Paris and Oxford, you might see the ancient and biblical divines opposing the decisions, the opinions, and the treatises of the dialectic theologians, and both publicly and privately accusing them of corrupting the religion of the scriptures.(12) Even *St. Thomas* was judged by the Parisians to be unsound, or to deviate on many points from the simple truth.(13) He indeed, though involved in various contests, escaped without harm: but others, of less weight of character, were required publicly to confess their errors while alive, or severely censured after their death.

§ 9. Still more dangerous to the scholastic divines were the *mystics*, and all those, who maintained that piety was the only thing to be regarded, and that all discussions on religious subjects were to be discarded; for these were the most acceptable to the people, and had most influence with them. The accusations and aversions of such opposers, the dialecticians judged it not advisable to repel by force, but to conciliate by prudent measures. They therefore extolled mystic theology, with lavished praises; and even explained its principles in various treatises, combining it with the theology taught in the schools, notwithstanding the two systems were radically at variance. The works of this character, by *Bonaventura*, *Albert the Great*, *Robert Capito*, and *Thomas Aquinas*, are well known. Nor did they blush

(12) See *Matth. Paris*, *Historia major*, p. 541. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iii. in many places, but especially p. 397, 430, 433, 472, &c.

(13) See *Jo. Launoi*, *Historia Gymnas. Navarreni*, P. iii. Lib. iii. c. cxvi. in his *Opp.* Tom. iv. P. i. p. 485. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iv. p. 204. *Peter Zornius*, *Opuscula Sacra*, Tom. i. p. 445. *Rich. Simon*, *Lettres Choisies*, Tom. ii, p. 266 &c. *Jac. Echard's Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, Tom. i. p. 435 &c.

to publish comments on *Dionysius* himself, the choriphaeus of the mystics, whom perhaps they at the same time viewed with secret contempt. (14)

§ 10. Therefore, in this century, both the scholastics and the mystics wrote treatises on the duties of a christian life, and the way in which the soul is to be purified from its corruptions ; but, as may readily be supposed, their treatises are very different in character. What the *mystics* taught and recommended as being a life of piety, may be learned from the annotations of *George Pachymeres* on *Dionysius*, written in Greek, and from the *Spiritual Institutes*, or Compendium of mystic theology, by *Humbert de Romanis*. The primary object of the *scholastics* was, to explain the nature of virtues and vices ; as is manifest from the numerous *Summas*, [or systems,] of the virtues and vices, that appeared in this age. The virtues they divide into the *moral*, (which are precisely those that *Aristotle* recommended to his disciples,) and the *theological*, of which there are three, faith, hope, and love, according to the enumeration of St. Paul, 1 Corinth. xiii. 13. In explaining both, they spend more time on questions and controversies, than in giving direct and lucid instruction. In this department, the preeminence is due to *Thomas*, who devotes the entire second part of his *Summa* to moral or practical theology, and on whom innumerable others wrote commentaries.

§ 11. But great care is necessary in reading the writers on moral theology of this and the following centuries. For, though they use the same terms that the inspired writers and ourselves also do, yet they assign to them very different imports. The justice, charity, sanctity, and faith of most of the doctors of this age, are not identical with the virtues which Christ and his apostles designate by these terms. According to the views of Christ, he is a holy or pious man, who devotes his whole soul to God and to his law : but the writers of these times denominate *him* a holy and pious man, who divests himself of his possessions and worldly goods, in order to enrich the priests, and to build churches and monasteries, and who does not deny or neglect to do, any thing which the pontiffs would have men believe or do. And it is law-

(14) [Whether Dr. Mosheim has here stated the real motives of these men in extolling and expounding the principles of the mystics, those must judge who are familiar with their writings. Metaphysical theology, and mystical, will be found often associated in the minds of the devout, in every age. And in that age, the mystics gave at least as good evidence of deep toned piety, or of intimate communion with God, as any others ; and such men as *Bonaventura*, may easily be supposed to have felt not a little sympathy with them in their devout contemplations. Who does not know, how much the writings of *Thomas à Kempis* (a mystic of the fourteenth century,) have been admired, even by protestants, quite to the present times. Besides, those more devout scholastics, give too much evidence of sincerity and integrity, to admit, without strong proof, that they would, deliberately and systematically, commend and write books in defence of a religious system, which, in their hearts, they viewed with contempt. Tr.]

ful and right, if we may believe these writers, to treat with all possible severity, and even to massacre, a *heretic*; that is, one who will not be submissive to the will of the Roman pontiff. The *justice*, therefore, which was inculcated in that age, was a very different thing from that which the scriptures enjoin.

§ 12. Among the Greeks, *Nicetas Acominatus*, in his *Treasury of the Orthodox Faith*, confronted all the sects of errorists; but it was in the manner of the Greeks, that is, by the testimonies and the authority of the fathers, and ecclesiastical councils, rather than by the declarations of holy scripture and by sound arguments. Among the Latins, *Raymund* of Pennafort attempted to confute the Jews and Saracens, not in the manner practised previously, by penalties and the sword, but by arguments addressed to the understanding.(15) And this led many others, who were no contemptible disputants, and who were acquainted with the Hebrew and Arabic languages, to assail these nations in a similar manner; among whom *Raymund Martini*, the author of the *Pugio Fidei*, manifestly stands preeminent.(16) *Thomas* also contended for the truth of christianity, in his *Summa contra gentes*; which is no contemptible performance.(17) And *Alanus ab Insulis*, [*Alain de l'Isle*,] did the same, in his work *Against the Jews and the Pagans*. Those who engaged in other controversies, were far inferior in merit to these; and aimed rather to render their adversaries odious, than to evince the truth.

§ 13. The principal controversy of this century, was that which had produced separation between the Greek and Latin churches; and in discussing and endeavoring to settle which, nearly the whole century was consumed in unsuccessful efforts. *Gregory IX*, employed the Franciscan monks, especially after the year 1232, in negociations for peace with the Greeks: but their efforts were unavailing.(18) Afterwards, in the year 1247, *Innocent*

(15) *Jac. Echard* and *Quetif's* *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicator*. Tom. i. Saecul. xiii. p. 106 &c.

(16) *Peter Bayle*, *Dictionnaire*, article *Murtini*; Tom. ii. p. 2077. *Paul Colomarius*, *Hispania Orientalis*, p. 209.

(17) *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Delectus argumentorum et scriptor. pro veritate religionis christianae*, p. 270.

(18) The records of the transaction are extant, in *Luc. Wadding's* *Annales Minorum*, Tom. ii. p. 279, 296 &c. and in *Jac. Echard's* *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicator*. Tom. i. p. 103, 911 &c. See also *Matthew Paris*, *Historia major*, p. 386 &c. [The union was prevented by the well known principles of the Romish court, which had all one aim, namely to subject the whole world to themselves, or, to make all nations tributary to the see of Rome, and thus to enrich themselves at the expence of others. At least, the Greek patriarch *Germanus*, in his letter to the cardinals, in the above cited passage of *Matthew Paris*, says: "Destroy the cause of the ancient hostility between the Latins and the Greeks—we have commenced the negotiation for peace, and have written to the pope: let God purge your hearts of all high thoughts, that exalt themselves against a fraternal union. The severing of our union proceeds from the tyranny of your oppression, and the exactions of the Romish church; which from being a mother, has become a step-mother, and is like a rapacious bird that drives away her own young; which tramples upon the lowly, in proportion as they are the more pro-

IV, sent *John* of Parma, with other Franciscans, to negotiate with the Greeks : and on the other side, the Greek patriarch came in person to Rome, and was created legate of the apostolic see.(19) But still, several causes prevented an adjustment of all difficulties. Under *Urban IV*, the business was managed more successfully. For *Michael Palaeologus*, as soon as he had expelled the Latins out of Constantinople, in order to establish his empire and secure the friendship of the Roman pontiff, sent ambassadors to Rome, declaring his readiness to conclude a peace. But *Urban* died, before the difficult negotiations were brought to a conclusion.(20) Under *Gregory X*, after various discussions in the second council of Lyons, AD. 1274, *John Veccus*, the patriarch of Constantinople, and some other Greek bishops agreeing to it, the Greeks publicly consented to the terms of compromise prescribed by the pontiff.(21) But on a change in the state of public affairs, the fear of a war from the Latins being at an end, *Andronicus* the son of Michael, in the council of Constantinople held in the palace of Blachernae AD. 1284, annulled this disgraceful compromise, and sent its author *Veccus* into exile.(22) After this, the rancour and the disputes became more violent than ever.

§ 14. We pass over the private and minor controversies, that arose here and there. The only one that remains, and that deserves notice, is the discussions, in France and in other countries, during this century, respecting the Lord's supper. Notwithstanding *Innocent III*, in the Lateran council of 1215, had placed *consubstantiation* among the public doctrines of the Latin church ; yet many had doubts of the validity of this decree ; and they maintained, that other opinions were not improbable. Those who approved the Berengarian sentiment, that the bread and wine were only symbols of the body and blood of Christ, dared not publicly avow and defend their opinions.(23) Yet there were many, who deemed it sufficient, to maintain what is called the *real* presence ; though they might explain the *mode* of that presence, differently from *Innocent*.(24) Preeminent among these,

trate. Therefore, let *Roman avarice*, inveterate as it is, be subdued ; and let us proceed to an examination of the truth.—You, eager solely for earthly possessions, collect together silver and gold, from every quarter ; and yet you say, that you are the disciples of him who said, *Silver and gold have I none*. You make kingdoms tributary to you ; you increase your revenues by navigations : your deeds contradict the professions of your lips." *Schl.*]

(19) See *Stephen Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. vii. p. 370, 388, 393, 397, 497, 498. *Wadding's Annales Minor*. Tom. iii. and iv. p. 37 &c.

(20) *Wadding's Annales Minor*. Tom. iv. p. 181, 201, 223, 269, 303.

(21) See *Wadding's Annal Minor*. Tom. iv. p. 343, 371. Tom. v. p. 9, 29, 62. *Colonia*, *Histoire litter. de la ville de Lyon*, Tome ii. p. 234.

(22) *Leo Allatius*, de perpetua consensione eccles. Orient. et Occident. Lib. ii. c. 15, 16. p. 727 &c. *Fred. Spanheim*, de perpetua dissensione Graecorum et Latinorum in his Opp. Tom. ii. p. 488 &c. and elsewhere.

(23) *Boulay's Historia Acad.* Paris. Tom. iii. p. 373.

(24) *Peter Aliz*, *Præfatio ad F. Johannis determinat. de sacramento altaris*, Lond. 1686. 8vo.

was *Jahn*, surnamed *Pungens-Asinum*, [the *Ass-goader*,] a subtle doctor of Paris, who near the close of the century, avowed at Paris, his preference of *consubstantiation* before *transubstantiation*; and yet was not condemned by the doctors there, for advancing such an opinion. (25)

(25) His book was published by *Peter Aliz*, [Lond. 1686. 8vo.] See *Baluz*, *Vitae Pontiff. Avenion.* Tom. i. p. 576. *Dachery*, *Spicileg. veter. Scriptor.* Tom. iii. p. 58. *Jac. Echard's* *Scriptores Dominici*, Tom. i. p. 561. [According to *Du Pin*, *Auteurs Ecclesiast.* Saecul. xiv. ch. v. *John* of Paris, surnamed *Pungens Asinum*, lived in the fore part of the thirteenth century, and was a different person from that *John* of Paris, who opposed the papal doctrine of *transubstantiation*. Neither did this latter *John* escape censure from the divines of Paris; for in the year 1305, they silenced him, and forbid his either preaching or lecturing, on pain of excommunication. He appealed to the pope, then at Bourdeaux, who appointed commissioners to try the case; but before the day of trial, *John* died, on the 15th Jan. 1306. Similar to this are the statements of *Dr. Cave*, (*Historia Litteraria*), and *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. med. et infimae Latinitatis*, Lib. ix. p. 322. Tr.]

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Increase of rites.—§ 2 Eucharistical rites.—§ 3. Year of Jubilee.

§ 1. It would be endless, to enumerate all the additions which the pontiff made publicly, and the priests and monks privately, to the exterior of religion, in order to render it more splendid and imposing. We shall therefore dispatch the extensive subject, in a few words. Those who directed public worship, conceived that the religion generally embraced in those times, was not so much to be presented to the understanding, as to the eyes and the senses of mankind, in order to render it more striking and impressive. Hence, at stated times, and particularly on the festivals, they were accustomed to exhibit the divine works and beneficent acts, and all the more striking facts in sacred history, by signs and emblems, or rather by mimic representations.(1) These scenic representations, partly comic, and partly tragic, though they might gratify the senses, and produce some slight emotions in the soul, were still rather prejudicial than advantageous to the cause of religion ; and they afforded matter for ridicule to the more discerning.

§ 2. No one will think it strange, that after the establishment of the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, the consecrated bread of the eucharist should have received divine honors. This having become an established custom, the various ceremonies by which that bread was honored, followed of course. Hence those splendid caskets, in which God, in the form of bread, might reside as in his house, and be carried from place to place : hence lamps, and other decorations, were added to these reputed domicils of a present deity : hence this bread was carried in splendid processions along the streets to the sick ; and other rites of the like character, were introduced. This superstition reached its zenith, when the festival of the *body of Christ*, as it is called, was instituted. One *Juliana*, a nun who lived at Liege in the Netherlands, gave out that she had been divinely instructed, that it was the pleasure of God, an annual festival should be kept in honor of the holy supper, or rather, of the body of *Christ* as present in the holy supper. Few persons gave credit to her vision.(2) But *Robert*, the bishop of Liege, in the year 1246, ordered this new festal day, though very many were opposed to it, to be celebrated

(1) This extravagance in getting up religious shows, originated, I suspect, with the mendicant orders.

(2) ["This fanatical woman declared, that as often as she addressed herself to God, or to the saints in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach

throughout his diocese. After the death of *Juliana*, her friend *Eve*, another woman of *Liege*, ceased not from prosecuting the business; till at length *Urban IV*, in the year 1264, imposed that festival upon the whole church. Yet this pontiff died, shortly after signing this decree; so that this festival was not universally observed by the Latin churches, until *Clement V*, in the council of *Vienne*, AD. 1311, confirmed the edict of *Urban*.(3) And this festival contributed to establish the people in the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, more than the decree of the Lateran council under *Innocent III*.

§ 3. At the close of the century, *Boniface VIII*, added to the public ceremonies of the church, the *year of jubilee*; which is still celebrated at *Rome*, with great pomp and splendid preparations. In the year 1299, there arose among the people at *Rome*, a rumor that all such as should the next year visit the temple of *St. Peter*, would obtain the pardon of all their sins; and that this privilege was annexed to every hundredth year. *Boniface* ordered inquiry to be made into the truth of this opinion; and he learned, from many witnesses of good credit, that, according to very ancient ecclesiastical law and usage, all those who devoutly visited *St. Peter's church*, in the course of the years that terminate centuries, merited thereby indulgencies for a hundred years. The pontiff therefore, in an epistle sent throughout christendom, decided, that in every centennial year, all that should confess and lament for their sins, and devoutly visit the temple of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* at *Rome*, would receive plenary abolition of their sins.(4) The successors of *Boniface* adorned this institution with many new rites; and after finding by experience, that it brought both honor and gain to the church of *Rome*, they limited it to

in it; and that, having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was inwardly informed by the spirit, that the moon signified the church, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual festival in honor of the holy sacrament." *Maccl.*]

(3) See *Burthol. Fisen's Origo prima festi corporis Christi ex viso sanctae virginis Julianae divinitus oblato*, *Liege* 1619. 8vo. *Jo. Dallaeus*, de cultus religioni objecto, p. 267 &c. *Acta Sanctor. Aprilis* Tom. i. p. 437 &c. and p. 903: and, (one who should have been named first,) *Benedict XIV*, the Roman pontiff, de festis christi et Mariae, Lib. i. cap. xii. in his *Opp.* Tom. x. p. 360.

(4) Such is the statement of *Jac. Cajetan*, nephew of *Boniface VIII*, and cardinal of *St. George*, in his *Relatio de centesimo seu Jubilaeo anno*; which is in all the *Bibliothecas* of the Fathers, and particularly in the *Biblioth. max. patrum* Tom. xxv. p. 267. Nor is there any reason why we should suppose, that he misrepresents facts, or that *Boniface* acted craftily and avariciously, in this matter. [When we consider the ambitious and avaricious character which *Boniface* manifested in innumerable ways, it is difficult to believe, that he was so passive a being in this whole transaction, and that he had no other object in view, than the furtherance of piety, and the continuation of an ancient usage, which he found to be confirmed by the testimony of four aged persons, of whom one was a hundred and seven years old. The belief had long prevailed, that *Romish indulgences* were more efficient than any others: and the pilgrims, who travelled to *Rome*, in order to obtain remission of sins there, stood under the immediate protection of the popes. (See the *Decret. Gratiani*, P. ii. caus. xiv. *Ques.* iii. c. 23. *Siquis Romipetas*, and c. 25. *Illi qui* &c. and others also, P. i. *Distinc.* 78.) These pilgrims made many voluntary offerings to the *Romish church*, which went into

shorter periods, so that, at the present time, every twenty-fifth year is a jubilee.(5)

the pope's treasury, and also increased the business of the citizens, notwithstanding they could obtain nothing at Rome, which they could not obtain at a cheaper rate of their own bishops at home. In these circumstances, what was more natural than for the thought to occur to *Boniface*, of deriving some advantages from the rumor that was spreading at Rome, and which perhaps was set on foot, or at least helped forward, by his own creatures, and therefore to rather fabricate, than search after, proofs that a jubilee of indulgences was sanctioned by the ancient ecclesiastical law. Plenary indulgence had hitherto been confined to the crusaders. But those enterprises had now ceased, and a journey to Rome was less hazardous to life than a journey to Palestine. The public roads in Italy exhibited an almost continuous procession, or a line of march from one end to the other; and nearly every day, 200,000 foreigners might be counted at Rome. Indeed, it has been estimated that 2,000,000 of people visited Rome during the year 1300; and the concourse there was so great, that many were trodden to death by the throng. So happy a result of this experiment, made both the pope and the citizens of Rome wish, that a century was not so long an interval. Therefore *Clement VI.* repeated the Jubilee A.D. 1350, and *Nicolaus V.* established the festival to be held once in 25 years. *Schl.*]

(5) The writers on the jubilee are enumerated by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, Bibliograph. Antiquar. p. 316 &c. to his list others may be added, and among them, especially *Charles Chais*, a recent author, whose *Lettres Historiques et dogmatiques sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences*, were published at the Hague, 1751. 3 vol. 8vo. [He was minister of the French church at the Hague. The first volume of the *Lettres* is devoted to the history of the Roman jubilees, traces their origin to the avarice of *Boniface VIII.* A.D. 1300, points out their resemblance to the Roman secular games, and gives a particular account of each jubilee, from their origin in the year 1300, to the year 1750. The second and third volumes are devoted to the subject of Indulgences. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. The Nestorians and Jacobites.—§ 2. Conflicts of the pontiffs with heretics little known.—§ 3. Commencement of the Inquisition in Languedoc, in France.—§ 4, 5. Its form.—§ 6. Its prerogatives. General odium against it.—§ 7. Severer measures against the heretics, especially the Albigenses.—§ 8. The count of Toulouse in vain opposes the pontiff.—§ 9. The brethren and sisters of the free spirit.—§ 10. Their mystic theology.—§ 11. Some of them held better sentiments, and others worse.—§ 12. Amalric.—§ 13. Joachim. Wilhelmina.—§ 14. The sect called Apostles.—§ 15. The grievous fault of Joachim.

§ 1. The Greeks mention no new sects, as arising in this century among them. The oriental sects of the Jacobites and Nestorians, who, equally with the Greeks, spurned the laws of the Roman church, were repeatedly solicited by pontifical legates of the orders of *St. Francis* and *St. Dominic*, to put themselves under the dominion of the Roman pontiffs. *Innocent IV*, endeavored to annex both those communities to his empire, in the year 1246. And *Nicolaus IV*, offered terms of reconciliation to the Nestorians, and particularly to those inhabiting northern Asia, in the year 1278.(1) And some of the bishops of both those sects seemed not averse to the proposed terms. But after a short time, from various causes, all hopes of such a reconciliation vanished.

§ 2. During the whole of this century, the Roman pontiffs were engaged in fierce and bloody conflicts with *heretics*; that is, with such as taught differently from what the Romish church prescribed to them, and brought under discussion the power and prerogatives of the pontiffs. For the sects of the *Cathari*, the *Waldenses*, the *Petrobrusians*, and many others, spread over all Europe, and especially over Italy, France, Germany,(2) and

(1) *Odor. Raynald*, *Annales Eccles.* Tom. xiii. ad. ann. 1247. § 32 &c. and Tom. xv. ad. ann. 1303. § 22. and 1304. § 23. *Matth. Paris*, *Historia Major* p. 372.

(2) [In Germany they were called *Stedingers*, from a district in ancient Friesland, where they were most numerous, and *Hallean* heretics, from a town in Swabia where they resided. The *Stedingers* were accused of magic and of Manichaeism; but seem rather to have been Waldensians than Manichaeans. Their chief difference was, that they refused to pay tithes to the bishops, particularly to the bishops of Bremen and Minden, and in general, resolved to be free from the oppressive slavery of the clergy. These poor people, in the year 1234, were nearly exterminated, by an army of 40,000 crusaders. See *Ritter's Diss. de pago Steding et Stedingis haereticis*; and *Harzheim's Concilia German.* Tom. iii. p. 551 &c. The *Hallean* heretics may be best understood from the account of *Albrecht* of Stade, in his *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1248. He thus describes them: "Strange and miserable heretics began to multiply in the church of God; who striking the bells, and calling the barons and free-holders together, at *Hallae* in Swabia, thus preached in public: that the *pope* was a heretic; and all the bishops and prelates, simoniacs and heretics; and also the inferior prelates, and the priests; because being defiled with vices and mortal sins, they had not authority to bind and loose; and that they all seduced the people: that priests guilty of

Spain, collected congregations, and threatened great danger to the Romish domination. New sects were added to the old ones, differing indeed widely in their opinions, but all agreeing in this, that the prevailing religion was false, and that the Roman pontiffs most unjustly arrogated to themselves dominion over christians and their religious worship. And not a few of the noblemen listened, with favorable and even eager attention, to the doctrines maintained by these classes of persons out of the scriptures, against the power, the wealth, and the vices of the pontiffs, and of the whole clerical order. And hence new and extraordinary arms were requisite, to overcome and subdue so numerous and so powerful opposers.

§ 3. No where was there a greater number of heretics of every description, than in Languedoc, and the adjacent regions. For several persons, and especially *Raymond VI*, the earl of Toulouse, afforded them protection; and the bishops in those provinces were so negligent and remiss in their proceedings against heretics, that they could found and build up their congregations without fear. On being apprised of these facts, *Innocent III*, sent extraordinary legates into these provinces, near the beginning of the century, to correct the faults committed by the bishops, and to extirpate the heretics by all possible means. These legates were *Ranier*, a Cistercian monk, and *Peter de Castrovovo* or *Castelnau*,⁽³⁾ archdeacon of Maquellonne, and afterwards, likewise a Cistercian monk. To these, were afterwards added others, the most noted of whom was *Dominic*, a

mortal sins, could not administer the sacrament: that *no man living, neither the pope, nor the bishops, could interdict the worship of God; and that those who prohibited it, were heretics and seducers*—that the Dominicans and Franciscans corrupted the church, by preaching falsehood; and that *all those monks, and likewise the Cistercians*, led sinful and unrighteous lives. That there was no one, who declared the truth, and who observed good faith in action, except themselves and their associates—that hitherto your preachers have buried the truth, and have preached falsehood; while we do the contrary. The indulgence (pardon) which we offer to you, is not fictitious and fabricated by the apostolic (the pope), nor by the bishops, but comes solely from God and from our order. We dare not make mention of the pope, because he leads so wicked a life, and is a man of so bad example.—Pray ye for the emperor *Frederic* and for *Conrad*—the pope has not the power of binding, nor of loosing, because he does not lead an apostolical life.”—See also *John Gottfr. Bernhold's* Diss. de *Conrado IV*, imperatore, *Hallensium haereticorum aliquando defensore*; *Aldorf* 1758.—Among the Inquisitors in Germany, *Conrad* of Marburg rendered himself particularly famous. He was a Dominican, and confessor to St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, whose biography he composed: and with much simplicity, he united all the qualities requisite for so bloody and inhuman an office, as that of an Inquisitor. This abominable man, burning with hatred for heretics, raved against high and low, allowed no one a legal trial, but imprisoned the innocent till they would themselves confess guilt, of which they were unconscious. See *Albrecht's* Chronicon, ad. ann. 1233. The German archbishops counselled him to use greater moderation; but the delirious man continued his mad career, preaching a crusade against the heretics, till at last, he was put to death by some noblemen, near Marburg. See *Harzheim's* concilia Germani. Tom. iii. p. 543 &c. Schl.]

(3) Very many of the Romish writers denominate this *Peter* the first Inquisitor; but in what sense he was so, will appear from what we are about to say. See, concerning him, the *Acta Sanctor*. Tom. i. Martii p. 411 &c.

Spaniard, the well known founder of the order of preaching monks, who, returning from Rome in the year 1206, connected himself with these papal legates, and by his preaching, and in other ways, very strenuously assailed the heretics. Those men, acting by authority from the pontiff, and without consulting the bishops, or asking their aid, hunted after *heretics*; and such of them as they could not convert by arguments, they caused to be subjected to capital punishments. In the language of common parlance, they were called *Inquisitors*; and from them, that terrible tribunal for heretics, called the *Inquisition*, took its rise.

§ 4. As this new class of functionaries, the *Inquisitors*, performed effectually the duties assigned them, and purged the provinces in which they labored, of numerous heretics, similar papal legates were stationed in nearly all the cities whose inhabitants were suspected, notwithstanding the people opposed it, and often either expelled or massacred the *Inquisitors*. The council of Toulouse, in which *Romanus* cardinal of St. Angelo, presided as pontifical legate, AD. 1229, proceeded still farther: for it ordered the establishment of a *board of Inquisitors*, in each city, composed of *one clergyman and three laymen*.(4) But Gregory IX, altered the institution in the year 1233, and conferred on the preaching monks or Dominicans, the inquisition for heresy in France; and by a formal bull freed the bishops from that duty.(5) And upon this, the bishop of Tournay as papal legate, stationed *Peter Cellani*, and *William Arnald*, as the first *Inquisitors of heretical pravity*, at Toulouse; and soon after, he created similar inquisitors in all the cities where the Dominicans had convents.(6) From this period, we are to date the commencement of the dreadful tribunal of the *Inquisition*; which, in this and the following centuries, subdued such hosts of heretics, either by forcing them back into the church, or by committing them to the temporal authorities to be burned. For the Dominicans erected, first at Toulouse, and then at *Carcassone* and other places, permanent courts, before which were arraigned not only *heretics*, and those *suspected of heresy*, but likewise all that were accused of *magic, soothsaying, Judaism, sorcery*, and similar offences. And these courts were afterwards extended to other countries of Europe, though not every where with equal facility and success.(7)

(4) See *Jo. Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. vii. p. 175.

(5) *Bernh. Guido's MS. Chronicle of the Roman pontiffs*, in *Jac. Echard's Scriptores Prædicator*. Tom. i. p. 88. *P. Percin's Historia Inquisitionis Tolosanae*; subjoined to his *Historia conventus Fratr. Prædicator. Tolosae 1693*. 8vo. and *Histoire generale de Languedoc*, Tom. iii. p. 394, 395.

(6) *Echard and Percin*, locis cit.

(7) The account here given of the origin and early history of the *Inquisition*, differs very much from what is stated in numberless books: yet it is supported by the most unexceptionable testimonies, which cannot here be adduced. Learned men tell us, that *St. Dominic* invented the court of the *Inquisition*, and first instituted it at Toulouse; that he was himself the first *Inquisitor* that was ever appointed; that the year is uncertain; yet that it is beyond dispute, that *In-*

§ 5. The method of proceeding in the courts of the *Inquisition*, was at first simple; and not materially different from that in the ordinary courts.(8) But gradually, the Dominicans, guided by experience, rendered it far more complex; and so shaped their proceedings, that the mode of trying *heretical* causes, (if the phrase is allowable,) was wholly different from that practised in secular courts. For these simple monks, being wholly ignorant of judicial proceedings, and acquainted with no other tribunal, than that which in the Romish church is called the *penitentiary tribunal*, regulated these new courts of the *Inquisition*, as far as possible, according to the plan of those religious proceedings. And hence arose that strange system of jurisprudence, bearing in many respects the most striking features of injustice and wrong. Whoever duly considers this history of their origin, will be able to account for many things that are unsuitable, absurd, and contrary to justice, in the mode of proceeding against offenders in the courts of the inquisition.(9)

nocent III., in the Lateran council AD. 1215, approved and confirmed this tribunal. See *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, p. 569. *Phil. Limborch*, *Historia Inquisit.* Lib. i. cap. x. p. 39 &c. and other writers, who are mentioned by *Fabricius*. I believe, that those who make such statements, have their authorities for them; but those authorities are unquestionably not of the first order. Most of the modern writers follow *Limborch*; whose *History of the Inquisition*, is an excellent work on the subject, and indeed may be considered the principal work. *Limborch* is to be commended for his diligence and his fidelity. But he was very indifferently acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the middle ages; nor did he derive his materials from the original sources, but from second hand writers; and he therefore fell into not a few mistakes. At least, what he tells us respecting the *origin* of the Inquisition, is not true. Nor are the accounts of others, much better. In particular, not one of the positions stated above, is true. Many of the Dominicans, who to this day preside in the courts of the Inquisition, and highly extol its sanctity, yet deny, that *St. Dominic* invented the Inquisition, or that he was the first Inquisitor; nay, that he was an Inquisitor at all: and they also deny, that the tribunal of the Inquisition was instituted during the life-time of *St. Dominic*. Nor are they rash in making these assertions. Yet the dispute, whether *St. Dominic* was an Inquisitor, or not, is a contest about a term, rather than about a fact; for it turns wholly on the different acceptations of the term *Inquisitor*. At first, an *Inquisitor* was a person sent forth, under the authority of the Roman pontiff, to subdue and extirpate heretics; but without any judicial powers. But the term afterwards changed its meaning, and was used to denote a *judge*, appointed by the Roman pontiff to try the causes of heretics, and of those suspected of heresy, to pronounce sentence upon them, and to deliver over the pertinacious to the civil magistrates. In this latter sense, *Dominic*, most certainly, was not an Inquisitor: nor were there any such judges appointed by the pontiffs, before the time of *Gregory IX.* But, that *Dominic* was an Inquisitor, in the former sense of the term, admits of no doubt.

(8) The documents published by the Benedictines, in their *Histoire generale de Languedoc*, Tom. iii. p. 371 &c. show what was the first and simple method of proceeding in the Inquisition.

(9) [A more definite account of the peculiar characteristics of the tribunal of the Inquisition, [as it existed in the subsequent centuries, *Tr.*] will not here be out of place. The persons arraigned before this tribunal, besides those mentioned in the text, were the abettors, encouragers, and protectors of heretics, the blasphemers, and such as resisted the officers of the Inquisition, or interrupted them in the discharge of their duties. A person became suspected of heresy, if he said any thing that might offend others; if he misused the sacraments, or other sacred things; if he treated the images with disrespect; if he possessed,

§ 6. That this tribunal, devised for subduing heretics, might awaken more terror, the pontiffs prevailed on the emperors and

read, or gave to others to read, books prohibited by the Inquisition; if he said mass, or heard confessions, without being in orders; if he attended, even for once, the preaching of heretics; if he did not appear before the Inquisition, as soon as he was cited; if he showed any kindness to a heretic, or aided him in making his escape. Abettors of heresy were those who harbored heretics, or did not give them up; those who spoke to arrested heretics, without permission, or even trafficked with heretics. When the Inquisition discovered a transgressor of their laws, either by common report, or by their spies, or by an informer, he was cited three times, to appear before them; and if he did not appear, he was forthwith condemned. It was safest, to appear on the first citation; because the longer a man delayed, the more guilty he would be; and the Inquisition had their spies, and a thousand concealed ways, for getting an absconding heretic into their power. When a supposed heretic was once in the hands of the Inquisition, no one dared to enquire after him, or write to him, or intercede for him. When every thing belonging to the person seized was in their hands, then the process began; and it was protracted, in the most tedious manner. After many days, or perhaps months, which the accused dragged out in a loathsome dungeon, the keeper of the prison asked him, as it were accidentally, if he wished to have a hearing. When he appeared before his judges, they enquired, just as if they knew nothing about him, who he was, and what he wanted. If he wished to be informed what offence he had committed, he was admonished to confess his faults himself. If he confessed nothing, time was given him for reflection, and he was remanded to prison. If after a long time allowed him, he still confessed nothing, he must swear, to answer truly to all the questions put to him. If he would not swear, he was condemned without further process. If he swore to give answer, he was questioned in regard to his whole life, without making known to him his offence. He was however promised a pardon, if he would truly confess his offences: an artifice this, by which his judges often learned more, than they knew before, against him. At last the charges against him were presented to him, in writing; and counsel also was assigned him, who however only advised him to confess fully his faults. The accuser and informer against him, were not made known to him, but the real charges against him were put into his hands. He was allowed time for his defence; but his accuser, and the witnesses against him, he could know only by conjecture. Sometimes he was so fortunate as to discover who they were; but rarely were they presented before him, and confronted with him. If his answers did not satisfy the judges, or if the allegations against him were not adequately proved, resort was had to torture: a transaction which well nigh exceeded the sufferings endured by the first christians when persecuted by the pagans. The torture was, by the rope, by water, and by fire. The rope was passed under the arms, which were tied behind the back of the accused. By this rope he was drawn up into the air, with a pulley, and there left to swing for a time; and then suddenly let fall, to within half a foot of the ground; by the shock of which fall, all his joints were dislocated. If he still confessed nothing, the torture by water was tried. After making him drink a great quantity of water, he was laid upon a hollowed bench: across the middle of this bench a stick of timber passed, which kept the body of the offender suspended, and caused him most intense pain in the back-bone. The most cruel torture was that by fire; in which his feet, being smeared with grease &c. were directed towards a hot fire, and the soles of them left to burn, till he would confess. Each of these tortures was continued as long as, in the judgment of the physician of the Inquisition, the man was able to endure them. He might now confess what he would, but still the torture would be repeated first to discover the object and motives of the acknowledged offence, and then to make him expose his accomplices. If when tortured, he confessed nothing, many snares were laid to elicit from him unconsciously his offence. The conclusion was, that the accused, when he seemed to have satisfied the judges, was condemned, according to the measure of his offence, to death, or to perpetual imprisonment, or to the galleys, or to be scourged; and he was delivered over to the civil authorities; who were intreated to spare his life, as the church never thirsted for blood; but yet they would experience persecution, if they did not carry the decisions of the court into execution. What an infernal device is the

sovereigns of Europe, especially on *Frederic II*, and *Lewis IX* or *Saint Lewis*, king of France, to enact severe laws against heretics; requiring the magistrates both to punish with death, and particularly with burning at the stake, all such as should be adjudged obstinate heretics by the *Inquisitors*; and also to afford their special protection and support to the courts of the Inquisition. The laws which *Frederic II*, in particular, enacted from time to time on this subject, are well known; and nothing could be more efficient, both to support the *Inquisition* against all its opposers, and to exterminate such as might be odious to the *Inquisitors*, however high and honorable their characters. (10) And yet these severe laws could not prevent the inquisitorial judges, who were generally inhuman, insolent, superstitious, jealous, and indiscreet, from being mobbed and chased out of many places, by the populace, and from being murdered in others. Such was the fate of many others, and particularly of *Conrad* of Marburg, who was appointed by *Gregory IX*, the first inquisitor of Germany. (11)

§ 7. As the labors of the inquisitors did not at once produce all the results, which *Innocent III*, anticipated, he in the year 1207, exhorted *Philip Augustus*, king of France, and his nobles, to make war upon the heretics, promising them ample *indulgences* as their reward. (12) And this exhortation he repeated, in a

Inquisition! What innocent person could escape destruction, if an Inquisitor was disposed to destroy him? A heretic, even if he had been acquitted by the pope himself, might still be condemned to die by the Inquisition.—An equivocal promise of pardon might be given, to induce him to make confession; but the promise must not be fulfilled, when the object of it was obtained.—Even death did not free a person from the jurisdiction of the inquisition: for a deceased heretic must be burnt in effigy.—Would not every feeling of humanity be outraged by following such horrid principles? The inquisitorial judges do not deny, that by such proceedings many innocent persons unavoidably perish, along with the guilty: but this does not trouble them. Better, say they, that a hundred innocent persons, who are good catholics, should be cut off and go to Paradise, than to let one heretic escape, who might poison many souls, and plunge them in endless perdition. See *Cramer's* *Bossuet's History*, vol. v. p. 463—477.—*von Ein.*]

(10) The laws of *Frederic* are exhibited in the epistles of *Peter de Vinsais*, in *Limborch's Historia Inquisit.* p. 48. and by *Bzovius*, *Raynald*, and many others. The law of *St. Lewis*, was by the French jurists called *Cupientes*, because it began with this word: and that it was enacted in the year 1229, is shown by the *Benedictine monks*, in their *Histoire generale de Languedoc*, Tome iii. p. 378, 575. It may be found in *William Catel's Histoire des Comtes de Tholose*, p. 340 &c. and in many other works. It is not a whit milder than the laws of *Frederic II*. For a great part of the *sanctity* of this sincere *Lewis*, consisted in his flaming zeal against heretics, who, in his opinion, were not to be vanquished by reasoning and sound arguments, but to be forthwith exterminated. See *du Fresnois's* notes on *Joinville's Life of St. Lewis*, p. 11, 39.

(11) The life of this noted and ferocious man has been compiled by *Jo. Herm. Schminck*, from documents both manuscript and printed; and is most worthy of being printed. In the mean time, for an account of him, see *Luc. Wadding's Annales Minor.* Tom. ii. p. 151, 355 &c. and *Jac. Echard's Scriptores Dominici*, Tom. i. p. 487 &c. [See also, some notice of him, pa. 399, note (2) above. Tr.]

(12) See the Epistles of *Innocent III*, Lib. x. Ep. 49.

much stronger and more urgent manner, the following year, AD. 1208, when his legate and Inquisitor, *Peter de Castronovo*, was murdered by the patrons of the heretics.(13) Soon after, the Cistercian monks, in his name, *preached a crusade* (or *the cross*, according to the language of that age,) *against the heretics throughout France*: and *Raymund VI*, the earl of Toulouse, in whose territories *Peter* had been murdered, being now excommunicated, *took the cross himself*, in order to obtain release from that punishment. In the year 1209, a very large army of crusaders commenced their holy war against the heretics, that bore the general name of *Albigenses*:(14) and continued the war, in the most cruel manner, during several years, with various success. The director of the war, was one *Arnald*, a Cistercian abbot, and the pontiff's legate: the commander in chief of the forces, was *Simon*, earl of Montfort.(15) *Raymund VI*, the earl of Toulouse, who at first fought against the heretics, became himself in-

(13) Epistles of *Innocent III*, Lib. ix. Ep. 26, 27, 28, 29. *Acta Sanctorum, Martii* Tom. i. p. 411 &c.

(14) The name *Albigenses* had a two fold application, the one more extended, the other more limited. In the broader sense, all the heretics of every sort, who at that time resided in Languedoc, (Gallia Narbonensis,) were called *Albigenses*. *Peter Sarnensis*, a writer of that age, in the dedication of his History of the *Albigenses* to *Innocent III*, (first published by *Nicol. Camusat*, Troyes 1615. 8vo.) says expressly: *Tolosani, et aliarum civitatum et castrorum haeretici, et defensores eorum generaliter, Albigenses vocantur*. Afterwards, cap. ii. p. 3. he divides these *Albigenses* into various sects: and in p. 8. says, that the *Waldenses* were the best among them: *Mali erant Valdenses, sed comparatione aliorum haeticorum, longe minus perversi*. And thus, in general, all the French heretics were called *Albigenses*; not however, from the city of *Albi* (*Albigea*), but from the fact, that the greatest part of Languedoc was, in that age, called *Albigesium*; as is clearly shown by the Benedictine monks, in their *Histoire generale de Languedoc*, Tom. iii. p. 552, note xiii. [With this, *Fuessli* agrees, *Kirchen-und Ketzehistorie der mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. p. 320. *Schl.*]—In the more limited sense, the *Albigenses* were those, who, in Italy, were sometimes called *Cathari*, *Publicani* or *Paulicians*, and *Bulgari*, and who approximated to the *Manicheans* in their sentiments. [That many such persons were mingled with the *Albigenses*, in the broader sense, is proved by *Fuessli*, l. c. p. 413, 432 &c. *Schl.*] This appears from various documents; but the most clearly, from the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, published by *Limborch*; in which the *Albigenses* are carefully distinguished from the other sects.

(15) *Simon* was lord of Montfort, not far from Paris, and earl of Leicester in England; and the unrighteous liberality of the pope, in the council of the Lateran, AD. 1215, made him duke of Narbonne, earl of Toulouse, and vis-count of Beziers and Carcassonne;—territories which were, in part, fiefs of the German empire, and in part, fiefs of the kings of France; and which the pope had no right thus to dispose of without the consent of the liege-lords. In *Simon*, fanaticism appears to have been closely united with selfishness. He was certainly a fanatic. He supposed he was doing God service, while persecuting the heretics with fire and sword: and he was so zealous in performing the external duties of religion, that he often neglected his official duties for the sake of them. While besieging Toulouse, as he was attending mass, word was brought him, that the enemy had made a sally, and that his army was in imminent danger. He replied, that he could not come, till he had seen his Saviour. Another message arrived, that if he did not come, his whole army would be thrown into disorder: and he replied again, that he would not leave the altar, till he had seen his Creator, even if he must be slain there for it. When the mass was ended, he went away to oppose the enemy, but was killed by a stone. See *Peter of Walcerney*, cap. 86. *Schl.*]

volved in the war, in the year 1211.(16) For *Simon* coveted his territories, and engaged in the war, not so much to advance religion and put down heresy, as to promote his own interests and to enlarge his dominions. *Simon* obtained his object; for after numerous battles, sieges, and a great many deeds of valor, but of extreme cruelty;(17) he received at the hands of *Innocent III*, in the Lateran council of 1215, not only the earldom of Toulouse, but also the many other territories he had subdued, as his reward for so nobly supporting the cause of God and the church. He was slain, however, in the siege of Toulouse, AD. 1218. His antagonist, *Raymund*, died in the year 1222.

§ 8. After the death of the two generals, this lamentable war was prosecuted vigorously, and with various success, by their sons,

(16) [The papal legate criminated *Raymund*, for not treating the murderers of *Peter de Chateaufort* with due severity, and prescribed hard conditions for his reconciliation with the church. He must promise to be subject to the legate in every thing, and especially in all matters relating to religion; and must give up to the legate seven fortresses, for his security. He must also do public ecclesiastical penance, and suffer himself to be scourged with rods by the legate. And in proof of his sincerity, he must assume the cross, and take the field against his own friends and vassals. But when he saw, that *Simon* and the legate advanced against his territories, and aimed to get the castles of the heretics thero into their hands, he separated himself from the crusading army, in the year 1210, and sought for aid from France, England, Germany, and Rome, in vain. His near friend and relative, indeed, *Peter* king of Arragon, took up arms in his behalf, against *Simon* of Montfort; but he unfortunately was slain, in the first battle; and *Raymund* was obliged to witness the misfortunes of his own country, while he remained in Aragon, an inactive spectator. At length, many lords and districts of country revolted from *Simon*, and recalled their legitimate sovereign, who threw himself into the city of Toulouse, and was there besieged by *Simon*. *Raymund* appears to have been a warlike and energetic prince, and one who had no partiality for prelates. To the Cisterciens also he was no friend; and he used to say, they could not possibly be good men, because they were so voluptuous. On the contrary, he had very high regard for the heretics that inhabited his territories; and he protected them, partly as subjects, and partly as his personal friends. *Schl.*]

(17) [The cruelties that were practised under the command of *Simon*, are indescribable. It must be admitted, however, that the heretics sometimes returned like for like. At the capture of *Minerbe*, *Simon* found one hundred and forty Manichæans; all of whom were burned at the stake, because they would not abjure their religion. At *Beziers*, 6000 persons were slain; and at Toulouse, 20,000; and at Carcassonne the priests shouted for joy, at the burning of so many miserable beings, whose only crime was, that they did not believe, what the church believed. Still more shocking is, the account given by *Peter of Walcerney*, cap. 34. that the crusaders captured a castle called *Brom*, in which were found one hundred persons; and that the papal general, *Simon*, ordered all their noses to be amputated, and their eyes to be put out, except a single eye of one individual, who might serve as guide to the rest, who were sent to Cabrières, to terrify others. It is true, the monk informs us of similar cruelties by the other party. But retaliation in such a case is cruelty, and especially in the assailing party, and one which pretends to fight only for the cause of God and religion. Who can refrain from adopting the wish of the poet:

Perisse à jamais l' affreuse politique,
Qui pretend sur les cœurs un pouvoir despotique :
Qui vent le fer en main convertir les mortels,
Qui du sang heretique arrose les autels,
Et suivant un faux zeile ou l'interêt pour guides,
Ne sert un Dieu de Paix, que par des homicides.

Schl.]

Raymund VII, earl of Toulouse, and *Amalric* of Montfort. When the former of these, *Raymund*, seemed to get the advantage of the other, the Roman pontiff, *Honorius III*, persuaded *Lewis VIII*, the king of France, by great promises and favors, to march in person, at the head of a powerful army, against the enemies of the church. He dying soon after, his successor, *Lewis IX*, called *Saint Lewis*, vigorously prosecuted the work begun by his father. *Raymund*, therefore, being pressed on every side, made peace, in the year 1229, on the hardest terms; for he ceded the greatest part of his territories to the king, besides some cessions to the Romish church. After this peace, the heretics were entirely prostrate; for the tribunal of the Inquisition was established at Toulouse, and, besides *Saint Lewis*, *Raymund* himself, formerly a patron of the heretics, became their unrelenting persecutor. He indeed renewed the war, afterwards, against both the king, and the *Inquisitors*, who abused their power beyond measure; but it was attended with little or no success. At last, exhausted and broken down by a series of afflictions and troubles, he died, without issue, in the year 1249, being the last of the once very powerful earls of Toulouse. This crusade, of which religion was in part the cause, and in part only the pretext, was of course exceedingly advantageous both to the kings of France and to the Roman pontiffs. (18)

§ 9. All this severity of the pontiffs against the *heretics*, and the numerous safeguards erected against the enemies of the church, could not prevent new and pernicious sects from starting up. Passing by the more obscure and short lived among them, one not the least considerable was, that of the *Brethren and Sisters of the free Spirit*; which at this time secretly spread itself over Italy, France, and Germany; and by a great shew of piety, drew after it many persons of both sexes. Few decisions of councils against these people, in this century, can be found; but in the next century, the councils in every part of Germany, and in other

(18) Many writers, both ancient and modern, have given us histories of this crusade, against the earls of Toulouse and their associates who favored the heretics, and against the heretics themselves. But among them, I have not found one that was free from partiality. The protestant writers, among whom *Jac. Basnage* (in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, and in his *Hist. des Eglises Reformées*) stands preeminent, all favor too much the *Raymunds* and the *Albigenses*. On the contrary, the Roman Catholic writers, of whom the most recent are *Benoit*, a Dominican monk, (*Histoire des Albigeois, des Vaudois, et des Barbets*, Paris 1691, ii. vol. 12mo.) *Jo. Bapt. Langlois*, a Jesuit, (*Histoire des Croisades contre les Albigeois*, Rouen 1703. 12 mo.) *Jo. Jac. Percin*, (*Monumenta conventus Tolosani Ordinis Frat. Prædicator. in quibus Historia hujus conventus distribuitur et refertur totius Albigenensium facti narratio*, Toulouse 1693. Fol.) these all are very unjust to the *Raymunds* and the *Albigenses*; and they cover over and conceal the horrid deeds of *Simon de Montfort*, and the ambitious designs of the kings of France to extend their power. The most full and most accurate history of these wars against the heretics, is that of the Benedictine monks, *Claude le Vic* and *Joseph Vaissette*, two very learned men, in that excellent work, *Histoire generale de Languedoc*, Paris 1730 &c. Fol. nearly the whole of Tom. iii. Their only fault is, that they sometimes omit what they ought not.

countries, published decrees against them ; and the *Inquisitors* siezed and cruelly burned a large number of them. Their name, they derived from the words of Paul, Rom. viii. 2, 14. and they maintained, that the true sons of God were brought into the most perfect freedom from the law.(19) The Germans and Belgians called them *Beghardi*, and *Beghardae* or *Beguttæ* ; which were the common designations of all such as pretended to uncommon piety. Some called them, by way of contempt, *Bicorni*, that is *Idiots*. In France, they were called *Beghini* and *Beghinæ* ; and by the populace, (I know not why,) they were called *Turlupins*.(20) Clothed in a singular manner, they ran about the cities and the country, begging their bread with loud vociferations : for they maintained, that labor prevented the elevation of the soul to God, or religious contemplation. They were accompanied by women, with whom they lived in the greatest familiarity : and for this reason, the Germans called them *Schwestriones*, [*Sisterers*] ; as appears from the enactments of councils. They distributed books, containing the principles they inculcated ; held nocturnal assemblies in retired places ; and dissuaded the people from attending the public worship in the churches.

§ 10. These *brethren*, who boasted of being free from the law, and of having attained to the *freedom of the spirit*, professed a rigid and austere species of *mystic theology*, based upon philosophical principles, that were not far removed from the impiety of those called *pantheists*. For they held, that all things emanated from God, and would revert back into him ; that rational souls were parts of the supreme Being ; and that the whole universe was God ; that a man, by turning his thoughts inward, and withdrawing his attention from all sensible objects, may become united in an inexplicable manner with the Parent and first cause of all things, and be one with him : that persons thus immersed in the vortex of the Deity, by long contemplation attained to perfect freedom, and became divested not only of all their lusts, but likewise of the instincts of nature. From these and similar prin-

(19) These statements are derived from documents of the most credible character, many of them not yet published ; from the decrees and councils in France and Germany, the bulls of the popes, the decisions of the Inquisition, and others, of all which a great many have fallen into my hands. I have also extracts from certain books of these people ; and particularly, from a book *on the nine spiritual rocks*, which they highly recommended, as being full of divine sentences. As these documents cannot here be exhibited, I will merely refer the reader to a long edict against them, by *Henry I*, archbishop of Cologne, in the *Statuta Coloniensia*, p. 58. ed. Colon. 1554, 4to. In perfect harmony with this, are the decrees of Mayence, Aschaffenburg, Treves, Paderborn, Beziers, and others.

(20) Concerning the *Turlupins*, many have written much ; but none accurately. See *Isaac de Beausobre*, (*Diss. sur les Adamites*, P. ii. p. 384 &c.) who has committed numerous errors, as he usually does on such subjects. The origin of the name, I know not : but I am able to prove from substantial documents, that the *Turlupins*, who were burned at Paris, and in other parts of France, were no other than the *Brethren of the free spirit*, whom the pontiffs and councils condemned.

ciples, they inferred, that a person thus raised up to God, and absorbed as it were in the divine nature, was himself God; and such a *son of God*, as Christ was; and therefore, was raised above all laws, human and divine. And they maintained, of course, that all external worship of God, prayer, fasting, baptism, the sacred supper, &c. were mere elements for children; which a man no longer needed, when converted into God himself, and detached from this visible universe. (21)

§ 11. Among these people, there were some upright and conscientious persons, who did not extend that *liberty of the spirit*, which they said was possessed by persons united to God, beyond an exemption from external worship and from ecclesiastical law. They made religion to consist exclusively in internal worship, despising that which is external; and they maintained, that a perfect man ought to look with contempt on the rules of monastic discipline, and the other institutions which were regarded as sacred. Of this character were those who, in the middle of this century, persuaded many monks and nuns in Swabia, *to live without any rule; saying, that in this way, they could serve God better, in the*

(21) I will here subjoin some positions extracted from their more private books. I. *Every good man is the only-begotten son of God, whom the father hath begotten from eternity.* For all that the sacred scriptures teach, respecting a distinction of three persons in the divine nature, they maintained, was not to be understood literally, but to be explained in conformity with their recondite system of doctrines. II. *All created objects are nothing: I do not say, that they are small and trivial; but that they are nothing.* III. *There is something in the human mind, that is not created, nor creatable; and that is, rationality.* IV. *God is neither good, nor better, nor the best; whoever calls God good, talks as foolishly, as the man who calls a thing black, while he knows it to be white.* V. *God still begets his only-begotten son, and begets the same son that he begat from eternity. For every operation of God is uniform and one; and he therefore engenders his son without any division.* VI. *What the scripture says of Christ, is true of every godly man. And what is predicable of the divine nature, is also predicable of every godly man.* To these, we shall add the following, taken not from their own books, but from the long rescript of John, bishop of Strasburg, against the *Brethren of the free spirit*, or the *Bechardi*, AD. 1317, on the sabbath before the assumption of the virgin Mary. VII. *God, is formally, whatever exists.* VIII. *Every perfect man is Christ by nature.* IX. *A perfect man is free totally; nor is he required to obey the precepts which God gave to the church.* X. *Many things in the Gospel, are poetic, and not [literally] true; and men ought to believe the conceptions which proceed from their souls when united to God, rather than the Gospel.*

The six first of these propositions, in the language of the old Germans, and the others in Latin are as follows. I. *Der gute Mensch ist der ingeburne Sune Gates, den der Vatter eweliclyken geburen hat.* II. *Ich spreke nüt, dass alle Kreaturen syn etwas kleines, oder das sie etwas sind, sondern dass sie sind om [nüt].* Es ist etwas in der Seelen, das nüt geschaffen ist und ungeschaffelick: Und das ist die Vernünftigkeit. IV. *Gat ist noch gut, noch besser, noch allerbest, und ick thue also unrecht, wenne ick Gat gut heisse, rechte ase ob ick oder er etwas wiz weiss und ick es schwarz heisse.* V. *Der Vatter gebiret nock sinen Sun und denselben Sun.* Want was Gat wircket, das ist ein, durch das so gebirt er auch sinen Sun an allem Unterscheid. VI. *Was die heilige Schrift gesprichet von Christo, das wird alles vor war geseit von einem jigglichem gottlickem Menschen.* Was eigen ist der gottlicken Naturen, das ist alles eigen einem jigglichen gottlickem Menschen. VIII. *Deus est formaliter omne, quod est.* VIII. *Quilibet homo perfectus, est Christus per naturam.* IX. *Homo perfectus est liber in totum, nec tenetur ad servandum praecepta ecclesiae data a Deo.* X. *Multa sunt poetica in Evangelio, quae non sunt vera; et homines credere magis debent conceptibus ex anima sua Deo juncta profectis, quam Evangelio.*

liberty of the spirit. (22) Not a few persons of this description, being apprehended by the *Inquisitors*, expired cheerfully and calmly in the flames.—But there were others of a worse character among them; and whose piety was as foolish as it was dangerous. These maintained, that by persevering contemplation, all the instincts of nature might be eradicated, and excluded from the godlike soul, and a kind of holy or divine stupor be brought over the mind. Persons of these sentiments, throwing off all clothing, held their secret assemblies in a state of nudity; and in the same state, slept upon the same bed with the spiritual sisters and other women. For modesty and shame, they said, indicated a mind not yet sufficiently detached from the sentient and libidinous soul, nor brought back to the source from which it originated, that is, the divine nature; and those who still experience the carnal emotions of nature, or are excited and inflamed by the aspect or touch of bodies of a different sex, or who are unable to repress and subdue the occasional emotions of concupiscence, are still far, very far, from God. (23)—There were also among these people, some who abused their doctrines, to justify all iniquity; and who did not fear to teach, that a godlike man, or one who is closely united to God, cannot sin, do what he may. This senseless, impious dogma, was explained by them in different ways. Some held, that the motions and actions of the body, had no connexion with the soul, which was elevated and blended with the divine nature. But others maintained the blasphemous sentiment, that the emotions and desires arising in the soul, after its union with God, were the acts and operations of God himself; and therefore, though apparently criminal and contrary to the law, they were really holy and good, because God is above all law. (24)

(22) See *Martin Crusius*, *Annales Suevicorum*, P. iii. Lib. ii. cap. 14. ad ann. 1316. p. 99. old ed. He extracts from *Felix Faber*, a writer of that age.

(23) Those who study to vindicate and defend the character of the heretics, and who think, that all such as seceded from the Romish church in the middle ages, were holy persons, conjecture that the things here stated, are falsehoods, invented by the *Inquisitors*, for the purpose of defaming pious men: but they are strictly true. This we may infer from the fact, that the *Inquisitors* themselves admit, that the *Beghards*, though divested of all sense of shame, yet in general did not offend against chastity and modesty. This firmness of mind, and unsusceptibility of emotion, the *Inquisitors* attribute to the power of the devil. For they believed, with the simple *Jo. Nieder*, (*Formicarum*, Lib. iii. cap. v. p. 346.) that *the devil can render men cold*, or extinguish the natural emotions; and that he so operated upon his friends, as to render them utterly insensible, so that they might appear to common people more exalted and holy. *Credo* (says *Nieder*, who was a Dominican, and an *Inquisitor*.) *quosdam ex eis daemones opere affectos fuisse, ne moverentur ad naturales actus incontinentias. Facillimum enim est daemonebus infigidare.*

(24) That I may not seem chargeable with misrepresentation, I will cite the very words of a private book of the *Brethren of the free spirit*, entitled *de novem rubis*. Ueber das so wücket und geberet der göttliche Mensch eben das, das Gat wücket und geberet. Denn in Gate wücket er und hat geschaffen Himmel und Erden. Und ist ein Geberer des ewigen Wortes. Und Gat enckunde nutz nicht ohne diesen Menschen gethun. Der Göttliche Mensch soll also einen willen einformig machen mit Gates willin, dass er alles das soll wellen, was Gat will. Will Gat in etlicker Weise dass ick gesundet habe, also soll ick nit wellen,

Lastly, among the *Beghards*, as they were called, unprincipled and flagitious persons sometimes lurked, who did not hesitate, by feigned piety, to worm themselves into the confidence of the simple and unsuspecting, in order to gratify their own lusts.(25)

§ 12. Of the sect now described, undoubtedly, was *Amalric* of Bena, the Parisian dialectician and theologian; whose bones were dug up and publicly burnt in the year 1209, notwithstanding he had abjured his errors while alive, by command of *Innocent III.*, and many of whose followers endured at the stake the penalties of their unsound faith.(26) For though the barbarous

dass ick nit gesundet habe. Und das is gewarig rewe. Und wenn dass der Mensch tusend Todsunde gethan hette, und uber das der Mensch wel besetzt oder geordnet were, er en solte nit wellen, dass er derselben Sunde nit gethan hette: aber er solte e wellen tusend Tode liden e er yme nic de keine Todsunde wolte tun. This passage, rendered verbatim, is thus: "Moreover, the godlike man operates and begets, the same that God operates and begets. For in God he worked, and created heaven and earth. He is also the generator of the eternal Word. Nor can God do any thing, without this man. The godlike man should, therefore, make his will conformable to God's will; so that he should will, all that God wills. If therefore God wills, that I should sin, I ought by no means to will, that I may not have sinned. This is true contrition. And if a man have committed a thousand mortal sins, and the man is well regulated and united to God, he ought not to wish, that he had not done those sins; and he ought to prefer suffering a thousand deaths, rather than to have omitted one of those mortal sins." Here is that sentiment, with which the *Inquisitors* often tax this sect: *that the sin of a man who is united to God, is not sin; because God works all in him.* In the next century, *Henry Suso*, a celebrated writer among the mystics, and a Dominican monk, composed likewise a book *de novem rupibus*; which is extant among his works, published by *Laurence Surius*. But this book of *Suso* is altogether different from that which was in so much estimation among the *Beghards*. The latter was much more ancient, and was in circulation among the *Brethren of the free spirit* in Germany, before *Suso* was born. There has fallen into my hands an old manuscript book of the 15th century, composed in Alsace, containing various revelations and visions of that age. I find there a piece entitled *Declaratio religiosi cujusdam, super revelatione Cartusiano cuidam de ecclesiae per gladium reformatione*, Leodiæ anno 1453, facta; near the beginning of which, there is the following passage relating to the book of the *Beghards*, *on the nine rocks*: *Homo quidam devotissimus, licet Laicus, librum de novem rupibus conscripsit a Deo compulsus, ubi multa ad praesens pertinentia continentur de ecclesiae renovatione et praevia gravi persecutione.* According to the doctrine of this sect, the *nine rocks* were so many steps, by which the man that desires to rise to God, must be elevated to a union with him.

(25) By whom, where, and when, this celebrated sect was first instituted, is uncertain. I have before me *Octoginta novem sententiae Bechardorum*, quos vulgus *Schwestrones*, ipsi vero se de secta liberi spiritus et voluntariae paupertatis vocant, cum confutatione; written by an *Inquisitor* at Worms, at the close of this century. The 79th of these sayings (*sententiae*), is this: *To say that the truth is in Rhetia, is to fall into the heresy of Donatus, who said, that God was in Africa, and not elsewhere.* From these words, it appears that *Rhetia* was the chief seat of the church of the *Brethren of the free spirit*; and that from this province, they passed into Germany. Yet probably, *Rhetia* was not the place where this sect originated; I apprehend, rather, that being expelled from *Italy*, it took refuge in *Rhetia*; so that it was *Italy* which gave birth to this, as well as to many other parties which seceded from the general church. And there is extant, in *Odor. Raynald's Annales Eccles.* Tom. xv. ad ann. 1311. § 66. p. 90, a long Epistle of the sovereign pontiff *Clement V.*, addressed to *Ranerius de Casulis*, bishop of *Cremona*, exhorting him to suppress and eradicate the sect of the *free spirit*, resident in certain parts of *Italy*, and particularly in the province of *Spoleto*, and the regions adjacent.

(26) This did not escape the notice of those enemies of the *Brethren of the free spirit* or *Bechards*, the *Inquisitors*. Hence the sixty-eighth of the eighty-

writers of that age give different and confused statements of his opinions, and attribute some sentiments to him, which he never held; yet thus much, it is certain that he taught; namely, that all things are *one*, that is, *God*; that not only the forms of things, but also their matter, proceeded from God; and all would revert back into God: and hence he derived that mistaken piety or religious system of these mystics; maintained, that a man may become changed into the divine nature, if he will; and proved, that all external worship was vain and useless. His disciples were men of very distinguished piety and austerity; and many of them endured the flames with the greatest fortitude. One of his most distinguished followers was, *David Dinant*, a Parisian doctor, who was accustomed to state the fundamental doctrine of his master in this manner: *God is the original matter of all things*. He composed a work called *Quaternarii*, and some other books, in a popular style, and well calculated to captivate the common people: and saved his life by a timely flight.(27) The bishops, assembled in council at Paris AD. 1209, supposed, that the philosophy of *Aristotle* gave rise to this impiety; and they therefore prohibited the reading and expounding of his metaphysical and other works.(28)

§ 13. If what some tell us be true, (which however I question,) this *Amalric*, and his followers, gave credit to those predictions, which were circulated as coming from *Joachim*, abbot of Flora in Calabria, respecting an approaching reformation and purification of the church by the sword; an impending age of the Holy Spirit, to succeed the ages of the Father and the Son; and similar things, with which the Franciscan *Spirituals* were carried away. This however is certain, that some others did suffer themselves to be led, by these predictions, to found new sects, and to declare war against the reigning church. *Wilhelmina*, an infatuated and delirious Bohemian woman, who resided in the territory of Milan, took occasion from these predictions concerning an age of the Holy Spirit, of foolishly persuading first herself, and then many others, that the Holy Spirit had assumed human nature, in her person, for the sake of saving a large part of mankind: for Christ, she said, had procured salvation, by his blood, for all real christians;

nine MS. sayings, of the Bechards, with their confutation, is this: To say, that all creatures are *God*, is the heresy of *Alexander*; (that Epicurean, whom *Plutarch* mentions in his Symposium;) who said, *materiam primam et Deum et hominem, hoc est, mentes esse in substantia*; which afterwards one *David de Dinant* followed, who in our times, fled from France on account of this heresy, and would have been duly punished, if he had been caught.

(27) See the *Haereses, pro quibus sacerdotes Parisiis* (AD. 1209) *igne consumpti sunt*; in *Edm. Martene's Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, Tom. iv. p. 163 &c. *Natalis Alexander*, *Historia Eccles. Saecul. xiii. cap. iii. Art. ii. p. 76 &c.* *Gerh. du Bois*, *Historia Eccles. Paris. Tom. ii. p. 244 &c.* *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iii. p. 24, 48, 53.* *Jac. Thomasius*, de *Exustione mundi Stoica*, p. 199 &c.

(28) *Jo. Launoi*, de *varia Aristotelis fortuna in Acad. Paris. p. 127 &c.*

and the Holy Spirit, by her, would save the Jews, the Saracens, and false christians: and for this end, all the things that befel Christ, when incarnate, the same things must also befall her, or rather, the Holy Spirit *incarnate in her*. This infatuated woman died at Milan, in the year 1281, with the highest reputation for sanctity; and after her death, she was honored, as well by her followers who were considerably numerous, as by the ignorant populace, both publicly and privately, with the highest veneration. But in the year 1300, the *Inquisitors* detected her sect, destroyed her splendid tomb, and committed her bones, and with them the leaders of the party, of both sexes, to the flames. (29)

§ 14. On similar predictions, the *sect of the Apostles* was grounded; a sect which made little change in the received religion, but aimed to revive the apostolical mode of life. Its founder *Gerhard Sagarellus* of Parma, ordered his followers to travel up and down the world, in the manner of the apostles, clad in white, with heads bare, beards and hair long, and attended by women, whom they called sisters; to possess no property at all, but to live upon the voluntary gifts of the pious; and publicly, to exhort the people to repent, but in their private meetings, to announce the impending downfall of the utterly deformed Romish church, and the rise of a new, purer, and holier church, according to the prophecies of the abbot *Joachim*. This *Gerhard* being burned at the stake, at Parma AD. 1300, his successor, *Dulcinus* of Novara, a bold and energetic character, and familiar with the scriptures, preached, much more spiritedly, that the Roman pontiff *Boniface VIII*, and all the flagitious priests and monks, would shortly be slain, by the Emperor *Frederic III*, son to *Peter* the king of Arragon; and that a new and most holy pontiff would be placed over the church. For in many of the predictions ascribed to the abbot *Joachim*, it was announced, that an emperor called *Frederic III*, would complete what the Emperor *Frederic II*, had left unfinished. With this *Dulcinus*, who was both the general, and the prophet of the Apostoli, and who had collected an armed force, *Raynerius* bishop of Vercelli, waged fierce war in behalf of the pontiff, for more than two years; and at length, after several battles, *Dulcinus* was taken alive, and was executed with ex-

(29) The Milanese historians, *Bernhard Corio* and others, give an account of this woman. But their statements differ widely from those of *Lud. Ant. Muratori*, (*Antiq. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. v. p. 95 &c.) derived from the record of the judicial proceedings. He also informs us, that a learned man, named *Puricelli*, composed a history of *Wilhelmina* and her sect, which still exists in manuscript. [She pretended to be the daughter of *Constantia*, queen to *Przemislaus* king of Bohemia; and that her birth was announced to her mother, by the angel *Raphael*, just as the birth of Christ was announced to *Mary*, by the angel *Gabriel*. Her most noted followers were one *Andrew*, and a nun named *Mayfreda*. As Christ appointed *Peter* his vicegerent, and the head of his church, on earth; so she appointed *Mayfreda* her vicegerent, and placed her on a footing of equality with the Romish popes. She promised her followers, to appear to them before the day of judgment. See *Muratori*, l. c. Tr.]

quisite tortues, at Vercelli AD. 1307, together with *Margaretha*, the sister whom he had chosen according to the practice of his sect. After the horid death of *Dulcinus*, the sect long existed in France, Germany, and other countries; nor could it be wholly extirpated, till the times of *Boniface IX*, in the beginning of the 15th century. (30)

§ 15. This *Joachim*, abbot of Flora, whose prophecies induced so many respectable people to menace the Romish church with a *reformation by the sword*, as the phrase was, and the pontiffs with great disasters, and to proclaim open war against them; was himself brought under suspicion of heresy, not indeed on account of these predictions, but on account of a new explication of the doctrine of three persons in the Godhead. He had in a special treatise, opposed *Peter Lombard*, the master of the Sentences, because the latter distinguished the divine essence from the three persons in the Godhead; for *Joachim* supposed that this distinction introduced a fourth subject into the divine Trinity, namely this *essence*. But, his ignorance of dialectics led him, in this discussion, to use less caution than the subject demanded. For he denied, that there was, in the sacred Trinity, a something, or an *essence*, which was common to the three persons: from which position, it seemed to follow, that the union of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is not a simple or natural union, but merely a moral union, like that of several persons all having the same views and opinions. As this sentiment appeared to many, to approach very near to the doctrine of *Arius*, *Innocent* in the Lateran council of 1215, condemned, not indeed the man, but his opinions. *Joachim* however even to the present day, has many patrons and advocates, especially among those Franciscans who are called *Observants*; of whom, some maintain, that his book was altered by his enemies; and others, that his opinions were misunderstood. (31)

(30) I have composed, in the German language, a particular history of this famous sect, so imperfectly known in our age, in three Books, which was published at Helmstadt, 1746. 4to. I could now add some things to that history. That the sect continued to exist, in Germany and other countries, down to the times of *Boniface IX*, we are informed by *Herm. Coerner*, in his *Chroniele*; published in *Geo. Echard's Corpus Historicum medii aevi*, Tom. ii. p. 906. And the fact may be corroborated by many proofs. In the year 1402, an apostle, named *William*, was burned at Lubec. See *Coerner*, l. c. pa. 1185. The Germans, who called all, that affected uncommon piety, and sought a reputation for sanctity by begging, *Beghards*, gave this appellation also to the *Apostoli*.

(31) See *Dan. Papebrock's* *Disquis. Histor. de Florensi Ordine, prophetis, doctrina B. Joachimi*; in the *Acta Sanctor. Maii* Tom. vi. p. 456 &c. where is a life of *Joachim*, written by *Jac. Syllanaeus*, a Greek; and some other documents. *Natalis Alexander*, *Historia Eccles. Saec. xiii. Diss. ii. p. 331 &c.* *Lu. Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. iv. p. 6 &c.

CENTURY FOURTEENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Crusades attempted in vain.—§ 2. State of the christians in China and Tartary.—§ 3. The Lithuanians converted. The Jews compelled by persecution, to become christians.—§ 4. Project for the expulsion of the Saracens from Spain.

§ 1. Some of the Latin kings, being admonished by the Roman pontiffs, thought repeatedly of renewing the war against the Turks and Saracens, and of rescuing Syria from their hands. In particular, the pontiffs who resided at Avignon in France, omitted no motive which they thought would induce the kings of France and England to engage in such a military enterprize. But from various causes, their expectations were always disappointed. *Clement V*, urged this holy war, with great energy, in the year 1307, and 1308; and appropriated to it a vast sum of money. (1) *John XXII*, in the year 1319, fitted out a fleet of ten ships, for transporting an army to Palestine; (2) and in order to raise the money necessary for so great an enterprize, he in the years 1322 and 1323, commissioned certain nuncios to offer great *indulgences* to the liberal every where, who should contribute to it. But the emperor *Lewis* of Bavaria, and others, complained, that he used a pretence of a crusade, to gratify his own avarice and ambition. (3) Nor does his character shield him from such a charge. Under *Benedict XII*, in the year 1330, *Philip de Valois*, king of France, collected a large army for such a holy expedition, as it was called: (4) but when he was about to embark, impending dangers from his neighbor, the king of England, induced him to abandon the enter-

(1) *Baluze*, Vitae Pontiff. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 14, 594. Tom. ii. p. 55, 57, 374, 391. &c. *Ant. Matthaci*, Analecta vet. aevi, Tom. ii. p. 577.

(2) *Baluze*, Vitae Pontiff. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 125. Tom. ii. p. 515.

(3) *Baluze*, l. c. Tom. i. p. 175, 786. *Matthaci*, Analect. vet. aevi, Tom. ii. p. 595, 598.

(4) *Baluze*, l. c. Tom. i. p. 200.

(5) *Fragmenta Historiae Romanae*; in *Muratori*, Antiqq. Ital. medii aevi, Tom. iii. p. 368.

prize. In the year 1345, *Clement VI*, at the request of the Venetians, persuaded a vast multitude, by his *indulgencies*, to embark for Smyrna; over whom *Guido*, dauphin of Vienne, was appointed commander in chief. But in a short time, their want of provisions obliged them all, and their commander also, to return to Europe.(5) Again in the year 1363, at the solicitation of *Urban V*, a great army was collected, to sail to Palestine; of which *John*, king of France was appointed commander. But he dying soon after, the army dispersed.(6)

§ 2. The missionaries sent by the Roman pontiffs, in the preceding century, to the Chinese, the Tartars, and the adjacent countries, continued to gather numerous and large congregations among those nations. In the year 1307, *Clement V*, constituted *John de monte Corvino* archbishop of *Cambalu*, that is, Peking; for it is now beyond a doubt, that the celebrated city of Cathai, then called *Cambalu*, is the same with *Peking*, the modern capital of China. The same pontiff sent seven new bishops, all of them Franciscans, into those regions.(7) *John xxii*, appointed *Nicolaus de Bentra*, to succeed *John de Monte Corvino*, in the year 1333; and also sent letters to the emperor of the Tartars, who was then the sovereign of China. *Benedict XII*, in the year 1338, sent new nuncios into China and Tartary; after being honored with a solemn embassy from the Tartars, which he received at Avignon.(8) So long as the Tartar empire in China continued, not only the Latins, but the Nestorians also had liberty to profess their religion freely, all over northern Asia, and to propagate it far and wide.

§ 3. Among the European princes, *Jagello*, duke of Lithuania and the adjacent territories, was nearly the only one, that still adhered to the idolatry of his ancestors. And he, in the year 1386, embraced the christian rites, was baptized with the assumed name of *Uladislaus*, and persuaded his subjects to do the same thing. For, *Lewis* king of Poland dying, in the year 1382, among the candidates for the crown, *Jagello* offered his name: nor were the Poles averse from having so potent a prince for their king. But neither *Hedwig*, the youngest daughter of the deceased king, and by a decree of the senate heiress of the kingdom, would consent to marry, nor would the Poles consent to obey, a man who rejected christianity. He must therefore change his religion.(9) What remains there were of the old reli-

(6) *Baluze*, Vitae Pontif. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 366, 386, 371, 401, &c.

(7) *Lu. Wadding's Annales Ordinis Minorum*, Tom. vi. ad ann. 1305, § 12. p. 69. and ad ann. 1307. p. 91. and p. 368. Tom. vii. p. 53, 221. Tom. viii. p. 235. *Jos. Sim. Asseman*, Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana, Tom. iii. § ii. p. 521. &c. Add *Jac. Echard's Scriptorum Praedicatores*, Tom. i. p. 537. *Acta Sanctorum*. Tom. i. Januarii, p. 984 &c. and *Mosheim's Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*.

(8) *Steph. Baluze*, Vitae Pontificum Avenionensium, Tom. i. p. 242.

(9) *Odor. Raynald*, Annales Eccles. ad ann. 1386, § 4. *Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. ix. p. 71. *Solignac*, Histoire de Pologne, Tome iii. p. 241 &c.

gions, in Prussia and Livonia, were extirpated by the Teutonic knights and the crusaders, with war and massacres. We are likewise informed, that many Jews in one place and another, made profession of christianity. They were rendered docile, by the exquisite punishments every where inflicted upon Jews, especially in France and Germany. For a rumor being spread, either truly, or calumniously, that they had poisoned the public fountains, had murdered the infants of christians, and drunken their blood, had treated with extreme contumely what were called the *hosts*, [the consecrated wafers of the eucharist,] and had committed other crimes equally heinous; whatever could be devised, the most cruel and distressing, was decreed against that miserable race.

§ 4. In Spain, the Saracens still held the sovereignty of Granada, Andalusia, and Murcia; and against them, the christian kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, waged perpetual war; though not always successfully. The kings of Morocco in Africa, sent aid to the Saracens, against the christians. The Roman pontiffs roused and encouraged the christians, by subsidies, and by their counsels and promises, to unite and drive the Saracens from Spain. The difficult enterprise proceeded but slowly; yet it became evident, in this century, that the time was approaching, when the christians would triumph, and would become sole masters of Spain.(10)

(10) *Jo. de Ferreras*, *Historia Hispaniae*, Tom. iv. v. vi. in various passages. *Fragmenta Historiae Romanae*; in *Muratori's Antiqq. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. iii. p. 319. where, however, true and false are blended. *Batuze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. ii. p. 267.

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Christianity prostrate in various parts of Asia.—§ 2. Its overthrow in China and Tartary.

§ 1. The Turks and the Tartars, who had vast sway in Asia, and who assailed on the one hand the Greeks, and on the other the Saracens and Mamelukes, wholly extirpated the christian religion in many cities and provinces, and caused the religion of Muhammed to be inculcated on the people in its stead. The nation of the Tartars, in which such numbers once professed christianity, or at least tolerated it, from the beginning of this century, universally submitted to the koran. And this religion, though in a corrupted form of it, was embraced by that most potent emperor of the Tartars, *Timur Beg*, or as he is commonly called *Tamerlane*.⁽¹⁾ Having subjugated the greatest part of Asia by his arms, and even conquered the Turkish sultan *Bajazet*, and moreover caused the terrors of his name to pervade Europe, his mere nod was sufficient to cause vast multitudes to abandon christianity. But he also employed violence and the sword. For being persuaded, as the most credible historians of his life inform us, that it was the duty of every true disciple of *Muhammed*, to make war upon christians, and that those who should compel many christians to embrace the religion of the koran, might expect high rewards from God,⁽²⁾ he inflicted numberless evils on persevering christians, cruelly butchering some, and dooming others to perpetual slavery.⁽³⁾

§ 2. The christian religion was likewise overthrown, in the parts of Asia inhabited by the Chinese, the Tartars, the Moguls, and other nations, whose history is yet imperfectly known. At least, no mention has been found, of any Latin christians resident in those countries, subsequent to the year 1370. Nor has it yet been ascertained, what became of the Franciscan missionaries sent thither from Rome. But of the *Nestorians* living in China, some traces can be found, though not very clear, as late

(1) The great *Tamerlane*, whose name struck terror, even long after his death, wished to be regarded as belonging to the sect of the *Sonnites*, and to be an enemy of the *Schiïtes*. See *Petit Croix*, Histoire de Timur-Bec, Tome ii. p. 151. Tome iii. p. 223. But what his religion was, is very doubtful, although he professed that of *Muhammed*. See *Mosheim's* Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica, p. 124.

(2) *Petit Croix*, Histoire de Timur-Bec, Tome ii. p. 329. Tome iii. p. 9, 137, 243, 265, &c.

(3) Examples are given in the Histoire de Timur-Bec, (taken from the Persian writer *Scherifeddin*.) Tome ii. p. 376, 384, 386. Tome iii. p. 243. Tome iv. p. 111, 115, 117. ed. Delft 1723. in 4 vol. 8vo. *Herbelot*, Bibliothéque Orientale; article *Timur*, p. 877.

as the 16th century.(4) There can be little doubt, that this fall of christianity was a consequence of the wars of the Tartars with the Chinese and with other nations. For in the year 1369, the last Tartar emperor of the family of *Genghis Kan*, was driven out of China, and the *Mim* family was placed on the throne, and they have excluded all foreigners from entering China.

(4) *Nicol. Trigaut*, de Christiana expeditione apud Sinas, Lib. i. cap. xi. p. 116 &c. *Jos. Sim. Asseman*, Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana, Tome iii. P. i. p. 592 &c. and P. ii. p. 445, 536 &c. *Du Halde*, Description de la Chine, Tome i. p. 175.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

§ 1. The state of learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. Philosophy.—§ 3. The state of learning among the Latins.—§ 4. The languages.—§ 5. The arts and sciences.—§ 6. Philosophy.—§ 7. The Realists and the Nominalists.—§ 8. Astrology: credulity as to magic.—§ 9. The art of Lully.

§ 1. Although the Greeks were greatly oppressed with both external and internal troubles, yet they did not suffer literature and science to become wholly prostrate; as is manifest from the number of learned men among them in this century. The liberal arts, antiquities, criticism and grammar, were reputably prosecuted by *Nicephorus Gregoras*,⁽¹⁾ *Manuel Chrysoloras*,⁽²⁾ *Maximus Planudes*,⁽³⁾ and many others. History was prose-

(1) [*Nicephorus Gregoras*, or son of Gregory, was born at Heraclea in Pontus, about AD. 1295; studied under the best masters at Constantinople; became a teacher there, and acquired the title of *the philosopher*. He was one of the ambassadors to the prince of the Servians. In the year 1328, when the younger *Andronicus* dethroned his grandfather, *Andronicus Palaeologus*, *Nicephorus* not only lost his patron, but suffered otherwise. Yet he continued a teacher, and had eminent men for pupils. *Theodorus Metochita* made him overseer of a monastery. He engaged in the public controversies between *Barlaam* and *Palamas*; became a monk, and retired from court. He died soon after AD. 1359. Besides some orations and smaller tracts, he wrote a valuable history of the Byzantine empire, from AD. 1204, where *Nicetas Acominatus* ends, to the year 1359, in 38 Books. The 24 first Books, reaching to AD. 1351, were published, Gr. and Lat. by *Boivin*, Paris 1702, and Venice 1729, 2 vol. Fol. Tr.]

(2) [*Manuel Chrysoloras*, one of the first and most active of the Greeks who promoted learning in the West, was born of noble parentage, at Constantinople, about the middle of the 14th century; and for some time taught literature and science in his native city. About AD. 1393, the Greek emperor, *Manuel Palaeologus*, sent him twice as an ambassador, to various European courts, to solicit aid against the Turks. After visiting the English and various other courts, he took up residence in Italy; and taught Greek to several of the first scholars of that age in the West. He gave instruction at Florence, Milan, Venice, Pavia, and Rome. In the year 1409, the pope sent him to Constantinople, to negotiate a union between the Greek and Latin churches. In the year 1413, he was sent to the emperor *Sigismund*, to settle arrangements for the general council of Constance, in the following year. He attended that council; and died shortly after, in the year 1415. *Aeneas Sylvius* and *Poggius*, give him very high commendations, in their notices of his death. Among his pupils in the West, were *Leonard Aretinus*, *Francis Barbarus*, *Guarinus* of Verona, *Poggius*, and *Philadelphus*. His only work, that has been published, was his *Erotemata Grammatica*; which was the first good Greek grammar, among the Europeans, and was that studied by *Erasmus* and *Reuchlin*. Tr.]

(3) [*Maximus Planudes*, was a learned Greek monk of Constantinople, well acquainted with the Latin language. In the year 1337, the Greek emperor sent him with others on an embassy to Venice. He suffered considerably, for his at-

cuted, though with different degrees of success, by *Theodorus Metochita*,⁽⁴⁾ *John Cantacuzenus*,⁽⁵⁾ *Nicephorus Gregoras*, and by several others of less note. An ecclesiastical history was composed by *Nicephorus Callistus*, which, notwithstanding it contains many fabulous and superstitious accounts, yet throws light on a number of subjects.⁽⁶⁾

§ 2. Such of the Greeks as devoted themselves to philosophy, for the most part, followed *Aristotle* as their guide. No one among them, so far as I know, ventured upon philosophical speculations, relying on his own ingenuity. In what manner they explained the precepts of the Stagirite, we may learn from the tracts of *Theodorus Metochita*. Yet *Plato* had likewise some followers: especially among the cultivators of mystic theology, which had long been in high estimation among the Greeks. In the mathematics and astronomy, *Nicolaus Cabasilas* was their

tachment to the cause of the popes; but afterwards he changed sides, and espoused that of the Greeks. He appears to have died soon after AD. 1353. He translated, from Latin into Greek, the writings of *Cicero*, *Cæsar*, *Ovid*, *Cato*, and *Boethius*; also *Augustine's* 15 Books on the Trinity; composed a life of *Aesop*; and compiled a Greek Anthology, in 7 Books. He likewise wrote against the Latins, composed some orations, and many letters, and smaller pieces. Tr.]

(4) [*Theodorus Metochita*, was a learned Greek, of the kindred of the emperor, and the favorite and prime minister of *Andronicus Palaeologus*. In the latter part of the preceding century, the emperor sent him, with *John Glycas*, to conduct *Maria*, sister of the German emperor, who was espoused to the oldest son of the Greek emperor, to Constantinople. It was about the year 1314, he was made prime Logotheta, and took nearly the whole government of the empire on his shoulders. But about AD. 1328, *Andronicus* senior being dethroned by his grandson *Andronicus* junior, *Metochita* of course fell into disgrace, and was made a state prisoner till his death, AD. 1333. He transcribed the third Book of *Glycas' Annals*; which *Meursius* published, in 1648, as an original work; entitled a Compendium of Roman History, from Julius Cæsar, to Constantine the Great. He wrote comments on *Aristotle's* 8 Books of *Physica*; besides some historical tracts, never published. He was esteemed one of the most learned Greeks of his age. Tr.]

(5) [*John Cantacuzenus*, was of the illustrious family of the *Cantacuzeni*, on the father's side, and of that of the *Palaeologi*, on the side of his mother. His youth was devoted to literature and arms. He then became a statesman, under the elder *Andronicus*. In the year 1320, he was found to be a partisan of the younger *Andronicus*, and fell under displeasure. But his friend supported him; and on the elevation of his friend to the throne, *Cantacuzenus* was loaded with honors and offices. - On the death of *Andronicus* junior, AD. 1341, *Cantacuzenus* was made regent of the empire, and guardian of the prince, *John Palaeologus*, then nine years old. But the empress mother, and others, became jealous of him; and a civil war ensued. *Cantacuzenus* was victorious, and in 1347, concluded a peace, by which he and *John Palaeologus* were to be joint emperors. Civil war again broke out; and in 1356, *Cantacuzenus* resigned the purple, and voluntarily retired to mount Athos; where he became a monk, and spent the remainder of his days in literary pursuits and monastic devotions. Here he wrote his history of the empire, during the reigns of the two *Andronici* and himself, or from AD. 1320, to 1357, in four Books, published, Gr. and Lat. with notes, Paris 1645. 3 vol. Fol. He also wrote three orations, and some tracts against the Muhammedans; which are extant. Tr.]

(6) [*Nicephorus Callisti*, or the son of *Callistus*, lived at Constantinople, and was probably a priest or monk there, about 1333. His personal history is little known. From *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, *Evagrius*, and others, he compiled an ecclesiastical history, in 23 Books, from the christian era, to AD. 911. The style and arrangement are deemed good for that age; but it abounds

most distinguished scholar.(7) The Stoic principles in regard to morals, were recommended by *Barlaam*, and exhibited in his *Ethics according to the Stoics*.(8)

§ 3. There was no country of the Latins, in which efforts were not made, and successful efforts, for the advancement of learning and the improvement of the human mind. Hence academies and universities were erected in various places, as Cologne, Orleans, Cahors, Perusia, Florence, and Pisa; in which all the liberal arts and sciences were taught, and were distributed as at this day into several faculties. In the universities, colleges were founded by the opulent, and endowed with ample revenues; in which not only *monks*, but young men of narrow circumstances, were educated in the useful arts and sciences. Libraries were also collected; and men of learning were excited by honors and rewards, to aspire after fame and distinction. But the advantages to the church and the state from the numerous teachers and learned men, were not correspondent with the vast expense and care bestowed by the great on these institutions. Yet all who assumed the office of teachers in this age, were not, as many have rashly supposed, void of talents, and fools: and there was a gradual advance from lower to higher attainments.

§ 4. The sovereign pontiff, *Clement V*, himself required the Hebrew and other oriental languages to be taught in the public schools; that there might be men competent to enter into discussions with the Jews and the Saracens, and to preach divine

in useless trash and fables. The 18 first Books, extending to AD. 610, were published, Greek and Latin, Paris 1630. 2 vol. Fol. He also wrote catalogues of the Greek emperors, and of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs. Tr.]

(7) [*Nicolaus Cabasilas*, nephew and successor to *Nilus Cabasilas*, archbishop of Thessalonica; was employed as a negotiator between the parties, in the civil wars, AD. 1346 and 1347. The time of his death is unknown. He was a learned man, and a violent opposer of the Latins. His works are, an exposition of the Greek Liturgy; on a life in Christ, or the efficacy of the sacraments, in six Books; an oration against usurers; an encomium on St. Theodora; a Commentary on Ptolomy's 3d Book of constructions; some Astrological diagrams; remarks on Ezekiel's vision of four beasts; and some tracts against the Latins. The three last were never published. Tr.]

(8) *Henry Canisius*, *Lectiones Antiquae*, Tom. iv. p. 405 [*Barlaam* was a native of Calabria in Italy; became a monk of the order of St. Basil; lived at Constantinople; and was a very learned, ambitious, and factious man. Being born and educated among the Latins, he at first agreed with them against the Greeks. But changing sides, he became a most powerful champion among the Greeks, against the Latins. While an abbot at Constantinople, he investigated the state of the monks of mount Athos; and brought a complaint against the *Hesuchists* there, before the patriarch of Constantinople. *George Palamas* appeared as their advocate. The cause was tried before a council, AD. 1337, and the monks were acquitted. (See below, ch. v. § 1, 2. of this century.) In the year 1339, *Barlaam* was the emperor's ambassador to the pope, at Avignon, for negotiating a union of the two churches. In the year 1341, he withdrew from Constantinople, on a change in the government; came to Italy, again espoused the cause of the Latins, against the Greeks, and was made bishop of Geraci in Naples. He died about the year 1348. His works, besides his *Ethicae secundum Stoicos Libri ii.* are various letters, orations, and tracts, both for the Greeks against the Latins, and for the latter against the former: and six Books on Arithmetic. The last was printed Gr. and Lat. Paris 1600. 4to. All the others, in Latin, are in *Henry Canisius*, l. c. and in the *Bibliotheca max. Patrum*, Tom. xxvi. Tr.]

truth in the countries of the East.(9) Of course, there were some persons in that age, who were acquainted particularly with those languages. The Greek language, which previously very few had regarded at all, was now first taught by *Leontius Pilatus*, a Calabrian, the translator of *Homer*, and by a few others;(10) and afterwards, with far greater applause and success, by *Manuel Chrysoloras*, a Constantinopolitan,(11) who awakened extensively ardor for this study. The real and genuine excellence of Latin composition was revived, by certain distinguished geniuses in Italy: among whom, the first place is due to *Francis Petrarch*, a great and superior man;(12) and the second place belongs to *Dantè Alighieri*.(13) These men felt it to be their duty, in gen-

(9) *Anton. Wood's Antiquitates Oxoniens.* Tom. i. p. 156, 159. [This bull of Clement is in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Clementina.* Lib. v. Tit. i. cap. i. and bears date AD. 1311. It required Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic, to be taught, each by two competent instructors, wherever the papal court might be, and also in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. The pope was to support the teachers in his court; the kings of France and England, those at Paris and Oxford; the clergy of Italy, those at Bologna; and the clergy of Spain, those at Salamanca. Tr.]

(10) See *Humphry Hody*, de Graecis illustribus linguae Graecae, litterarumque humaniorum instauratoribus, Lib. i. p. 5. Lond. 1742. 8vo. *Calogera*, *Opusculi scientifici*, Tom. xxv. p. 258.—[*Leontius Pilatus* came to Venice, in the year 1360, on his way to the papal court at Avignon. *Boccaccio* met him, and persuaded him to go with him to Florence. Here he taught Greek, with which he was well acquainted, to *Boccaccio* and to *Petrarch*; and for their use translated *Homer's Iliad* into Latin. His admiration of the Greeks led him, in 1363, to go to Constantinople. But he found that people not such as his imagination had represented them. He therefore set sail for Italy the next year; and was killed by lightning, on board the ship. See *Schroeckh*, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxx. p. 154. Tr.]

(11) *H. Hody*, l. c. Lib. i. p. 10. *Angelo Calogera*, *Opusculi scientifici*, Tom. xxv. p. 248 &c. and especially, *Christ. Fred. Boerner*, de Graecis litterarum Graecar. in Italia instauratoribus, p. 1—35. [Some notice of *Chrysoloras*, is given above, pa. 419, note (2). Tr.]

(12) See *Jac. Phil. Thomasin's* Life of Petrarch; in *Jo. Gerh. Muschen's* *Vitae claror. virorum*, Tom. iv. who, in the preface, enumerates the other biographers of Petrarch. [The *Abbé de Sade's* *Memoires pour la vie de François Petrarque*, Amsterd. 1764. 3 vol. 4to. See also a paper by *A. F. Tyler Esqr.* in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. v. Petrarch was born at Arezzo in Tuscany, AD. 1304. When eight years old, his father, being banished, carried him to Avignon in France. Here he was educated for the civil law. But he hated the pursuit, fell in love, and became a poet. He passed his life either in travelling about France and Italy, or in different retreats, particularly at *Vaucluse*, near Carpentras, in the south of France. But he also spent considerable time at the courts and seats of different princes, noblemen, and prelates, in Italy and France; and was in high reputation as a scholar, a poet, a philosopher and a theologian. Honors were heaped upon him; but that which he valued highest was, to be publicly crowned with the poet's bays, at Rome, AD. 1341. He died at his own villa, near Padua, AD. 1374. His works are numerous short pieces, particularly letters and poems, with some moral and political writings, partly in Latin, and partly in Italian. The whole were never collected; though a large part of them were, in one vol. Fol. Basil 1554, 1581, and Lyons 1601. The best edition of his poems, is said to be that of Venice 1756, 2 vol. 4to. Tr.]

(13) The life of *Dantè*, the celebrated poet, has been treated of by many, but especially by his annotator *Benevenuto de Imola*; from whom *Muratori* has given numerous extracts, in his *Antiquit. Ital. medii aevi*, Tom. i. p. 1036. [*Dantè* was born at Florence AD. 1265; studied there, and at Bologna and Padua. The *Belles-Lettres* were his favorite pursuit. He married, became a soldier, and a statesman at Florence. But belonging to an unsuccessful faction, he was

eral, to excite mankind to cultivate their minds, and to place a high value on all sorts of learning; and they found numbers disposed to listen to them, not only among the Italians, but among the French and the Germans.

§ 5. Of the grammarians, historians, jurists both civil and canon, and physicians, it would be easy to make out a long list from the monuments of this age; but it would not comport with our design. It is sufficient for the reader to know, that among the vast number, there were few of them whose labors were of much service to mankind. The study of civil and canon law was pursued by an immense number; because this was the avenue to preferment in church and state; and who has not heard of *Bartolus*, *Baldus*, *Andreas*,⁽¹⁴⁾ and other jurists of this age, who gave reputation to the Italian universities? Yet the jurisprudence of this age offered nothing that could be alluring to an ingenuous mind. It was rather a barren, thorny field, on which the light of history and polite learning never shone. Mathematics engaged the attention of many; but, with the exception of *Thomas Bradwardine*, the acute bishop of Canterbury,⁽¹⁵⁾ few obtained much applause from these studies.

banished from Tuscany in the year 1302; and after wandering in Italy, and making some excursions to France and Germany, he settled at Ravenna, where he died AD. 1321. He has left us two considerable works. The first is a poem in Italian, entitled *la divina Comedia*, or vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, as seen by himself AD. 1300, divided into three parts. It abounds in vivid descriptions; and has been extolled to the highest, by the Italians. The other is shorter, and in Latin, entitled *de Monarchia*. Its object is to evince, that the pontiffs have no right to control princes in civil affairs. The best edition of his collected works, is that of Venice 1757, 1758, iv. vol. 4to. Tr.]

(14) [*Bartolus* was born at Sassoferrato in the duchy of Urbino, AD. 1313. At the age of 13, he commenced the study of the civil law, first at Perugia, and then at Bologna. He was made doctor at the age of twenty, and commenced teacher of law three years after, at Pisa. He also taught at Padua and Bologna; and died AD. 1356. His lectures and his legal opinions were highly esteemed; and his Glosses on the civil law, for two centuries, were of the highest authority. They were printed at Venice, AD. 1615. in xi. vol. Fol. He was more distinguished for acumen and nice discrimination, than for extensive reading.—*Baldus Ubaldus* was nobly born at Perugia, AD. 1324. and was first the pupil, and then the rival of *Bartolus*. He taught both civil and canon law, and lectured at Perugia, Padua, and Pisa. He died at the last mentioned place, of the hydrophobia, AD. 1400, aged 76. In readiness and metaphysical acumen he was thought superior to *Bartolus*, but not his equal in solidity of judgment. He wrote Commentaries on the Decretals; five volumes of legal opinions; Glosses on nearly the whole *Corpus Juris civilis*; besides various law tracts: all of which have been printed. These two were the greatest jurists of the age, so far as the civil law is concerned. Yet *Andrew Horne*, an Englishman of Gloucestershire, distinguished himself by his attempt to reform the English laws, by expunging from them every thing that was not in accordance with the scriptures and natural justice. His work was written in French, and entitled *a Mirror for the Judges*: and was printed in French, Lond. 1642. 8vo. and in English, Lond. 1646. 8vo. Of his age we only know, that his book was written under Edward III, and before AD. 1324, and that he defended the abbot of Waltham, in a court, AD. 1343. See *H. Wharton's* Append. to *Cave's* Hist. Litterar.—*John Andreas*, the celebrated Doctor of canon law, taught that science at Bologna for forty-five years, and died there AD. 1348. His works are commentaries on the five Books of Decretals; Glosses on the *Liber sextus* Decret. and the *Clementina*; and tracts concerning feuds, marriage, affinities, &c. all of which have been published.

(15) [*Thomas Bradwardine* was an Englishman, educated at Oxford, where

§ 6. Of the immense swarm of philosophers that infested, rather than adorned this age, *Aristotle* was the guide and the oracle, though imperfectly understood, and divested of all his beauties. In so high estimation was the Peripatetic philosophy, that kings and princes ordered the works of Aristotle to be translated into the languages of their people, that greater numbers might acquire wisdom. In particular, *Charles V.*, king of France, has been commended for directing *Nicholas Oresme* to translate into French, among other works of the ancients, the principal works of *Aristotle*. (16) Those however, who professed to be philosophers, were less solicitous to discover and support truth, than to have the pleasure of wrangling; and they perplexed and obscured the pure and unadulterate doctrines of reason and religion, by their vain subtilties, their useless questions, and their ridiculous distinctions. I need not mention their barbarous diction, in which they supposed the principal strength of their art to consist; or their contempt for all elegant literature, which they accounted their glory. The whole art and method of this wrangling tribe may be learned, by reading the works of only *John Scotus*, or *Walter Burley*; for they all followed in one common track, though they differed among themselves as to some opinions.

§ 7. The old disputes between the *Realists* and the *Nominalists*, which had been long dormant, were again brought up in the schools, by *William Occam*, an English Franciscan monk of the more rigid cast, a pupil of the great *Scotus*, and a doctor in the university of Paris: nor was it possible afterwards, to bring these contentions to an end. Never was there fiercer war between the Greeks and Persians, than between these two sects of philosophers, down to the time when *Luther* obliged the scholastic doctors to terminate their intestine conflicts. The *Realists* despised their antagonists as philosophers of a recent date, and branded them with the name of *Moderns*; while to their own doctrine they ascribed the highest antiquity. But in this, they were undoubtedly under mistake. The *Nominalists* on the contrary, regarded them as being visionaries, who mistook the creations of their own

he was a proctor in 1325, and afterwards doctor of divinity, and lecturer on theology. He became confessor to *Edward III.*, whom he attended in his French wars. In the year 1348, he was elected archbishop of Canterbury; but the king preferring another, *Ufford* was chosen. But *Ufford* dying before his consecration, *Bradwardine* was re-chosen, and with the king's consent, was ordained by the pope at Avignon. He however, died very soon after his arrival at Lambeth AD. 1348. He was a profound reasoner, eminently pious, a strong Augustinian in theology, of plain unpolished manners, and particularly fond of mathematics. His great work is, the *Cause of God and the Truth of Causes, against Pelagius*, in three Books; published by *H. Saville*, Lond. 1618. Fol. He also wrote *Geometrica speculativa*, and *Arithmetica speculativa*, published together, Paris 1512; also *Tractatus proportionum*, published Venice 1505. See *Wharton's Appendix to Cave's Hist. Litter. and Milner's Eccles. History*, Cent. xiv. ch. ii.

(16) *Jo. Launoi*, Hist. Gymnas. Navarreni; in his Opp. Tom. iv. P. i. p. 504. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iv. p. 379. *Le Boeuf's Dissert. sur l'Hist. Eccles. et civile de Paris*, Tome iii. p. 456, 463 &c.

imaginations for real existences and solid substances. The *Nominalists* had, particularly at Paris, a number of acute, subtle, and eloquent doctors; among whom, besides *Occam*, the celebrated *John Buridan*, a Parisian doctor, stood preeminent: (17) but the *Realists* were the most numerous, and were also strong in the countenance given them by the Roman pontiffs. For *Occam* having joined the order of Franciscans, who were openly opposed to *John XXII*, this pontiff first, and afterwards his successors, left no means untried, to put down the philosophy of the *Nominalists*, which seemed to be opposed to the church. (18) Hence, in the year 1339, the university of Paris by a public edict condemned and prohibited the philosophy of *Occam*, which was that of the *Nominalists*. (19) But, as men are apt to press after what is forbidden, the effect of this decree was, that a still greater number than before, followed the system of the *Nominalists*.

§ 8. Many of these philosophers joined *astrology*, or the art of prognosticating the fortunes of men from the stars, with their philosophy. For this fallacious science was prosecuted even to madness, by all orders from the highest to the lowest, in those times. (20) But these astrological philosophers had to be very cautious and circumspect, to avoid impeachment for magic, and to escape the hands of the Inquisitors. Such caution was neglected to his ruin, by *Ceccus Asculanus*; a very noted peripatetic philosopher, astrologer, mathematician, and physician first to the pontiff *John XXII*, and then to *Charles Lackland*, duke of Calabria. For having, by mechanical arts, performed some things which appeared miraculous to the vulgar, and by his predictions, which were reported to have proved true, given offence both to his patron and to others, he was looked upon as having intercourse with the devil; and was committed to the flames by the Inquisitors, at Florence, AD. 1327. (21) His *Commentary* on the

(17) A biography of this noted man was written by *Robert Guaquin*; as we are told by *Jo. Launoi*, *Historia Gymnasii Navarreni*, in his *Opp.* Tom. iv. P. i. p. 722. *Launoi* also speaks of him in other places; as p. 296, 297, 330. See *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iv. p. 282, 307, 341. &c. [*John Buridan* was a native of Bethune in Artois, studied at Paris, under *Occam*, and taught philosophy there with great applause. He wrote commentaries on *Aristotle's* logic, morals, and metaphysics; which are still extant. Some say, that he was rector of the university of Paris; and that he afterwards went to Vienna, and there commenced that university: but these circumstances, as well as the exact time when he lived, are uncertain. To him is ascribed the noted metaphysical maxim, that a hungry ass placed between two equal bundles of hay, would not be able to eat of either. See *Bayle's Dictionaire Hist. et critique*, art *Buridan.* Tr.]

(18) *Steph. Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. iv. p. 532.

(19) *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iv. p. 257. Tom. v. p. 708. *Card. Pless. d'Argentre*, *Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus*, Tom. i. p. 337. On the contests of these sects in England, see *Ant. Wood's Antiq. Oxoniens.* Tom. i. p. 169 &c.

(20) See *Imola*; in *Muratori's Antiquit. Italicae medii aevi*, Tom. i. p. 1039. *Le Boeuf's Dissertations sur l' Hist. de Paris*, Tom. iii. p. 445 &c.

(21) An apology for him was written by *Paul Ant. Appian*, the Jesuit; which may be seen in *Domin. Bernini's Storia di tutte l' heresie*, Tom. iii. Saecul. xiv.

Sphere of *John de Sacrobusto*, is still extant, which is represented as affording proof of the extreme superstition of the author. (22)

§ 9. A new and singular species of art was invented and elucidated in numerous treatises, by *Raymund Lully*, of Majorca; a man of a singular and a very fecund genius, a compound of folly and reason, who, after many journeys and various efforts for the advancement of the christian cause, was put to death in the year 1315, at Bugia in Africa, by the Muhammedans, whom he attempted to convert to the christian faith. The Franciscans, to whose third order he is said to have belonged, extol him to the skies, and have long endeavored most earnestly to persuade the pontiffs to enrol him among the saints: but the Dominicans and others, on the contrary, endeavor to make him a heretic, a magician, a delirious alchymist, a compiler from the works of the Muhammedans; and some represent him as deranged and a fanatic: of the pontiffs, some have pronounced him an innocent and pious man; and others, a heretic and irreligious. Those who will read his works, without prejudice, will coincide with neither party. *Lully* would have been a truly great man, if the warmth and fertility of his imagination had been tempered and restrained by a sound judgment. (23)

c. iii. p. 210 &c. An account is also given of this unhappy philosopher and poet, (for he was also a poet,) by *Jo. Maria Crescembini*, *Commentari della volgar Poësia*, vol. ii. P. ii. Lib. iii. c. 14.

(22) *Gabr. Naudé*, *Apologie pour les grands qui ont soupçonnez de magie*, p. 270 &c.

(23) See *Jo. Salzinger's* Preface to the works of *Raymund Lully*, which the elector Palatine, *John William*, caused to be collected and published at a great expense, in five vol. Folio, AD. 1720. *Luc. Wadding's* *Annales Minorum*, Tom. iv. p. 421 &c. Tom. v. p. 157, 316 &c. Tom. vi. p. 229 &c. On the famous *Lullian art*, see *Dan. Geo. Morhuf's* *Polyhist.* Lib. ii. cap. v. p. 352 &c. ["It consisted in collecting a number of general terms, common to all the sciences, of which an alphabetical table was to be provided. Subjects and predicates taken from these, were to be respectively inscribed in angular spaces upon circular papers. The essences, qualities, affections, and relations of things being thus mechanically brought together, the circular papers of subjects were fixed in a frame, and those of predicates were so placed upon them as to move freely, and in their revolutions to produce various combinations of subjects and predicates, whence would arise definitions, axioms, and propositions, varying endlessly." See *Rae's* *Cyclopaedia*, art. *Lully Raymond*; *Brucker's* *Historia crit. philos.* Tom. iv. p. 9 &c. The life of *Lully*, written by a contemporary, is in the *Acta Sanctorum Antwerp.* Tom. v. p. 533 &c. He is said to have been born AD. 1236, to have been dissipated in his youth, and afterwards to have applied himself much to chemistry, as well as to metaphysics and theology. He died aged 79, AD. 1315. As a chemist, *Boorhave* thought him much in advance of his age; if the works ascribed to him are all genuine. Tr.]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Corruption of the clergy.—§ 2. Philip, king of France, opposed the domination of the pontiffs.—§ 3. Issue of the conflict.—§ 4. The pontifical court is removed to Avignon.—§ 5. Decrease of the pontifical authority.—§ 6. New arts devised by the pontiffs for acquiring wealth.—§ 7. Obsequiousness of Clement V, to Philip.—§ 8. John XXII, and Nicolaus V.—§ 9. The former charged with heresy.—§ 10. Benedict XII.—§ 11. Clement VI.—§ 12. Innocent VI.—§ 13. Gregory XI.—§ 14. The great schism of the West commences.—§ 15. The evils of it.—§ 16. Projects for terminating it.—§ 17. Vices of the monks, especially the mendicants.—§ 18. Hence, general hatred against them.—§ 19. John Wickliffe.—§ 20. His opposers.—§ 21. Impiety of the Franciscans. Book of the conformities of St. Francis.—§ 22. Vices of the Fratricelli, &c.—§ 23, 24. Projects for terminating the discords of the Franciscans.—§ 25. Their ridiculous contests.—§ 26. They produce more serious disturbances.—§ 27. A new contest arose, respecting the poverty of Christ.—§ 28. Its continuation.—§ 29. Their conflict with John XXII.—§ 30. Their attempts against the pontiff.—§ 31. Their patron, Lewis the Bavarian.—§ 32. Peace with the pontiff.—§ 33. Sufferings of the Spirituals, the Beghards, &c. in Germany.—§ 34. Yet they were not exterminated. Two great sects of Franciscans are produced.—§ 35. New religious orders.—§ 36. The sect of the Cellite brethren and sisters. The Lollards.—§ 37. The Greek writers.—§ 38. The Latin writers.

§ 1. That the governors of the church, as well the prelates as those of lower rank, were addicted to all those vices which are the most unbecoming men in their stations, is testified most abundantly. As for the Greek and oriental clergy, many of whom lived under oppressive governments, I shall say nothing; although their faults are sufficiently manifest. But of the faults of the Latins, silence would be the less proper, in proportion to the certainty, that from this source the whole community was involved in the greatest calamities. All the honest and good men of that age, ardently wished for a *reformation of the church, both in its head and in its members*; as they themselves expressed it.⁽¹⁾ But to so desirable an event, there were still many obstacles. First, the power of the pontiffs was so confirmed, by its long continuance, that it seemed to be immoveably established. In the next place, extravagant superstition held the minds of most persons in abject slavery. And lastly, the ignorance and barbarism of the times, quickly extinguished the sparks of truth that appeared from time

(1) *Math. Flacius*, Catalogus testium veritatis, Lib. xiii. p. 1697. *Jo. Launoï*, de varia fortuna Aristotelis, p. 217. *Jo. Henr. Hottinger*, Historia Eccles. sæcul. xiv. p. 754. [See *Odor. Raynald's Annales Eccles. ad ann. 1311.* § 58—65. Tom. xv. p. 87—90. From a manuscript account of the transactions of the council of Vienne, found in the Vatican library, *Raynald* here extracts largely from the statements of a prelate whom the pontiff *Clement V*, consulted, respecting the abuses, which called for reformation in the church. And the picture of the corruption of the clergy, the dissoluteness of the monks, and the ignorance and wickedness of the people, sketched by this anonymous prelate, shews the church to be in a most deplorable state; and that some at least saw it, and earnestly desired a reformation. *Tr.*]

to time. Yet the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, impregnable and durable as it seemed to be, was gradually undermined and weakened, in this century, partly by the rash insolence of the pontiffs themselves, and partly by the occurrence of certain unexpected events.

§ 2. The commencement of this important change must be referred to the contest between *Boniface VIII*, who governed the Latin church at the beginning of this century, and *Philip the Fair*, king of France. This high-minded sovereign first taught the Europeans, what the emperors had in vain attempted, that the Romish bishops could be vanquished, and be laid under restraint. In a very haughty letter addressed to *Philip*, *Boniface* maintained, that all kings and persons whatsoever, and the king of France as well as others, by divine command, owed perfect obedience to the Roman pontiff, and this not merely in religious matters, but likewise in secular and human affairs. The king replied with great severity. The pontiff repeated his former assertions, with greater arrogance; and published the celebrated *bull*, called [from the first words of it] *Unam sanctam*; in which he asserted, that *Jesus Christ* had granted a twofold power or *sword* to his church, a *spiritual* and a *temporal*; that the whole human race was subjected to the pontiff; and that all who dissented from this doctrine, were *heretics*, and could not expect to be saved.(2) The king, on the contrary, in an assembly of his nobles AD. 1303, through the famous lawyer *William de Nogaret*(3) publicly accused the pontiff of *heresy*, *simony*, *dishonesty*, and other enormities; and urged the calling of a general council, for deposing the guilty pontiff from his office. The pontiff in return, excommunicated the king and all his adherents the same year.

§ 3. Soon after receiving this sentence, *Philip* again, in an assembly of the states of his kingdom, entered a formal complaint against the pontiff, by men of the highest reputation and influence; and appealed to the decision of a future general council of the church.

(2) This bull is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Commun. Lib. i. Tit. [viii. cap. i.] de Majoritate et obedientia*. [In this bull the pontiff asserts, that there is but one church of Christ, under one head, as there was but one ark under the command of Noah; all out of which, necessarily perish: that the sole head of the church on earth, is Christ's vicerent, *St. Peter*, and his successors, who are amenable to none but God: that both *swords*, the *spiritual* and the *material*, are in the power of the church; the latter to be wielded for the church, or by kings and soldiers, at the nod and pleasure of the priesthood, and the former to be wielded by the church or the priesthood: that the temporal power is subjected to the spiritual; otherwise the church would be a double headed monster; that whoever resists this order of things, resists the ordinance of God: and he concludes thus: We declare, determine and decree, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation, that every human being, should be subject to the Roman pontiff. Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omnem humanam creaturam, declaramus, dicimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. Tr.]

(3) Of this celebrated lawyer, who was the most bold and determined enemy the pontiffs ever had, before *Luther*, none have given a fuller account, than the *Benedictine monks*, in their *Histoire generale de Languedoc*, Tom. iii. p. 114, 117 &c. *Philip* made him chancellor of France, for his heroic opposition to the pontiff.

He then dispatched *William de Nogaret*, with some others, into Italy, to rouse the people to insurrection, and to bring the pontiff prisoner to Lyons, where he intended the council should be held. *Nogaret*, who was a resolute and energetic man, having drawn over to his interest the *Colonna* family, which was at variance with the pontiff, raised a small force, suddenly attacked *Boniface*, who was living securely at Anagni, made him prisoner, wounded him, and among other severe indignities, struck him on the head with his iron gauntlet. The people of Anagni indeed, rescued the pontiff from the hands of his furious enemy; but he died shortly after, at Rome, in the month of October, from the violence of his rage and anguish of mind.(4)

§ 4. *Benedict XI*, previously *Nicolaus* of Trevisa, the successor of *Boniface*, profiting by his example, restored the king of France and his kingdom to their former honors and privileges, without even being solicited: but he was unwilling to absolve from his crime *Nogaret*, who had so grievously offended against the pontifical dignity. This daring man, therefore, prosecuted strenuously the suit commenced against *Boniface* in the Romish court; and in the name of his king, demanded, that a mark of infamy should be set upon the deceased pontiff. *Benedict XI*, died in the year 1304; and *Philip*, by his secret machinations, caused *Bertrand de Got*, a Frenchman, and bishop of Bourdeaux, to be created pontiff at Rome, on the 5th of June, AD. 1305. For the contest of the king against the pontiffs was not yet wholly settled, *Nogaret* not being absolved, and it might easily break out again. Besides, the king thirsted for revenge, and designed to extort from the court of Rome a condemnation of *Boniface*; he also meditated the destruction of the Templars, and other things of great importance; which he could hardly expect from an Italian pontiff. He therefore wished to have a French pontiff, whom he could control according to his pleasure, and who would be in a degree dependent on him. The new pontiff, who took the name of *Clement V*, remained in France, as the king wished, and transferred the pontifical court to Avignon, where it continued for seventy years. This period, the Italians call the *Babylonian Captivity*.(5)

(4) See the *Acta inter Bonifacium VIII, Benedictum XI, Clementem V, et Philippum Pulchrum*, enlarged and corrected by *Peter Puteanus [de Puy]*, as the title page asserts: published, 1618. 8vo. but without notice of the place of publication. [The compiler of the work was a Parisian divine, named *Simon Vigor*. The first edition was published at Paris, 1613. 4to. and the third was in French, Paris 1655. Fol. entitled, *Histoire du Differend de Philippe le Bel et de Boniface VIII, produite par les Actes et Memoires originaux. Schl.] Andr. Baillet, Histoire des demelez du Boniface VIII, avec Philip le Bel; Paris 1718. 12mo. Jo. Rubens, in his Bonifacius, cap. xvi. p. 137 &c. The other writers are mentioned by Baillet, in his Preface, p. 9 &c. Add *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iv. p. 4 &c.* [and *Jo. Gifford's History of France, vol. i. p. 518 &c. Tr.*]*

(5) Concerning the French pontiffs, the writer to be especially consulted, is *Stephen Baluze, Vita Pontificum Avenionensium*; in two volumes, Paris 1693. 4to. The reader may also peruse, though it should be with caution, *Jac. Lon-*

§ 5. It is certain, that this residence of the pontiffs at Avignon was injurious, in no slight degree, to the authority of the Romish see. For the pontiffs being at a distance, the *Gibelline* faction in Italy, which was hostile to the pontiffs, assumed greater boldness than formerly, and not only invaded and laid waste the territories of St. Peter, but also assailed the pontifical authority by their publications. Hence a number of cities revolted from the popes; Rome itself became the parent and fomentor of tumults, cabals, and civil wars; and the laws and decrees sent thither from France, were publicly treated with contempt, and not merely by the nobles, but also by the common citizens.(6) A great part of Europe followed the example of Italy: and numberless examples shew, that the people of Europe attributed far less power to the fulminations and decrees issued from France, than to those issued from Rome. Various seditions therefore were raised, in one place and another, against the pontiffs; which they were unable to subdue and put down, notwithstanding the *Inquisitors* were most active in the discharge of their functions.

§ 6. As the French pontiffs could derive but little revenue from Italy, which was rent into factions, seditious, and devastated; they were obliged to devise new modes of raising money. They therefore, not only sold indulgences to the people, more frequently than formerly, to the great indignation of kings and princes; but they required enormous prices to be paid for their letters or bulls of every kind. In this thing, *John XXII.*, showed himself peculiarly adroit and shrewd; for though he did not first invent the *regulations and fees of the apostolic chancery*, yet the Romish writers admit, that he enlarged them, and reduced them to a more convenient form.(7) He also is said to have imposed that tribute, which under the title of *annates* is customarily paid to the pontiffs; yet the first commencement of it, was anterior to that age.(8) Moreover, these French pontiffs, subverting the rights of election, assumed the power of conferring all sacred offices,

gueval and his continuators, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, Tom. xii. &c. This Jesuit, and his successors in the work, are eloquent and laborious; but they often conceal, artfully, the abominable deeds of the pontiffs.

(6) See *Baluze*, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* Tom. ii. p. 290, 291, 301, 309, 333; and various other places. *Muratori*, *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. iii. p. 397, 401, 409, &c. *Giannone*, *Histoire de Naples*, Tom. iii. p. 280 &c.

(7) *Jo. Ciampini*, de *Vicerecancellario ecclesiæ Romanæ*. p. 39 &c. *Charles Chais*, *Lettres sur les Jubilés*, Tom. ii. p. 673. and others.

(8) *Bernh. van Espen*, *Jus Eccles. universale*, Tom. ii. p. 876. *Bowley's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iv. p. 911. *Ant. Wood's Antiq. Oxonienses*, Tom. i. p. 213. *Wilh. Fran. Berthier*, *Dissert. sur les Annates*; in his *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, Tom. xii. p. 1 &c. [The *Annates* were the first years' revenues of a benefice, which every new incumbent was required to remit to the pontiff's treasury. By constantly advancing clergymen from poorer to richer benefices, and prohibiting pluralities, these *annates*, it will be seen, might be made the source of immense income, when levied throughout christendom, upon all the numberless officers in the churches and monasteries.—*First Fruits*, exacted by *Henry VIII.*, of England, were the *annates* of the bishoprics, which the king took from the pope, after the reformation in that country. *Tr.*]

whether high or low, according to their own pleasure: by which means they raised immense sums of money. Hence under these pontiffs, those most odious terms, *reservation*, *provision*, and *expectative*, rarely used before, were now every where heard; and they called forth the bitterest complaints, from all the nations of Europe: (9) and these complaints increased immeasurably, when some of the pontiffs, as *John XXII*, *Clement VI*, *Gregory XI*, publicly announced, that they had *reserved* all churches to themselves; and that they would *provide* for all without exception, by virtue of the sovereign right which *Christ* had conferred on his vicars, or *in the plenitude of their power*. (10) By these and other artifices for filling their treasury and amassing property, these indiscreet pontiffs increased the odium of the apostolic see; and thus weakened very considerably the papal empire, which began to decline from the times of *Boniface*.

§ 7. *Clement V*, was governed all his life, by the will and pleasure of *Philip* the Fair, king of France. *William de Nogaret*, the implacable foe of *Boniface VIII*, though excommunicated, resolutely prosecuted his own cause and that of king *Philip*, against *Boniface*, in the papal court: a transaction which, I believe, is without a parallel. *Philip* wished to have the body of *Boniface* disinterred, and publicly burnt. With great difficulty, *Clement* averted this infamy, by his entreaties and advice: but in every thing else, he had to obey the king. Accordingly he abrogated the laws enacted by *Boniface*; granted the king five years' tithes; absolved *Nogaret* from all crime, after imposing on him a slight penance, which he never performed; restored the inhabitants of *Anagni* to their former reputable and good standing; and held a general council at *Vienne*, AD. 1311, that *Philip's* pleasure might be gratified in the suppression of the *Templars*. In this council, likewise, various things were decided, according to the pleasure of the king; whom *Clement* dared not offend, being terrified by the melancholy fate of *Boniface*. (11)

§ 8. On the death of *Clement*, AD. 1314, there were violent contests among the cardinals respecting the election of a successor, the French demanding a French pontiff, and the Italians an Italian. After two years, the French gained the victory; and in 1316, *James de Euse*, of *Cahors*, cardinal of *Porto*, was made

(9) *Stephen Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. ii. p. 479, 518; and his *Vitae Pontif. Avenion.* Tom. ii. p. 60, 63, 65, 74, 154, 156. *Gallia Christiana Benedictinor.* Tom. i. Append. p. 13. *Ant. Wood's Antiq. Oxonienses*, Tom. i. p. 148, 201, 202. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iv. p. 911 &c.

(10) *Baluze*, *Vitae Pontif. Avenion.* Tom. ii. p. 873. Tom. i. p. 285, 311, 681 &c. *Ant. Matthæus*, *Analecta vet. ævi*, Tom. v. p. 349 &c. *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. i. p. 69, 1208. *Histoire du droit ecclesiast. François*, Tome ii. p. 129 &c.

(11) Besides the common writers, already cited, see *Wilh. Fran. Berthier's Discours sur le pontificat de Clement V*, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, Tom. xii. *Colomia's Histoire litter. de Lyon*, Tom. i. p. 340. *Gallia Christiana Benedictinor.* Tom. i. p. 1189; and Tom. ii. p. 829.

head of the church, and assumed the pontifical name of *John XXII*. He was not destitute of learning, but was crafty, insolent, weak, imprudent, and avaricious; as those who honor his memory, do not positively deny. He rendered himself notorious, by many imprudent and unsuccessful enterprizes, but especially by his unfortunate contest with the emperor, *Lewis* of Bavaria. There was a contest for the empire of Germany, between *Lewis* of Bavaria and *Frederic* of *Austria*, each being chosen emperor by a part of the electors in the year 1314. *John* declared, that the decision of this controversy belonged to him. But *Lewis* having conquered his rival in battle, and taken him prisoner, in the year 1322, assumed the government of the empire, without consulting the pontiff, and refused to submit a cause, which had been decided by the sword, to another trial before the pontiff. *John* was greatly offended at this; and in the year 1324, divested the emperor of all title to the imperial crown. *Lewis*, in return, accused the pontiff of corrupting the faith, or of heresy; and appealed to the decision of a council. Exasperated by this and some other things, the pontiff, in the year 1327, again divested the emperor of all his authority and power, and laid him under excommunication. In revenge of this injury, the emperor in the year 1328, at Rome, publicly declared *John* unworthy of the pontificate; and substituted in his place *Peter de Corbieri*, a Franciscan monk, and one of those who disagreed with the pontiff: and he assuming the name of *Nicolaus V*, crowned *Lewis* as emperor. But in the year 1330, this Imperial pontiff voluntarily abdicated his office, and surrendered himself into the hands of *John*, who kept him a prisoner at Avignon till his death. Thus *John* continued to reign, in spite of the emperor; and the emperor, in spite of the pontiff. (12)

§ 9. On the side of *Lewis*, stood the whole mass of the *Fratricelli*, the *Beghards* of every description, and the *Spirituals*, or more rigid among the Franciscans: and these being scattered over a large part of Europe, and supported by the protection of *Lewis*, every where assailed *John* with reproaches and criminations, both orally and in books, and charged him with religious apostacy.

(12) This great contest is to be learned principally from the *Records* of it, which are published by *Steph. Baluze*, *Vitae Pontif.* Avenion. Tom. ii. p. 512 &c. by *Edm. Martene*, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* Tom. ii. p. 641 &c. by *Jo. Geo. Herwart*, in his *Ludovicus Imperator defensio contra Bzovium*, Munschen 1618. 4to. and by *Christ. Gewold*, in his *Apologia pro Ludovico Bavaro*, Ingolet. 1618. 4to. against the same *Bzovius*, who in his *Annales* had basely defamed the character of this emperor. Add *Lu. Wadding*, *Annales Minorum*, Tom. vii. p. 77, 106 &c. Whoever considers attentively the history of this contest, will perceive, that *Lewis* of Bavaria took for his pattern, *Philip the Fair*, king of France. As the latter brought the charge of heresy against *Boniface*, so did *Lewis* against *John XXII*. The French king employed *Nogaret* and others as accusers: *Lewis* employed [*William*] *Occum*, and the Franciscans [*Marsilius*] of *Pudua*, *John* of *Ghent*, and *Ulrich Hangoer*. *Tr.* Each wished to have a general council called, by which the pontiff should be hurled from the chair of *St. Peter*. I omit to mention other parallels.

The pontiff however was not greatly injured by these private attacks : but towards the close of his life, he fell under the disapprobation and censure of nearly the whole church. For in the years 1331 and 1332, he taught in some public discourses, that departed souls would indeed behold *Christ*, but would not see the face of God, or the divine nature, until their reunion with the body, at the last day. With this doctrine, *Philip VI*, the king of France, was highly displeased ; the theologians of Paris condemned it, in 1333 ; and both the friends and the foes of the pontiff were opposed to it. For it appeared to them, that the pontiff detracted much from the blessedness of departed spirits. To so great opposition, *John*, though naturally pertinacious, had to give way. He therefore first apologized for the doctrine ; and afterwards, when near the point of death, AD. 1334, he did not indeed abandon it, but he qualified it, by saying, that he believed, souls in the intermediate state *saw the divine essence, so far as the state and condition of the unembodied spirit would permit.*(13) But this declaration did not satisfy his opposers. Hence, after various disputes, his successor, *Benedict XII*, terminated the controversy, according to the decision of the Parisian doctors, by declaring the true faith to be, that the souls of the blessed, when separate from the body, fully and perfectly behold the divine nature, or God himself.(14) *Benedict* could do this, without impeaching his predecessor ; for *John*, when dying, submitted his opinion to the judgment of the church ; lest perhaps he should, after death, be classed among *heretics.*(15)

§ 10. On the death of *John*, AD. 1334, new contests between the French and the Italians, respecting the choice of a pontiff, divided the college of cardinals. But, near the close of the year, *James Fournier*, a Frenchman, cardinal of St. Prisca, was chosen ; and assumed the name of *Benedict XII*. Historians allow him the praise of being an upright and honest man, and void alike of avarice and the love of power.(16) During his reign, the controversy with the emperor *Lewis* was at rest. For although he did not restore him to church communion, being prevented, as is

(13) See *Stephen Baluze*, Vitae pontif. Avenionens. Tom. i. p. 175, 177, 182, 197, 221, 786 &c. *Lu. Dachery*, Spicileg. Scriptor. veter. Tom. i. p. 760. ed. vet. *Jo. Laurioi*, Historia Gymnasii Navarr. P. i. c. vii. in his Opp. Tom. iv. P. i. p. 319. *Boulay*, Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iv. p. 235, 250. *Lu. Wadding*, Annales Minor. Tom. vi. p. 371. Tom. vii. p. 145. *Jac. Echard*, Scriptores Praedicator. Tom. i. p. 599. 608.

(14) *Baluze*, Vitae Pontif. Avenionens. Tom. i. p. 197, 216, 221, 224, 226 &c.

(15) ["All this pope's heretical fancies about the *Beatific Vision* were nothing in comparison with a vile and most enormous *practical heresy* that was found in his coffers after his death, viz. *five and twenty millions of florins*, of which there were eighteen in *specie*, and the rest in plate, jewels, crowns, mitres, and other precious baubles, all which he had squeezed out of the people and the inferior clergy during his pontificate. See *Fleury*, Hist. Eccles. Livr. xciv. § 39." *Macl.*]

(16) See the Fragmenta Historiae Romanae, in *Muratori's* Antiquit. Italiae. Tom. iii. p. 275. *Baluze*, Vitae Pontif. Avenionens. Tom. i. p. 205, 218, 240 &c. *Boulay's* Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iv. p. 253 &c.

reported by the king of France, yet he did not attempt any thing against him. He saw the existing evils in the church : and some of them, as far as he could, he removed : in particular, he labored to reform, by decrees and ordinances, the sects of monks, both the mendicant and the opulent orders. But death removed him, when he was contemplating more and greater changes, AD. 1342. Lay superstition out of the account, which was the common fault of the age, and we shall find nothing, to prevent our declaring this pontiff to be a man of a right spirit.

§ 11. Of a different spirit was his successor, *Clement VI*, who was likewise a Frenchman, named *Peter Roger*, and cardinal of St. Nereus and St. Achilles. Without stating all his censurable deeds, I observe, that he trod in the steps of *John XXII*, by his *provisions* and *reservations* of churches ; which was evidence of his base avarice : and further that he conferred the most important spiritual offices on foreigners and Italians ; which produced controversy between him and the kings of France and England : and lastly, that he exhibited the arrogance and pride of his heart, among other things, by renewing the war with *Lewis* the Bavarian. For in the year 1343, he hurled new thunders at the emperor : and finding these to be contemned by *Lewis*, in the year 1346, he devoted him again to execration ; and persuaded the princes of Germany to elect *Charles IV*, son [grandson] to *Henry VII*, for their emperor. A civil war would now have broke out in Germany, had not the death of *Lewis* in 1347, prevented it. *Clement* followed him to the grave, in 1352, famous for nothing, but his zeal for exalting the majesty of the pontiffs, and for annexing to the patrimony of St. Peter, *Avignon* which he bought of *Joanna*, queen of Naples.(17)

§ 12. There was more moderation and probity in *Innocent VI*, or *Stephen Albert*, a Frenchman, previously bishop of Ostia ; who governed the church ten years, and died AD. 1362. He favored his own relatives too much ; but in other respects, he encouraged the pious and the well informed, held the monks to their duty, abstained from *reserving* churches, and did many things worthy of commendation. His successor, *William Grimoard*, abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, who assumed the name of *Urban V*, was also free from great faults, if we except those which are almost inseparable from the office of a pope. Overcome by the entreaties of the Romans, he removed to Rome in the year 1367 ; but returned again to Avignon in 1370, in order to make peace between the king of England and the king of France ; and died there the same year.(18)

(17) [Biographies of this pontiff may be found in *Baluze*, Vitæ Pontif. Avenionens. Tom. i. p. 143 &c. and in *Muratori's* Scriptores rerum Italic. Tom. iii. P. ii. p. 550 &c. Schl.]

(18) [Of these popes also, there are several biographies : of *Innocent VI*, in *Baluze*, Vitæ Pontif. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 321 &c. and in *Muratori*, Scriptores rerum Italicar. Tom. iii. P. ii. p. 589 &c. and of *Urban V*, in *Baluze*, l. c. p. 363 &c. and in *Muratori*, l. c. p. 642 &c. Schl.]

§ 13. He was succeeded by *Peter Roger*, a Frenchman of noble birth, under the pontifical name of *Gregory XI*. He was inferior to his predecessors in virtue, but exceeded them in energy and audacity. Under him, great and dangerous commotions disturbed Italy and the city of Rome. The Florentines especially, waged fierce war with the Romish church, and were successful in it.(19) To restore the tranquillity of Italy, and recover the territories and cities taken from the patrimony of St. Peter, *Gregory*, in the year 1376, transferred his residence from Avignon to Rome. One *Catharine*, a virgin of Sens, whom that credulous age took to be a prophetess divinely inspired, came to Avignon, and by her exhortations greatly contributed to this measure.(20) But *Gregory* soon after repented of his removal; for by their long absence from Italy, the authority of the pontiffs was so fallen there, that the Romans and the Florentines had no scruple to insult and abuse him in various ways. He therefore purposed to return to Avignon; but was prevented by death, which removed him from earth, in the year 1378.(21)

§ 14 After the death of *Gregory XI*, the cardinals being assembled to provide for a successor, the Roman people, fearing lest a Frenchman should be elected, who should remove to Avignon, with furious clamors and threats demanded, that an Italian should be placed at the head of the church without delay. The terrified cardinals proclaimed *Bartholomew de Pregnano*, who was a Neapolitan by birth, and archbishop of Bari, to be elected pontiff; and he assumed the name of *Urban VI*. This new pontiff by his coarse manners, his injudicious severity, and his intolerable haughtiness, alienated the minds of all from him, but especially the cardinals. These therefore withdrew to Fondi, a city in the kingdom of Naples, and there created another pontiff, *Robert* count of Geneva, who took the name of *Clement VII*; alleging, that *Urban* was elected only in pretence, in order to quiet the rage of the people of Rome. Which of these was the legitimate and true pontiff, still remains uncertain; nor can it be fully ascertained from the *Records* and documents, which have been published in great abundance by both parties.(22) *Urban* con-

(19) See here, especially, the *Epistolae Colucii Solutati*, written in the name of the Florentines, Part i. p. 47—100, p. 148, 162, and the Preface to Part ii. p. 18. I use the new edition at Florence, by *Laur. Mechus*.

(20) See *Longueval*, Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane, Tom. xiv. p. 159, 192.

(21) [He was the son of *William*, earl of Beaufort, and brother's son to pope *Clement VI*. His last Will, which is in *Dachery's* Spicileg. Tom. iii. p. 378, is worthy of notice, as he there very frankly acknowledges his faults. His biography is in *Baluze*, Vitae Pontif. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 426 &c. and in *Muratori's* Scriptores rerum Italic. Tom. iii. P. ii. p. 645 &c. *Schl.*]

(22) See the records and documents, in *Caes. Egasse de Boulay's* Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iv. p. 463 &c. in *Lu. Wadding's* Annales Minor. Tom. ix. p. 12 &c. in *Steph. Baluze's* Vitae Pontif. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 442, 998 &c. and in the *Acta Sanctor.* Tom. i. April. p. 728 &c. There are also some unpublished documents in my possession, which throw much light on this controversy, yet do not decide it. [The whole question must be tried according to ecclesiastical

tinued at Rome : *Clement* removed to Avignon in France. The cause of *Clement* was espoused by France, Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus : the other countries of Europe acknowledged *Urban* for the true vicegerent of Christ.

§ 15. Thus the unity of the Latin church, as existing under one head, came to an end, at the death of *Gregory XI* ; and that most unhappy disunion ensued, which is usually denominated *the great Schism of the West*. (23) For during 50 years, the church had two or three heads : and the contemporary pontiffs assailed each other, with excommunications, maledictions, and hostile measures. The calamities and distress of those times, are indescribable. For besides the perpetual contentions and wars, between the pontifical factions, which were ruinous to great numbers, involving them in the loss of life or of property ; nearly all sense of religion was in many places extinguished, and wickedness daily acquired greater impunity and boldness ; the clergy, previously corrupt, now laid aside even the appearance of piety and godliness, while those who called themselves Christ's vicegerents were at open war with each other ; and the conscientious people, who believed no one could be saved without living in subjection to Christ's vicegerent, were thrown into the greatest perplexity and anxiety of mind. (24) Yet both the church and the state received very considerable advantages from these great calamities. For the nerves of the pontifical power were cut, by these dissensions, and could not afterwards be restored ; and kings and princes, who had before been in a sense the servants of the pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. Moreover great numbers, possessing some measure of discernment, despised and disregarded these pontiffs, who could fight for empire ; and committed themselves and their salvation into the hands of God, and acknowledged that the church and religion might remain and be safe, without any visible head of the church.

§ 16. On the death of *Urban V*, AD. 1389, the Italian cardinals, his partizans, elected for his successor at Rome *Peter Thomacelli*, a Neapolitan, known among the pontiffs by the name of *Boniface IX*. And *Clement VII*, dying in the year 1394, the French cardinals appointed as his successor, *Peter de Luna*, a

law ; and according to that, both elections were undoubtedly liable to exceptions. *Schl.*]

(23) For an account of this schism, see *Peter Puteanus (de Puy)*, *Histoire du Schisme qui a été en l'Eglise depuis l'an 1378. jusqu'en l'an 1428*. Paris 1654. 4to. which, as the *Preface* informs us, was compiled from documents in the archives of the king of France, and is worthy of credit. Neither is *Lewis Maimbourg's* *Histoire du grand Schisme d'Occident*, to be despised ; though the writer is here and there manifestly partial. Many documents are contained in *Boulay's* *Historia Acad.* Paris. Tom. iv. and v. and *Edm. Martene's* *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* Tom. ii. p. 1074 &c. The common writers, as *Alexander*, *Raynald*, *Bzovius*, *Spondanus*, *Du Pin*, I omit to name as usual.

(24) On the great evils of this schism, there are direct remarks, in the *Histoire du droit public eccles.* François, Tom. ii. p. 166, 193, 202 &c.

Spaniard, who assumed the name of *Benedict XIII.* In the mean time, kings, princes, bishops, and theologians, proposed and attempted various methods for extinguishing this schism. The safest and best method, it was generally thought, was that of voluntary *resignation*, (*via cessionis*,) as they expressed it. (25) But neither of the pontiffs could be induced to resign, either by entreaties, or threats, or promises. The French church, greatly displeased by this obstinacy, in the year 1397, withdrew itself from the dominion and authority of both pontiffs, in a council held at Paris. This decree being published in the year 1398, *Benedict XIII.* was detained as a prisoner, by order of *Charles VI.* king of France, in his own palace at Avignon. (26)

§ 17. The vices and faults of the great body of the monks, were seen even by some of the Roman pontiffs, and especially by *Clement XII.* who looked upon them with abhorrence, and labored to cure and remove them : but the vast and difficult undertaking was unsuccessful. The principal monks, and indeed the leading men in the church, were the *mendicants*, particularly the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* ; by whose counsels and pleasure, every thing of importance was transacted, both at the court of Rome and in the cabinets of princes. So high was the reputation of those brethren, for sanctity and for influence with God, that the most distinguished persons of both sexes, some while in health, and others when sick and in the near prospect of death, wished to be received into their orders, for the purpose of securing the favor of God. Many carefully inserted in their last wills, that they would have their corpses wrapped in a sordid Dominican or Franciscan garment, and be buried among the mendicants. For the amazing superstition and ignorance of the age, led people to believe, that those would find Christ a gracious judge at the last day, who should appear before his tribunal associated with the mendicant monks.

(25) [In reality, the university of Paris proposed *three* ways of terminating the schism : the voluntary resignation of both (*via cessionis*) ; an agreement between them (*via compromissi*) ; and reference to the decision of a general council (*via deliberationis per concilium universale*). Among all these, that by resignation was thought to be the easiest : but this supposed the pontiffs to be ingenuous, and to make the good of the church their primary object ; which was not the fact. In order to facilitate this project, the king and the nobles of France, with the university of Paris, used all their exertions, after the death of *Clement*, to prevent a new election at Avignon. But the cardinals were of a different mind. They went into conclave, and elected *Benedict XIII.* yet previously binding themselves by a solemn oath, that the person elected, on the return of tranquillity, should himself labor to bring about a resignation of both, if the majority of the cardinals should see it to be best. But neither *Benedict* nor his opposer *Boniface*, would have any thing to do with a resignation. The pleasure and the honor of being pope, outweighed all considerations of patriotism. And it was not till the next century, that the church was so happy as to see this schism removed. *Schl.*]

(26) Besides the common writers, see *Longuevalle*, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, Tome xiv. and the *Records* themselves, in *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iv. p. 829 &c.

§ 18. But this high reputation and vast influence of the mendicants, inflamed still more the hatred, which had long burned against them almost universally, in the higher and lower orders of the clergy, in the other monks, and in the universities. Hence there was scarcely a country of Europe, or a university, in which one might not see bishops, priests, and theologians, eagerly contending against the Dominicans and Franciscans; who, by means of the great privileges conferred on them by the pontiffs, every where undermined the ancient discipline of the church, and assumed to themselves the direction of all religious matters. In England, the university of Oxford firmly resisted the Dominicans: (27) and *Richard* of Armagh, (28) *Henry Crump, Norris*, and others, assailed with great energy all the mendicant orders. (29) The most zealous of these, *Richard* of Armagh, went to the court of *Innocent VI*, in the year 1356, and there plead the cause of the church against them, with amazing ardor, until his death in 1360. (30) In France, various persons, and among them those of the university of Paris, labored in a more private way, to overthrow the power of the mendicants: (31) but *John de Polliac*, a doctor of theology, publicly denied, that the Dominicans and Franciscans had power to grant absolution to persons confessing sins to them, or that the pontiffs were able to give them such power, so long as the *canon*, called *omnis utriusque sexus*, remained in force: whence he inferred, that those who would be sure of salvation, must confess their sins to their parish priests, notwithstanding they had absolution from the monks. But all

(27) See *Ant. Wood's* Antiq. Oxoniens. Tom. i. p. 150, 154, 196 &c.

(28) [*Richard Fitz-Ralph*, or *Richard Radulphus*, was a native of Ireland, professor of theology at Oxford, much esteemed by king *Richard III*, of England, created by him dean of Litchfield, and AD. 1333, chancellor of Oxford. In the year 1347, *Clement VI*, by his pontifical right of *provision*, constituted him archbishop of Armagh in Ireland. He strenuously opposed the mendicants, both before, and after his elevation to the see of Armagh. While at Oxford, he exposed their vain and proud poverty, in his public lectures; and when a bishop, he came out still more powerfully against them. In 1356, he came to London, and there published in his preaching nine theses against them. They now accused him to the pope of heresy, and caused him to be cited to Avignon. He went there, and after three years attendance, his cause not being yet decided, he was removed by death, AD. 1360. He has left us a number of sermons; a *Summa*, seu *Libri xix. adversus errores Armenorum*; and his defense against the mendicants, delivered at Avignon in 1357; besides several sermons and tracts, never published. A little before his death, an Irish translation of the New Testament, was found concealed in a wall of his church, which has been supposed to be his production. Tr.]

(29) See *Wood's* Antiq. Oxoniens. Tom. i. p. 181, 182, Tom. ii. p. 61, 62. *Baluze*, Vitæ Pontif. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 338, 350. *Boulay's* Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. iv. p. 336. *Wadding's* Annales Minor. Tom. viii. p. 126.

(30) See *Rich. Simon's* Lettres choisies, Tome i. p. 164 &c. I have before me, in manuscript, by *Bartholomew de Brisaco*, (provincial of the Dominicans for Germany,) *Solutiones oppositæ Richardi, Armachani Archiepiscopi, propositionibus contra Mendicantes in curia Romana coram pontifice et cardinalibus factis*, AD. 1360.

(31) See *Jo. Launoi*, de Canone: *Omnis utriusque sexus*; in his Opp. Tom. i. P. i. p. 271, 274, 287 &c. *Baluze*, Vitæ Pontif. Avenion. Tom. ii. p. 10. and *Miscellanea*, Tom. i. p. 253. *Dachery*, Spicileg. Scriptor. veter. Tom. i. p. 112 &c.

these adversaries effected little or nothing ; for the pontiffs vigorously defended these their best friends and supporters, against all attacks secret or open. The opinion of *John de Polliac* was condemned by a special decree of *John XXII*, in the year 1321.(32)

§ 19. But among all the foes of the mendicant orders, no one has obtained greater fame both good and ill, among posterity, than *John Wickliffe*, an Englishman, doctor and professor of theology at Oxford, and afterwards rector of Lutterworth, a man of an acute mind, and, for the age in which he lived, of great learning. After the example of *Richard* of Armagh, and many other of the best men in his country, he in the year 1360, first vigorously defended the rights of the University of Oxford, against the sects that professed voluntary poverty, at the same time slightly censuring also the pontiffs, who were their chief patrons : nor did any lover of his country, consider him as criminal on this account. Afterwards, when *Simon Langham*, archbishop of Canterbury, deprived him of the wardenship of *Canterbury Hall* in the university of Oxford, AD. 1367, and appointed a monk to succeed him, and the sovereign pontiff, *Urban V*, to whom he appealed, confirmed the decision of the archbishop ; *Wickliffe* assailed with greater freedom, not only all the monks and their morals, but also the power of the pontiffs, and some other things, both in his writings and in his discourses. From this he proceeded still farther, and in various treatises, refuted a large part of the prevailing opinions on religious subjects ; exhorted the people to read the sacred volume ; translated the scriptures into the English language with his own hands ; and expressed abhorrence of the prevailing gross superstition. It would be easy to show, that neither the doctrines of *Wickliffe* were free from errors, nor his life void of faults ; and yet it is most certain, that he advocated many things, that were wise, and true, and profitable.(33)

§ 20. The monks, whom *Wickliffe* had especially offended, commenced a great religious process against him in the pontifical court of *Gregory XI*, who in the year 1378, commanded *Simon Sudbury* archbishop of Canterbury, to try the cause in a council at London. From this imminent peril, *Wickliffe* escaped unharmed, through the protection of the duke of Lancaster and other noblemen, who were his friends. And as *Gregory XI*, died soon after, and the fatal schism in the Latin church ensued, one pontiff reigning at Rome, and another at Avignon, this controversy remained long suspended. Upon a change in the state of affairs, *William de Courtenay*, archbishop of Canterbury, revived the

(32) It was published by *Edm. Martene*, Thesaur. Anecdotor. Tom. i. p. 1368. Add *Steph. Baluze*, Vitae Pontif. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 132, 182. &c.

(33) His *Dialogues*, in four Books, have lately been reprinted, Francfort and Leipsic 1753. 4to. from which may be learned, not indeed all his opinions, but the general objects at which he aimed, and the spirit of the man.

controversy, in 1385, and urged it on with great vehemence, in two councils, the one held at London, and the other at Oxford. The result was, that of the eighteen [twenty-four] opinions, for which the monks accused him, nine were condemned as heresies, and fifteen as errors; but *Wickliffe* himself returned in safety to Lutterworth, where he died in tranquillity AD. 1387. By what means he escaped this latter peril, which was greater than the former, whether by the favor of the court, or by denying and abjuring the opinions in controversy, does not appear. (34) He left

(34) A formal biography of this very noted man, was composed by *John Lee*, "The History of the life and sufferings of John Wickliffe; London 1720. 8vo." He also published the *New Testament*, in an English translation, by *John Wickliffe* from the Latin version called the *Vulgate*, London 1731. Fol. with a learned *Preface*, in which he treats of the life and sufferings of *Wickliffe*. [His life is also given in *Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers*, Lond. 1809, 2 vol. 8vo. in *Middleton's Biographia Evangelica*, vol. i. p. 1 &c. and in *Milner's History of the church*. Cent. xiv. ch. iii.] The *Documents* in relation to his trials, are in *Dex. Wilkin's Concilia magnae Britanniae et Hibern.* Tom. iii. p. 116 &c. 156 &c. Add *Boulay's Historia Acad.* Paris. Tom. iv. p. 450 &c. *Ant. Wood's Antiq. Oxoniens.* Tom. i. p. 183 &c. 186 &c. and in other places. [*John Wickliffe*, or *de Wickliffe*, was born at the village of *Wickliffe*, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, about AD. 1324; was sent early to Oxford, where he was a commoner of Queen's College, and afterwards of Merton, in which he became a fellow. Merton college about this time contained the following eminent men, *Walter Burley*, *William Occam*, *Thomas Bradwardine*, *Simon Mepham*, *Simon Islip*, and *Geoffry Chaucer*. *Wickliffe* was a hard student, a profound scholar, a sarcastic writer, and a subtle disputant. Philosophy, metaphysics, and theology were his favorite studies. In the year 1360, he distinguished himself, by becoming the advocate of the university against the mendicant monks, who infringed the laws of the university, and enticed the students away to their monasteries. *Wickliffe*, whose English style was excellent for that age, wrote various tracts against them, and disputed against them, with great success. In 1361, he was made master of *Baliol* college; and four years after, warden of *Canterbury Hall*. In 1367, *Langham*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, ejected him from the wardenship; and he appealed to the pope, who delayed his decision three years, during which *Wickliffe* was severely lashing the monks and clergy, and did not spare the pontiff. In 1370, cardinal *Andræynus*, the papal commissioner, decided the cause against *Wickliffe*. Soon after, he obtained the rectory of *Lutterworth* in the diocese of *Lincoln*, through the favor of the duke of *Lancaster*; which he held till his death, and in which he was a most active and faithful pastor. In 1372, he took his degree of D. D. and now read lectures on theology at Oxford, with great applause. He here attacked not only the monks, but also the pope and the clergy; and confuted the prevailing errors of the day, both as to the doctrines of christianity, and the constitution of the christian church. In 1374, the king appointed him one of his ambassadors to the pope, to remonstrate against the papal reservation of churches. After this he inveighed still more boldly against the pope, in his lectures, calling him "Antichrist, the proud, worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and purse cutters." He also inveighed against the prelates. In 1376, the monks drew up nineteen articles, extracted from his public lectures and sermons, which they sent to the pope. The principal of these were: "That there is one only universal church, consisting of the whole body of the predestinate.—That the eucharist, after consecration, was not the real body of Christ, but only an emblem or sign of it.—that the church of *Rome* was no more the head of the universal church, than any other church: and that *St. Peter* had no greater authority given him, than the rest of the apostles.—That the pope had no more jurisdiction, in the exercise of the keys, than any other priest.—That if the church misbehaved, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to dispossess her of her temporalities.—That when a prince or temporal lord was convinced, that the church made an ill use of her endowments, he was bound, under pain of damnation, to take them away.—That the gospel was sufficient, to direct a christian in the conduct of his life.—That neither the pope, nor any other

a great number of followers, both in England, and out of England, who were denominated *Wickliffites*, and by a vulgar term of reproach brought from Belgium into England, *Lollards*; and these were every where grievously persecuted, by the *Inquisitors* and other instruments of the pontiffs. Hence the council of Constance, AD. 1415, condemned the memory and the opinions of *Wickliffe* in a solemn decree; in consequence of which, in the year 1428, his bones were dug up, and publicly burnt.

§ 21. These numerous, ingenious, and respectable adversaries, were utterly unable to bring the mendicant orders to give up their excessive pride and superstition, and to cease from deceiving the multitude with opinions injurious often to the divine character and to religion. The Franciscans, in extolling the excellence of their institution, which they contended was the very *gospel* of Jesus Christ, and in eulogizing the founder of their order, whom they impudently represented as another Christ, or as in all things like to Christ, exceeded all bounds of sobriety and reverence for the Savior. Yet the Roman pontiffs patronized this madness, by their letters and decrees, in which they declared the absurd fable of

prelate, ought to have prisons for the punishing offenders against the discipline of the church."—On the second of May, 1377, the pope issued *five* bulls, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, (who were directed to try the charges,) to the king, (who was desired to assist the bishops,) and to the university of Oxford, (ordering them to deliver up the accused). The king died, before the bulls arrived: the university treated theirs with contempt: the prelates determined to proceed against him; and therefore summoned him to appear before them at London, within thirty days. During that interval parliament met, and deliberated, whether they might lawfully refuse to send treasure out of the kingdom, when the pope required it to be sent. The resolution of this doubt was referred, by the king and parliament, to doctor *Wickliffe*; who answered that it was lawful, and undertook to prove it so, by the principles of the law of Christ. He now appeared before his judges, attended by the duke of Lancaster, and the lord marshal earl *Percy*. A vast concourse was assembled. Some altercations ensued between the bishops and the two noblemen, the assembly was in commotion, and *Wickliffe* was conducted off in safety by his patrons, without having any trial. He was then summoned to appear at Lambeth. He did so, and presented a paper explanatory of the charges, which the bishops thought best to admit as satisfactory. The next year, 1378, the pope died; and the commission to the two English prelates to try the case of *Wickliffe*, of course, was at an end. *Wickliffe* in his lectures, sermons, and writings, now embraced every opportunity of exposing the Romish court, and detecting the vices of the clergy and the monks. In 1381, he published sixteen *Theses* against transubstantiation; and in his lectures at Oxford, expressly denied the doctrine of the real presence. The vice chancellor and eleven doctors, now condemned his doctrine. In 1382, *William Courtney* was translated from the see of London to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; and now began another process against *Wickliffe*, whom he summoned to appear at London before commissioners appointed to try him. He was dissuaded by his friends from appearing; but the university sent a letter in his favor, testifying fully to his learning, piety, and soundness in the faith. Notwithstanding this testimony, and the arguments of his able counselors, fourteen of his conclusions were pronounced heretical or erroneous. Soon after he left Oxford in 1382, *Wickliffe* had a slight shock of the palsy; yet he continued to preach till 1384, when he was seized again, in his pulpit at Lutterworth, more violently; fell down, was carried home, and shortly after expired, aged sixty years.—His works were a vast number of tracts on doctrinal and practical subjects in theology, against the prevailing errors and vices of the times, &c. See *Middleton's* Biographia Evangelica, vol. i. p. 1 &c. Tr.]

the *stigmata* or five wounds, impressed upon *St. Francis* by the Savior himself on mount Alvernus, to be highly credible, nay unquestionably true.(35) They also suffered to go abroad without censure, and even approved and commended, an impious piece stuffed with monstrous and absurd tales, entitled *The book of the conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ*; which was published in 1385, by *Bartholomew Albizi*, a Franciscan of Pisa, with the applause of his order. This infamous book, in which the Son of God is put upon a level with a vile and miserable man, is an eternal monument of the impious arrogance and religious stupidity of the Franciscan order, and of the consummate indiscretion of the pontiffs in extolling and recommending these friars.(36)

(35) The fable of the *Stigmata* impressed upon *Francis* by Jesus Christ, is very well known; nor are the pontifical letters unknown, by which belief in this fable is commanded, and which are published with great care, in particular, by *Wadding*, in his *Annales Minorum*, Tom. viii. and ix. [The story of these *Stigmata*, as related by *Bonaventura*, the biographer of *Francis*, (de Vita S. patris Francisci, cap. 13) is briefly this: that Francis two years before his death, retired, as was his custom, to mount Alvernus, to keep a forty days fast, in the season of Quadragesima. While praying there, a Seraph appeared flying in the heavens, and came near to him, having six wings, under which he saw distinctly the figure of Christ crucified. The Seraph talked with him; but he would never retail the conversation. After the Seraph departed, he found on himself five wounds; one on each of his feet and hands, and one on his side. On the insides of his hands, and on the upper sides of his feet, were hard, round, black substances, representing the heads of nails; and on the back of his hands, and the bottoms of his feet, projecting, acuminate substances, which bent round like clenched nails. In his side was a wound, three fingers long. From all these, blood and a watery substance flowed, occasionally; and he experienced continual, and sometimes exquisite, pain from them. When he descended from the mountain, he, with some hesitation, related the vision to a few trusty friends. His wounds, he concealed as much as possible, during his life. He languished two years, and died. After his death, more than 50 persons examined these wounds, and found them real, among whom were some cardinals. Alexander IV, the Roman pontiff, in preaching before the brethren, when *Bonaventura* was present, declared, that he had seen those wounds on *Francis*, previously to his death. Tr.] The Dominicans formerly opposed this fable openly: but being restrained by the bulls of the pontiffs, they now ridicule it only in private. The Franciscans, on the contrary, have not ceased to trumpet it. That *St. Francis* had these *Stigmata*, or appearances of the five wounds of Christ, on his body, I do not doubt; for the fact is attested by witnesses sufficiently numerous and competent. But undoubtedly, *St. Francis* himself, who was peculiarly superstitious, inflicted those wounds upon his own person, in order to be like to Christ, and to bear in his own body a perpetual memento of his sufferings. For it was customary in that age, for those who wished to appear more holy and devout than common, to mark themselves with such *Stigmata*, so that they might always have before their eyes something like a picture of the death of Christ. The words of St. Paul, Gal. vi. 17. [*I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.*] were understood, in that ignorant age, to have reference to such a custom. And from the *Acta Sanctorum*, and other monuments of this and the following century, a long catalogue of such *branded saints*, might be drawn up. Nor is this superstition entirely done away in our own age. The Franciscan friars finding these marks upon the body of their deceased founder, and wishing to make him appear privileged above all men, invented this fable of Christ's miraculous ly transferring his wounds to *St. Francis*.

(36) Concerning *Albizi*, and his book, see *Lu. Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. ix. p. 158 &c. *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Latina medii ævi*, Tom. i. p. 131. *Jo. Geo. Schellhorn*, *Amoenitates Litterar.* Tom. iii. p. 100. *Peter Bayle*, *Dictionnaire*, Tom. ii. Art. *François*; and *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* Tom. i. Art. *Al-*

§ 22. Not a whit wiser than these Franciscans who remained obedient to the pontiffs, were those other Franciscans, who insisted on observing their rule perfectly, and who resisted the pontiffs that mitigated it; I refer to the *Fratricelli*, their *Tertiarii* or *Beghards*, and to the *Spirituals*, who resided principally in France and embraced the opinions of *Peter John Oliva*. These Franciscans, for a long time, caused great disturbance both in church and state, and gave the pontiffs vast trouble and vexation. Near the beginning of the century, in the years 1306 and 1307, the less austere Franciscans in Italy raged violently against the more strict, or the *Fratricelli*, who had withdrawn from the community.(37) Such of these as were able to escape the fury of their enemies, in the year 1307, fled into France, and connected themselves with the *Spirituals*, or the followers of *Peter John Oliva* in Provence, who had likewise receded from the body. Soon after this, the whole Franciscan order, in France, Italy, and other countries, was divided into two parties: one of which, being attached to the rigid poverty of *St Francis*, was called that of the *Spirituals*; the other, that was disposed to have the rules of their founder mitigated, was called the *Brethren of the community*. The latter was the largest and most powerful, and labored to the utmost, to suppress the former, which was yet in its infancy and not strong. But the seceders would rather endure every thing, than abandon the injunctions of their founder, and return to the community. In the year 1310, the pontiff *Clement V*, called the leaders of both parties to his court, and made great efforts to terminate the schism. But the business advanced very slowly, in consequence of the inflexibility of the parties, and the great number of their mutual accusations. In the meanwhile, the *Spirituals* of Tuscany, without waiting for the decision of the pontiff, chose for themselves a general and inferior officers; but the French, being nearer the pontiff, waited patiently for his determination.(38)

§ 23. After various deliberations, *Clement V*, in the general council of Vienne, AD. 1312, published the celebrated law or bull, called, from its first words, *Exivi de paradiso*;(39) in which he

bizi, p. 217. Extracts from this book, which is called the *Alcoran of the Franciscans*, were made by *Erasmus Albertus*; and have been often printed, in Latin, French, and German; the second German edition was printed Amsterd. 1734. ii. vol. 8vo. The French and Latin editions are ornamented with elegant engravings. ["The conformities between Christ and St. Francis are carried to forty in the book of *Albizi*, but they are multiplied to 4000 by a Spanish monk of the order of Observants, in a book published at Madrid in the year 1651, under the following title, *Prodigiosum Naturae et Gratiae Portentum*. The conformities mentioned by *Pedro de Alva Astorga*, the austere author of this most ridiculous book, are whimsical beyond expression. See the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, Tome iv. p. 318." *Macl.*]

(37) *Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. vi. ad ann. 1307. p. 91.

(38) *Wadding's Annales Minor.* Tom. vi. ad ann. 1310. p. 172. *Eccard's Corpus Histor. medii aevi*, Tom. i. p. 1480. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iv. p. 129. *Echard's Scriptores Praedicator.* Tom. i. p. 506, 509.

(39) This law is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* among the *Clementinae* [Lib. v.] Tit. xi. de verbor. significat. Tom. ii. p. 1098. ed. *Boechmer*.

endeavored to end the discord by taking a middle course. For he made a number of concessions to the *Spirituals*; and in particular, commanded the Franciscans to profess, as their rule prescribed, *the greatest and most perfect poverty, renouncing all property either common or personal*; and allowing only the *simple use*, and that *limited, meagre and poor*, of the necessities of life. On the other hand, he allowed the Franciscans, if they lived in places where it was very difficult to obtain subsistence by begging, to provide themselves with *granaries* and *store cellars*, and to collect and lay up in them what they procured by begging: and the officers and overseers of the order, were to judge when and where such *granaries* and *cellars* were necessary. Moreover, in order to satisfy the *Brethren of the community*, he condemned some of the opinions of *Peter de Oliva*.⁽⁴⁰⁾ This decision quieted the commotions in France, though with difficulty, and only for a short time; but it had no effect to allay the heated passions of the Tuscan and Italian *Spirituals*, many of whom not feeling themselves safe in Italy, in the year 1313, emigrated to Sicily, where they were kindly received by *Frederic* the king, and by the nobles, and the bishops.⁽⁴¹⁾

§ 24. After the death of *Clement V*, the tumult in France, which had been stilled by his authority, broke out anew. For in the year 1314, one hundred and twenty of the *Spirituals* drove the *Brethren of the community* out of the monasteries of Narbonne, and Beziers, by force and arms; elected new presiding officers; and, (what greatly enhanced the difficulty of this already inveterate contest,) cast off their former garments, and assumed such as were short, narrow, and illshaped. Many others from the other provinces joined with them; and the citizens of Narbonne, among whom *Oliva* was buried, undertook to defend this company. *John XXII*, being placed at the head of the church, attempted in the year 1317, to apply a remedy to the inveterate evil. In the first place, by a special law, he ordered the extirpation of the *Fratricelli*, and their *Tertiarii*, or the *Beguins* or *Beghards*, who were distinct from the *Spirituals*.⁽⁴²⁾ Soon after, he admonished the king of Sicily, to expel all the *Spirituals* residing in his dominions.⁽⁴³⁾ And lastly, he called the French *Spirituals* before him at Avignon, and exhorted them to return to their duty, and in particular to lay aside their *short, strait habits, and their small hoods*. Most of them complied; but the head of the company, brother *Bernard Delitiosi*, with twenty four others, boldly refu-

(40) *Wadding's Annales Minor*. Tom. vi. p. 194, 197, 199.

(41) *Wadding's Annales Minor*. Tom. vi. p. 213, 214. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iv. p. 151, 165. *Argentree, Collectio judicior. de novis error*. Tom. i. p. 392 &c.

(42) This law is called *Sancta Romana* &c. and is extant among the *Extravagantes Johannis xxii*. Tit. vii. de religiosis donibus; in the *Corpus Juris Canon*. Tom. ii. p. 1112.

(43) *Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. vi. p. 265 &c.

sed to submit to the requisition. For these men affirmed, that the rule of *St. Francis* was the same as the gospel of *Jesus Christ*; and therefore, that the power of the pontiffs was not adequate to change it. Consequently the pontiffs did wrong, by allowing the Franciscans to have *granaries and cellars*; and they did wrong, by prohibiting such garments as *St. Francis* had prescribed. Against these pertinacious men, *John* directed [the Inquisitors] to proceed as against *heretics*. And truly they were the worst of *heretics*, for they opposed the majesty and power of the Roman pontiff. The head of the party, brother *Delitiosi*, who was sometimes called *Delli Consi*, was confined in a prison; where he ended his days. Four others were burned at the stake, by order of the Inquisitors, at Marseilles, in the year 1318.(44)

§ 25. These unhappy monks, and afterwards many more, who were cut off in this lamentable contest, were punished merely for disregarding the majesty of the pontiffs: for they believed, that the rule of their founder, *St. Francis*, being dictated by God himself, and really the gospel of *Christ*, was not subject to the power of the pontiffs. The controversy, considered in itself, was rather ridiculous, than a serious matter, and had no connexion with true religion. It related merely to two points: *first*, the form of the garments to be worn by Franciscans; and *secondly*, their *granaries and cellars*. The *Brethren of the community*, that is, the laxer Franciscans, wore long, loose, and good habits, with ample hoods, or coverings for their heads: but the *Spirituals* wore strait, short, sordid and vile garments, with small hoods; because such a dress, they said, was prescribed for the fraternity in the rule of *St. Francis*, which it was not lawful for any mortal to alter. In the next place, the *Brethren of the community*, in the seasons of harvest and vintage, laid up corn in their granaries, and wine in their cellars: but the *Spirituals* contended, that this was inconsistent with genuine mendicity, and the profession made by poor *Minorites*. And hence *John* published, in this very year, a long epistle, in which he directs that both questions be left to the judgment and discretion of the superiors of the order.(45)

§ 26. The effects of this epistle, and of other decrees, were prevented by the unseasonable and impious severity of *John XXII*, which even his friends detested. For the *Spirituals* and their supporters, exasperated at the cruel death of their brethren, maintained, that *John XXII*, had rendered himself unworthy of the

(14) *Baluze*, Vitae Pontif. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 116. Tom. ii. p. 341. and Miscellanea, Tom. i. p. 195, 272. *Wadding*, Annales Minor. Tom. vi. p. 267. &c. 316 &c. *Martene*, Thesaur. Anecdotor. Tom. v. p. 175. *Martin* of Fulda, in *Ec-card's* Corpus Histor. medii aevi, Tom. i. p. 1725. and *Herm. Coerner*, ibid. Tom. ii. p. 981. Histoire generale de Languedoc, Tom. iv. p. 179 &c. *Argentre*, Collectio judicior. de novis errorib. Tom. i. p. 204.

(45) It is extant in the Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Johannis xxii. [Tit. xiv. cap. 1.] de verbor. signif. Add *Wadding's* Annales Minor. Tom. vi. p. 273. and others.

pontifical office, and indeed *Antichrist*, by the slaughter of those holy men: the four brethren burnt at Marseilles, they honored as martyrs, paying religious veneration to their bones and ashes: and they contended, far more earnestly than before, against the long garments, the large hoods, and the *granaries* and *cellars*. On the other hand, the *Inquisitors*, by direction of the pontiff, seized all the persons of this description on whom they could lay their hands, and committed them to the flames without mercy, immolating them to the pontifical indignation. From this time onward, therefore, not only in France, but also in Italy, Spain, and Germany, an immense number of the defenders of the rule of *St. Francis*, *Fratricelli*, *Beghards*, and *Spirituals*, were cruelly put to death. (46)

§ 27. This bloody conflict continued to spread wider and wider, and had involved the whole Franciscan order, in the year 1321, when to the former points of controversy, a new one was added, respecting the poverty of *Christ* and his apostles. A *Begin*, or monk of the *third order of St. Francis*, being apprehended this year at Narbonne, taught, among other things, that *Christ and his apostles possessed nothing, by way of property or dominion, either in common, or individually*. This opinion, *John de Belna*, an Inquisitor belonging to the order of Dominicans, pronounced to be an error: but *Berengarius Taloni*, a Franciscan, maintained it to be sound, and consonant to the epistle of *Nicolaus III*, *Exiit qui seminat* &c. The judgment of the former was approved by the Dominicans; the decision of the latter was maintained by the Franciscans. The subject being brought before the pontiff, he endeavored to quiet the new controversy by a discreet procedure; and therefore called to his counsel *Ubertinus de Casalis*, a Franciscan of great reputation, and a patron of the *Spirituals*. He answered equivocally, and by making distinctions. Yet the pope and the cardinals thought his sentence was calculated to end the controversy. The pontiff therefore ordered both the parties, to acquiesce in his decision, and to be silent, and observe moderation. (47)

§ 28. But the impassioned minds of the Dominicans and Franciscans, could not be brought to submit to this mandate. *John* therefore, in the year 1322, allowed the controversy to be brought

(46) I have in my hands, in addition to the other documents serving to elucidate the difficult history of this persecution, the *Martyrology of the Spirituals and Fratricelli*, which was exhibited to the Inquisition at Carcassone, AD. 1454, which contains the names of one hundred and thirteen persons, of both sexes, who, from the year 1318, to the time of *Innocent VI*, [AD. 1352—1362,] expiated in the flames their zeal for the poverty of *St. Francis*, in France and Italy. To these, so many others might be added, from the historians and documents printed and manuscript, that I suppose a catalogue of two thousand such martyrs might be made out. See the *Codex Inquis. Tolosanae*; published by *Limborch*, p. 298, 302, 319, 327, &c.

(47) *Wadding's Annales Minor*. Tom. vi. p. 361. *Steph. Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. i. p. 307. *Gerh. des Bois*, *Hist. eccles. Paris*. p. 611 &c.

up again ; and he laid the following question before the most celebrated divines, and especially those of Paris, for their decision : *Whether those were heretics, who affirmed, that Jesus Christ and his apostles held no property, either in common, or as individuals ?* The Franciscans, who this year held their convention at Perugia, having had previous notice of the business, unanimously decided, that persons making such an assertion were no heretics, but held a doctrine that was true, and holy, and accordant with the decisions of the pontiffs : and they appointed a man of distinguished learning, belonging to their order, brother *Bonagratia* of Bergamo, who was also called *Boncortese*, (48) to repair to Avignon, and there defend this decision of the whole order, against all opposers. *John XXII*, was exceedingly offended at this, and published an ordinance, in the month of November, in which he espoused the opposite doctrine to that of the Franciscans ; and pronounced those to be *heretics*, who should pertinaciously maintain, that *Christ and his apostles possessed no property, either in common or individually, and had not the right of selling and giving away what they possessed.* A little after, he proceeded still farther ; and in an ordinance drawn up in the month of December, he exposed the vanity and futility of the arguments, commonly drawn from a bull of *Nicolaus III*, proving a transfer of the dominion of the Franciscan possessions to the church of Rome, leaving only the simple use, without any ownership, to the brethren : for it was utterly impossible, in regard to things which are consumed by the use of them, to separate the right of use, from the right of property or dominion. He also solemnly renounced all property in the Franciscan effects reserved by the former pontiffs to the Romish church, with the exception of their churches and some other things ; and dismissed the officers or purveyors, who had hitherto received the revenues and administered the affairs of the order in the name of the Romish church ; and repeated all the laws and constitutions of his predecessors on this subject. (49)

§ 29. These pontifical ordinances destroyed the citadel of the Franciscan order, that boasted *expropriation*, in which *Francis* placed the highest glory of his fraternity. Hence the Franciscans most resolutely opposed the pontiff ; and in particular, brother *Bonagratia*, the legate of the order, publicly maintained in the court of the pontiff, AD. 1323, that the last ordinance of *John* was repugnant both to human and divine law, and appealed the

(48) I notice this circumstance, because some valuable writers have made them two persons.

(49) These constitutions are inserted in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* among the *Extravagantes* [*Johannis xxii.*] Tit. xiv. de verbor. significat. cap. ii. iii. p. 1121 &c. On the subject itself, the most important writer to be consulted, is the contemporary author, *Alvarus Pelagius*, de planctu ecclesiae, Lib. ii. c. 60 &c. p. 145 &c. and next to him, *Lu. Wadding*, *Annales Minor.* Tom. vi. p. 394 &c. Both censure *John*. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iv. p. 191 &c.

case.(50) The pontiff, on the other hand, threw this bold defender of Franciscan poverty into prison ; and by a new edict, at the close of the year, commanded, that all persons should be accounted *heretics*, and corrupters of religion, who should teach, that Christ and his apostles possessed no property, either in common, or as individuals.(51) And as this edict did not terrify the Franciscans, and many of them poured forth reproaches and maledictions against *John*, another bull, still more violent, was issued toward the close of the year 1324 ; in which the pontiff defended his former decrees, and pronounced the doctrine of an *expropriation by Christ and his apostles*, to be *pestiferous, erroneous, damnable, blasphemous*, and *opposed to the catholic faith* ; and ordered, that all who professed it, should be accounted *heretics, contumacious*, and *rebels against the church*.(52) The effect of this edict was, that many, who continued to assert that Christ and his apostles were such mendicants as Francis required his brethren to be, were seized and committed to the flames, by the enemies of the Franciscans, the Dominican Inquisitors. And the history of France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, shews, that in this and the following century, the examples of this so great cruelty were not a few.

§ 30. *John* prosecuted this business, strenuously, in the subsequent years. As the whole controversy seemed to originate from the books of *Peter John Oliva*, in the year 1325, he declared the *Postilla*, and the other writings of *Oliva*, to be heretical.(53) He next summoned to Avignon, the more learned and eminent Franciscans, whose tongues and pens he feared, and detained them at his court. And lastly, he employed his friends, the Dominicans, every where as sentinels ; lest the Franciscans, who were full of indignation and wrath, should plot some mischief. The general of the order, *Michael de Caenas*, lived in Italy, and did not disguise his hatred of the pontiff. Him, therefore, he summoned to Avignon, in the year 1327, and deprived him of his of-

(50) *Wadding's Annales Minor.* Tom. vii. p. 2, 22 &c. *Alvar. Pelagius*, de planctu ecclesiae, Lib. ii. p. 167. *Trithemius*, *Annales Hirsaug.* Tom. ii. p. 157. *Theod. de Niem*, in *Eccard's Corpus Histor. medii aevi*, Tom. i. p. 1491 &c.

(51) *Wadding*, Tom. vii. p. 36. the continuator of *de Nançis*, in *Dachery's Spicileg.* Tom. iii. p. 83. *Boulay's Hist. Acad. Paris.* Tom. iv. p. 205. the *Benedictine Gallia christiana*, Tom. ii. p. 1515. &c.

(52) This constitution, as well as the two above mentioned, is [in the *Corpus Jur. Canon.*] among the *Extravagantes* [Johann. xxii.] Tit. xiv. de verbor. signif. [cap. v.] The last one is strenuously opposed, at great length, by *Wadding*, Tom. vii. p. 36. which was not to be expected in a man so immoderately devoted to the pontiffs.

(53) *Wadding's Annales Minor.* Tom. vii. p. 47. *Jo. George Eccard's Corpus Histor. medii aevi*, Tom. i. p. 592, and 1491. [And indeed *Oliva* has, in his *Postilla*, on the Apocalypse, propositions, which the pope must have accounted worthy of condemnation. He understood, by the whore of Babylon, the Romish church ; by Antichrist, the pope ; by the angel flying through the midst of heaven with the everlasting gospel, *St. Francis* ; and by an evangelical life, a life void of all property, common or personal, and in which a person has the mere use of things. *Schl.*]

fice.(54) This use of force tempered with policy, only inflamed still more the minds of the Franciscans, who were contending for absolute poverty. And a fierce contest breaking out between *John XXII*, and the emperor *Lewis* of Bavaria, several of the leading Franciscans, among whom *Marsilius* of Padua and *John* of Jandunum or Genoa were preeminent, fled to the emperor, and under his protection, opposed most violently in their writings, not only *John* himself, but generally the power and authority of the Roman pontiffs.(55) Their example was followed by *Michael Caesenias*, *William Occam*, a very acute and discriminating man, and by brother *Bonagratia*, who in the year 1328, proceeded by sea from Avignon, first into Italy to the emperor, and thence to Munich. These were succeeded by others, in great numbers; among whom were *Berengarius*, *Francis de Esculo*, and *Henry de Halem*, men eminent for erudition and talents.(56)

(54) See *Wadding's Annales Minor.* Tom. vii. p. 69, 74.

(55) *Lu. Dachery*, *Spicilegium*, Tom. iii. p. 85 &c. *Bullarium Roman.* Tom. vi. p. 167. *Edm. Martene*, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* Tom. ii. p. 695, 704. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iv. p. 216. Particularly noted, is the performance of *Marsilius* of Padua, a professor at Vienna, entitled, *Defensor pacis pro Ludovico Bavaro adversus usurpatam Romani pontificis jurisdictionem*; published with other works, and also separately, by *Fran. Gomarus*, *Francf. 1592. 8vo.*

(56) *Wadding's Annales Minor.* Tom. vii. p. 81. *Martene's Thesaur. Anecdot.* Tom. ii. p. 749, 757 &c. *Trithemius*, *Annales Hirsang.* Tom. ii. p. 167. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iv. p. 217. *Eccard's Corpus Historicor. medii ævi*, Tom. ii. p. 1034. *Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. i. p. 293, 315 &c. Concerning these men, the reader may consult the compilers of *Catalogues* and *Bibliothecas of the Ecclesiastical Writers*.—[*Michael Caesenias*, D. D. was a native of Italy, a Franciscan, of the province of Bologna, and created general of the order, AD. 1316. He strenuously enforced the discipline of the order; presided in the chapter held at Perugia, AD. 1322; was summoned to Avignon in 1327, imprisoned, and the next year ordered to trial for the decision in the chapter at Perugia. He appealed from the sentence; and fearing the consequences, privately escaped from Avignon. The pope now excommunicated him, and deposed him from the generalship of his order, appointing cardinal Bertrand to succeed him. *Michael* appealed to a council, joined the emperor *Lewis*, and strenuously resisted the pontiff. In the year 1329, Bertrand called a chapter of the Franciscans at Paris, which deposed *Michael*, and elected *Gerard* to succeed him. He now openly accused the pope of heresy; and the latter anathematized him in 1330; and the year following, the convention of his order at Perpignan, declared him a heretic. He died AD. 1343, retaining his rancor against the pope, to the last. His works are several tracts, letters, and protestations against *John XXII*, commentaries on Ezekiel, and on the four Books of Sentences: and some sermons.—*Marsilius Patavinus* was born at Padua, studied law at Orleans, was one of the most distinguished philosophers and jurists of his age, and became a counsellor of *Lewis* of Bavaria. He composed his celebrated *Defensor pacis pro Ludovico*, &c. in three Books, AD. 1324; in which he asserts the superiority of the emperors over the popes, even in the external affairs of the church; depicts the pride, ambition, and luxury of the court of Rome, in vivid colors; and shows, that the bishops of Rome, have no more authority, by divine right, over the whole church, than any other bishops. In 1327, *John XXII*, excommunicated him; and he died the year following. Besides his *Defensor pacis*, he left tracts on the power of the emperors in matrimonial causes, and on the transfer of the empire.—*John de Janduno*, or of Genoa, was a doctor at Perugia, and a distinguished theologian and philosopher, who was excommunicated at the same time with *Marsilius*. In the year 1338, he published his tract, *Pro superioritate Imperatoris in temporalibus*. He also wrote commentaries on various works of Aristotle.—*William Occam*, was an Englishman, born in Surry, a disciple of *Duns Scotus*; was called *Doctor Singularis*, and *Venerabilis Inceptor*, and belonged to the

All these composed eloquent and severe treatises, in which they vindicated the rule of their founder, and depreciated the power and majesty of the pontiffs. *Occam* excelled the rest; whose *Dialogues* and other writings were eagerly read, and handed down to posterity, and have inflicted a mortal wound on the pontifical supremacy.

§ 31. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria, feeling grateful to these his defenders, made the case of the Franciscans against *John XXII*, his own; and he not only espoused their cause, but likewise their opinion respecting the mendicity of Christ and the apostles. For among the pernicious errors, for which he publicly accused *John* of heresy, and removed him from the pontificate, the chief was his opinion respecting *Christ's* poverty, or that he was not destitute of all property; than which, the emperor supposed, there could be no worse heresy. (57) The emperor moreover afforded to all the *Fraticelli*, the *Beghards*, the *Beguins*, and the *Spirituals*, who were contending against the pontiff, a secure asylum in Germany, against the Inquisitors. Hence, during his reign, Germany abounded in herds of mendicants; and in nearly all the provinces and cities, houses were erected for *Beghards* and *Beguins*, that is, for persons professing what was called the *third rule* of St. Francis, and placing the highest virtue of a christian

order of Franciscans. In the beginning of this century he occupied a theological chair in the university of Paris; dissented from his master *Scotus*, and became the head of the sect of *Nominalists*. He espoused the cause of *Philip the Fair*, against the pontiff, in a tract on the point in controversy. In 1322, he was made provincial of his order for England; attended the general chapter at Perugia, the same year, and embraced strongly the decision of that convention, respecting the poverty of Christ and his apostles. This doctrine he now openly preached, every where, and particularly at Bologna. The next year the pope commanded him to be silent, on pain of excommunication. He retired to France, and remained secure in silence, till 1328; when he drew his pen, in favor of *Lewis*, against the pope; espoused the cause of *Peter Corbarius*, the anti-pope; wrote keenly against the ambition and tyranny of *John XXII*, and maintained, that the emperor was subject to none but God, in temporal things. He was therefore excommunicated by *John*, in 1330; and fled to the emperor, *Lewis* of Bavaria, who received him kindly, made him his privy counsellor; and he remained all the rest of his life at that court, strenuously and learnedly defending the emperor's cause against the pope. He said to the emperor: Tu me defendas gladio; et ego te defendam calamo. He died AD. 1347; some say later. His numerous works are, *Questions and Commentaries* on the four Books of Sentences; several works on logic, metaphysics, and philosophy; a Dialogue between a clergyman and a soldier, on ecclesiastical and secular power; a tract on the jurisdiction of the emperors in matrimonial causes; eight questions on the power and majesty of the pontiff; *Centiloquium theologicum*, or 100 propositions, on nearly all points in speculative theology; a Dialogue between a master and his scholar, in three parts, (a large work, relating chiefly to the constitution and discipline of the church, in opposition to the pontifical claims); a Compendium of the errors of *John XXII*; *Opus nonaginta dierum*, (against *John's* positions in regard to the Franciscans); *Quodlibeta VII*; a tract on the eucharist; another on the body of Christ; a tract against *Benedict XII*, and a letter to the Franciscans. Tr.]

(57) See the *Processus Ludovici contra Johannem*, AD. 1328, die 12 Dec. datus; in *Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. ii. p. 522 &c. and his *Appellatio*; *ibid.* p. 494 &c.

(58) I have in my possession many proofs of this fact, which were never published.

man in a voluntary destitution of all things, or in mendicity.(58) On the contrary, the *Dominicans*, who were the enemies of the *Franciscans*, and the friends of the pontiff, the emperor treated with great severity, banishing them from many cities, with disgrace.(59)

§ 32. This great, and to the pontiffs, formidable controversy began to subside, in the year 1329. For in this year, the pontiff directed the convention of the *Franciscan* order to be held at Paris; and by means of cardinal *Bertrand*, who presided in the assembly, and was assisted by the doctors of Paris, the pontiff so far soothed the majority of the brethren, that they ceased from supporting *Michael Caesenas*, and his followers; allowed another general to be chosen in his place, *Gerard Odonis*; acknowledged *John* to be the true and legitimate pontiff; and terminated the contest respecting the poverty of Christ, in such a way, as not to impeach the constitutions and decrees of *Nicolaus III*, and *John XXII*.(60) But great numbers in Germany, Spain, and Italy, could not be persuaded to admit this pacification. After the death of *John*, *Benedict XII*, and *Clement VI*, endeavored to heal the schism, by mildness and clemency, towards those *Franciscans* who had greater veneration for the rule of their founder than for the decrees of the pontiffs: nor were they unsuccessful. For many returned to the fraternity, from which they had receded; and among these were some of the most inveterate opposers of *John*; such as *Francis de Esculo*, and others.(61) Those who would not return, did not insult the pontiffs, but lived quietly, in obedience to the laws of their founder; nor would they hold intercourse with the *Fratricelli*, and their *Tertiarii*, in Italy, Spain, and Germany, who openly contemned the authority of the pontiffs.(62)

§ 33. The Germans, whom the emperor *Lewis* protected, resisted longer than the others. But at his death, AD. 1348, the golden age of the *Franciscan Spirituals*, and of the *Beghards* or *Tertiarii* connected with them, expired in Germany. For *Charles IV*, who had been created emperor by the influence of the pontiff, in 1345, and now succeeded to the empire, seconded the desires and wishes of the church, supported by edicts and by arms the Inquisitors, who were sent by the pontiff against his enemies, and allowed them to seize and put to death all they could lay hands on. They accordingly proceeded, first in the provinces of Magdeburg, Bremen, Thuringia, Saxony, and Hesse, to extir-

(59) *Mart. Diefenbach*, de mortis genere, quo Henricus VII, obiit, p. 145; and others. *Eccard's Corpus Histor. medii aevi*, Tom. i. p. 2103. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iv. p. 220 &c.

(60) *Wadding's Annales Minor*. Tom. vii. p. 94. *Dachery*, Spicilegium, Tom. iii. p. 91.

(61) *Argentre*, Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus, Tom. i. p. 343. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iv. p. 281. *Wadding's Annales Minor*. Tom. vii. p. 313.

(62) *Wadding's Annales*, Tom. vii. p. 116, 126. *Argentre*, l. c. Tom. i. p. 343, &c.

pate all the *Beghards* and *Beguins*; that is, the associates or *Tertiarii* of those Franciscans, who maintained that Christ and his apostles had no property. On learning this, *Charles IV*, then residing at Lucca in Italy, issued very severe mandates to all the princes in Germany, in the year 1369, to expel, and to aid the Inquisitors in extirpating, as being enemies to the church and to the Roman empire, all *Beghards* and *Beguins*, or, as the emperor interprets the name, the *voluntary mendicants*. (63) By another edict, a little after, he gave the houses of the *Beghards* to the *tribunal* of the *Inquisition*, ordering them to be converted into prisons for *heretics*: but the houses of the *Beguins* he ordered to be sold, and the avails to be distributed equally among the *Inquisitors*, the poor, and the magistrates of the towns. (64) The *Beghards* being reduced to extremities by these mandates of the emperor, and by the edicts of the pontiffs, fled into Switzerland, into the provinces along the Rhine, into Holland and Brabant, and also into Pomerania. (65) But there also the laws and mandates of the emperor, the decrees of the pontiffs, and the Inquisitors, followed them. And thus, under *Charles IV*, the greatest part of Germany, with the exception of Switzerland, and the provinces adjacent to Switzerland, was purged of the rebellious Franciscans, both the perfect monks, and the imperfect, or *Beghards*.

§ 34. But neither edicts nor Inquisitors could entirely pluck up the roots of this inveterate evil and discord. For the wish to observe perfectly the rule of *St. Francis*, was so deeply infixed in the minds of many of the brethren, that there were persons every where who either directly resisted the general of the order, or obeyed him with feelings of reluctance. In order therefore to satisfy both parties, the more lax, and the more rigid, various measures having been tried in vain, recurrence was had to a division of the order. Accordingly, in the year 1366, the general of the order gave liberty to *Paulutius Fulginas*, the leader of the more rigid Franciscans in Italy, and his associates, who were considerably numerous, to live detached from the rest of the brethren.

(63) In the German: *Die wilgen Armen*.

(64) I have in my possession this edict, with other laws of *Charles IV*, relating to this subject, and also many of the pontifical constitutions, and other documents which illustrate this affair, and which in my judgment are not unworthy of publication. *Charles IV*, in his edicts and laws, accurately describes the persons, whom he calls *Beghards* and *Beguins*; so that there can be no doubt, we are to understand them to be *Franciscan Tertiaries* of the class that disagreed with the pontiffs. They are (says the emperor, in his edict dated at Lucca, on the 15th of the Kalends of June, AD. 1366,) a *pernicious sect, who pretend to a sacrilegious and heretical poverty, and make vows or professions, that they will possess nothing, and ought not to, either individually, or in common*: (This is the poverty of the Franciscan institute, which *John XXII*, so strenuously opposed:) *which they also exhibit externally by their vile garments*. (Such was the practice of the Spirituals, and of their associates.)

(65) This I learn from *Odor. Raynald*, *Annales Eccles. ad ann. 1372*. § 34. p. 513. and from the writings of *Felix Malleolus*, composed in the following century, against the *Beghards* in Switzerland.

ren, and according to their own customs and regulations, observing the rule of their founder more religiously and sacredly. To this party, gradually, came over such as remained, here and there, of the *Spirituals*, and of the followers of *Oliva*. And the number of the lovers of the severer discipline being increased, and the party extending itself over many provinces, the pontiffs sanctioned the association, by their authority. Thus the Franciscan order was split into two sects, which have continued down to the present times, that of the *Conventual Brethren*, and the *Brethren of the observation or regular observants*. The first name is given to those, who have receded farther from the literal sense of the rule of their founder, and who adopt the interpretation of it by the pontiffs; the latter name was given by the council of Constance to those, who chose to follow the words of the rule, rather than the interpretation given to it.(66) But this reconciliation was rejected by the *Fratricelli* and their *Beghards*, who have been so often mentioned; and who, in this and the following century, did not cease to disturb the church, in the marquisate of Ancona, and in other places.

§ 35. In this century also there were new religious associations formed; of which some were of short continuance, and others acquired no great notoriety or fame. In the year 1367, *John Calombinus*, a nobleman of Siena, instituted the order of the *Apostolic Clerks*; who were afterwards called *Jesuates*, because they pronounced so very frequently the name of *Jesus*. This order was confirmed by *Urban V*, in the year 1368; but it was abolished by *Clement IX*, in the 17th century or AD. 1668. Its members followed the rule of *St. Augustine*; but they were not in holy orders, and only gave themselves to prayer, to pious offices, administering to the poor, and were themselves without property. They also prepared medicines, and administered them gratis among the needy.(67) But these regulations were nearly abandoned, when *Clement* dissolved the order.

§ 36. Not long after the commencement of the century, there arose at Antwerp the sect of the *Cellite Brethren and Sisters*; who were also called the *Brethren and Sisters of Alexius*, because they had *St. Alexius* for their patron saint. The name *Cellites* (*Cellitae*) was derived from the *cells* in which they resided. As the priests in that age, paid almost no attention to the sick and the dying, and wholly forsook and abandoned those infected by pestilential diseases, which then were very prevalent, certain pious persons at Antwerp formed themselves into an association for performing these pious offices. While the clergy therefore fled from the danger and

(66) See *Wadding's Annales Minor.* Tom. viii. p. 209, 298, 326, 336. Tom. ix. p. 59, 65, 78, &c.

(67) *Hip. Helyot, Histoire des Ordres*, Tom. iii. p. 411 &c. *Francis Pagi, Breviarium Pontif.* Tom. iv. p. 189 &c. *Bonanni* and the other writers on the monastic orders.

hid themselves, these persons visited and comforted the sick, conversed and prayed with them when dying, attended to the burial of such as died with the plague, and accompanied their remains to the grave with funeral dirges. From the last of these offices they acquired among the people the common appellation of *Lollhards*.(68) The example of these good people was followed by

(68) Concerning the name and the sect of the *Lollhards*, there are many disquisitions and narrations; but no one has so written on the subject, as to deserve commendation, either for good faith, or for diligence and accuracy. On this subject I make assertions, with the more confidence, because I have made special investigations respecting the *Lollhards*, and have collected copious materials, from printed and unprinted documents, from which a history of them might be compiled. Very many writers, both of the Lutheran and other communities, tell us that the *Lollhards* were a peculiar sect, dissenting on many points of religion, from the Romish church; and that *Walter Lollhard*, who was burnt at Cologne in this century, was the father of it. From what source so many learned men could derive these facts, I confess myself unable to comprehend. They refer, indeed, to the authority of *John Trithemius*: but he, certainly, has left us nothing of the kind, in his writings. I will endeavor, with all the brevity I can, to put the student of ecclesiastical history upon a right course of thinking on this subject.

The term *Lollhardus* or *Lullhardus*, or, as the ancient Germans wrote it, *Lollert* or *Lullert*, is compounded of the old German word *lullen*, *lollen*, or *lallen*, and the well known termination *hard*, which is subjoined to so many German words. *Lollen* or *lullen*, signifies to sing with a low voice. It is still used in this sense, by the English, who say, *to lull a-sleep*; that is, to sing any one into a slumber, with a sweet and slender voice. See *Francis Junius*, *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, published by *Edward Lye*, Oxon. 1743. Fol. on the word *Lollard*! The word is also used, in the same sense, by the Flemings, the Swedes, and other nations; as their *dictionaries* will show. Among the Germans, both the signification and the sound have undergone some change. For they pronounce it *lallen*; and denote by it, *to utter indistinctly*, *to stammer*. A *Lollhard*, therefore, is a *Singer*, or one who sings much and often. But as the word *beggen*, which signified in general, *to beg earnestly* for any thing, was transferred to religious supplications or prayers addressed to God, and thus came to denote, in its more limited sense, *to pray earnestly to God*; so also the verb *lollen* or *lullen* was transferred to sacred singing, and in its limited sense, denoted, *to sing sacred songs*. In the vulgar language of the old Germans, therefore, a *Lollhard* was a man, who was *continually praising God with sacred songs*, or was *singing hymns*. The import of the word was most accurately apprehended and expressed, by a writer of that age, named *Hocsemius*, a canon of Liege, in his *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, Lib. i. cap. 31. (in *Jo. Chapenvilli Gesta Pontificum Tungensium et Leodiensium*, Tom. ii. p. 350 &c.) who says: *In the same year, (1309,) certain strolling hypocrites, who were called Lollhards or praisers of God, (qui Lollhardi sive Deum laudantes vocabantur,) deceived some women of quality in Hainault and Brabant*. And because those who praised God, generally did it in verse: hence in the style of the middle ages, *to praise God*, was the same as *to sing*; and the persons who praised God, were religious *singers*, who continually celebrated the divine majesty and goodness in sacred hymns. Moreover as praying and singing were the most manifest external indications of piety, therefore all who affected more than ordinary piety and devotion, and of course praised God and prayed to him more than others, were in the popular language called *Lollhards*. Thus this term acquired the same import, with the term *Beghard*, or denoted a person distinguished for piety. And these two words are used as synonymous, in the ancient writings of the eleventh and following centuries; so that the same persons are, at one time called *Beghards*, and at another *Lollhards*. This might be evinced, unanswerably, by numerous examples; and is sufficiently manifest from the writings of *Felix Malleolus* alone, against the *Beghards*. There were, then, as many species of *Lollhards*, as there were of *Beghards*. Those whom the monks now call *Lay Brothers*, were formerly called *Lollhard Brothers*; as is well observed by *Barthol. Schobinger*, on *Joach. Vadianus* de collegiis, monasterisque Germaniæ veteris, Lib. i. pa. 24. (in *Goldast*,

many others; and in a short time, over the greater part of Germany and the Netherlands, societies were formed of such *Lollhards*, of both sexes, who were supported partly by their own labor, and partly by the munificence of those whom they served, and of other pious persons. By the magistrates and citizens of the places where they lived, these brethren and sisters were highly esteemed, on account of the kind offices they performed for the sick and distressed. But the priests, whose reputation they injured not a lit-

Scriptores rerum Allemannicarum, Tom. iii). The *Brethren of the free spirit*, of whom we have already spoken, were by some, called *Beghards*, and by others, *Lollhards*. The disciples of *Gerhard Groote*, or the *priests of common life*, were very often called *Lullhard brethren*. The honest *Walter*, who was burnt at Cologne, and whom so many of the learned improperly regard as the founder of the sect of *Lollhards*, was by some called a *Beghard*, by others a *Lollhard*, and by others a *Fratricellus*. The Franciscan *Tertiarii*, who distinguished themselves above the common people by their prayers and other religious observances, are often designated by the term *Lollhards*. But especially were the *Cellite Brethren* or the *Alexians*, whose piety was so conspicuous, as soon as they appeared in Belgium, near the beginning of this century, designated by the common people with the familiar appellation of *Lollhards*. In this case, however, there was a special reason for the people to bestow on them this name. For they attended to their graves those who died of the pestilence, singing in a low voice, solemn, funeral dirges, and were therefore public singers. Out of many testimonies, I will adduce only some from *Jo. Bapt. Gramay*, a man well versed in the history of his country. In his *Antwerpia*, Lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 16. he says : *The Alexians who employed themselves about funerals, had their rise at Antwerp; where, soon after the year 1300, some honest and pious laymen associated together; and were called, from their frugality and their unassuming and plain manner of life, Matemanni; and from their devotedness to funerals, Lollhards; (a funerum obsequiis, Lollhardi;)—from their cells, Cellite Brethren.* In his *Lovanium*, p. 18. b. which is in his *Antiquit. Belgicae*, published splendidly in Fol. Louvain, 1708, he says : *The Alexians, who took the charge of funerals as a business, began to appear. They were laymen, that devoted themselves to works of mercy, and were then called Lollhards and Matemans. Their attention to the care of the sick, the delirious, and the dead, both in public and in private, was pleasing to all.* This learned author tells us, that he transcribed a part of these facts from an ancient *Flemish diary, written in rhyme*. Hence, in the *Annals of Holland and Utrecht*, (in *Ant. Matthaeus*, *Analecta veter. aevi*, Tom. i. p. 431.) we read : *Die Lollardtjes die brochten de dooden by een, [i. e. the Lollards who collected the dead bodies. Maccl.] which Matthaeus thus explains: The managers of funerals, and carriers of the dead, of whom there was a regular body, were vile, worthless fellows, who usually spoke in mournful tones, as if bewailing the dead. And hence the name of a street at Utrecht, in which most of them lived, was called (de Lollstraet) the Lollard street.* Compare also the same *Analecta &c.* Tom. ii. p. 345, 643. The same cause, that changed the reputable appellation of *Beghard* into a term of reproach, effected a similar change in the name of *Lollhard*: namely, the fact, that among those persons who would be thought superior to others in piety, and who spent their time in prayer, and praise, and religious exercises, base hypocrites were found, who pretended to piety, in order to conceal their vicious conduct and their absurd religious tenets. Especially, after the rise of the *Alexians* or *Cellites*, the term *Lollhard* became reproachful and base. For the priests and monks being very inimical to this honest sort of people, studiously propagated injurious suspicions respecting them, and represented these *Lollhards*, who appeared so spotless and so benevolent, as in reality vile characters, infected with abominable principles, and addicted to vices and crimes. Thus, gradually, the term *Lollhard*, in its common application, came to designate one who conceals either heretical principles or vicious conduct, under the mask of piety. It is therefore certain, that this appellation was not anciently appropriated to any one sect, but was common to all sects and persons, in whom impiety towards God and the church, was supposed to be concealed under an external appearance of the contrary.

tle, and the mendicant monks. whose resources they diminished, persecuted them violently, and accused them before the pontiffs of many faults, and of the most grievous errors: and in consequence of their exertions, the term *Lollhards*, which before implied no reproach, became a reproachful epithet, denoting one who conceals great vices, and pernicious sentiments, under the mask of piety. But the magistrates, by their commendations and their testimony, supported the *Lollhards* against their rivals, and procured for them various decrees of the pontiffs, approving of their institution, exempting them from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and subjecting them only to the bishops. Yet even this did not enable them to live in safety. Hence, *Charles* duke of Burgundy, obtained a decree from *Sixtus IV.* in the year 1472, by which the *Cellitae* or *Lollhards* were admitted among the religious orders, and were withdrawn even from the jurisdiction of the bishops: and *Julius II.* in the year 1506, conferred on them still greater privileges. Many societies of their kind still exist, at Cologne and in the cities of the Netherlands, though they have essentially departed from their ancient manner of life,(69)

§ 37. Among the Greek writers, the following were the most distinguished. *Nicephorus Callistus*, whose Ecclesiastical History has already been mentioned.(70) *Matthaeus Blastares*, who expounded and illustrated the ecclesiastical law of the Greek church.(71) *Barlaam*, a strenuous defender of the cause of the Greeks against the Latins.(72) *Gregory Acindynus*, who warmly opposed the sect of the Palamites, of which notice will be taken hereafter.(73) *John Cantacuzenus*, distinguished for the history he composed, and for his confutation of the Muhamme-

(69) Besides many others, who cannot be here cited, see *Aegid. Gelenius*, de admiranda sacra et civili magnitudine urbis Coloniae, Lib. iii. Syntagm. LI. p. 534 &c. 596, 603 &c. *Jo. Bapt. Gramage*, Antiq. Belgicae; *Anton. Sanderus*, Brabantia et Flandria illustratae; *Hub. Miraeus*, Opera Diplomatica; in many passages: and many other writers of those times. I will add, that those who were called *Lollhards*, were also called by many, in German, *die Nollbrüder*, from the obsolete word *Nollen*.

(70) [See above, p. 420, note (6). Tr.]

(71) *Matthew Blastares* was a Greek monk and jurist, who flourished about AD. 1335. His *Alphabeticum Canonum Syntagma*, or Alphabetical synopsis of the matter contained in the sacred canons, was published, Gr. and Lat. in *Beveridge's Pandecta Canonum*. Oxon. 1672. Tom. ii. P. ii. p. i. His tract on matrimonial causes and questions, is extant, Gr. and Lat. in *Leuclav. Jus. Gr. Rom. Lib. viii.* p. 478. He also translated the fictitious donation of Constantine into Greek. Tr.]

(72) [See above, p. 421, note (8). Tr.]

(73) [*Gregory Acindynus* was a follower of *Barlaam*, and assisted him in the council of Constantinople, against *Palamas* and the Hesychists: and, together with *Barlaam*, was laid under censure by that council. Not ceasing to harass the Hesychists, he was arraigned by the patriarch, AD. 1341, and ordered to be still, or he would be excommunicated. In 1347, he was actually excommunicated; and afterwards lived in obscurity. His Iambic poem on the heresy of *Gregory Palamas*, is extant, Gr. and Lat. in *Leo. Allat. Gr. Othod. Tom i.* p. 756—770. and his two Books, de essentia et operatione Dei, against *Palamas* and others, was published, Gr. and Lat. by *Gretser*, Ingolst. 1616. 4to. Tr.]

dan faith.(74) *Nicephorus Gregoras*, who has left us a history of the Greek empire, and some other products of his genius.(75) *Theophanes*, bishop of Nice, who maintained the truth of christianity, against the Jews, and other enemies of it.(76) *Nilus Cabasilas*, *Nilus Rhodius*, and *Nilus Damyla*, all of whom zealously supported the cause of the Greeks, against the Latins.(77) *Philotheus*, who has left various tracts, calculated to excite pious emotions.(78) *Gregorius Palamas*, of whom more will be said hereafter.(79)

(74) [See above, p. 420, note (5). Tr.]

(75) [See above, p. 419, note (1). Tr.]

(76) [*Theophanes*, archbishop of Nice, flourished AD. 1347, and wrote, *adversus Judaeos libri ii.* also *Concordia Vet. et Novi Testam.* proving *Jesus* to be the Messiah: besides some Epistles. A full analysis of the two first works, is given by *Possevin*, Apparat. Tom. ii. p. 470. Tr.]

(77) [*Nilus Cabasilas* was archbishop of Thessalonica, under *John Cantacuzenus*, about AD. 1340. His Tract, de causis divisionum in ecclesia; and another, de Primatu Papae; have been repeatedly published, particularly by *Salmasius*, Gr. and Lat. with notes, subjoined to his work on the Primacy of the Pope, Leyden 1645. 4to. He is reported to have written xlix Books de processione Sp. S. adversus Latinos.—*Nilus Rhodius* was metropolitan of Rhodes, perhaps about AD. 1360. He took sides with the Palamites against *Barlaam*; and wrote, *Enarratio Synoptica de sanctis et oecumenicis Synodis IX.* which is extant in *Justell's Biblioth. Juris Canon.* Tom. ii. p. 1155.—*Nylus Damyla* was a native of Italy, a monk in Crete, a violent opposer of the Latins, and flourished AD. 1400. His works, from which only extracts have been published, are, de Ordine in divina Triade, et de Processione Spir. S. Collectanea adversus eos qui contradicunt, Spiritum S. non ex Patre, sed ex Patre et Filio procedere; de Damaso Papa et fide antiquae Romae; and, de Synodis duabus Photianis: all of which exist in MS. Tr.]

(78) [*Philotheus* was a Greek monk, prior of the Laura of Mount Athos, metropolitan of Heraclea AD. 1354. patriarch of Constantinople AD. 1355, and died in 1371; greatly distinguished for reputed piety, and for eloquence. His Liturgia et Ordo instituendi Diaconum; and his Eulogy on the hierarchs, Basil, Gregory Theologus, and John Chrysostom; are given in a Latin translation, in the Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. xxvi. and the last, Greek and Latin, in *Fronto Ducaeus*, Auctuar. Patrum, Tom. ii. His Oratio de cruce; and Oratio in tertiam jejuniar. Dominicam; Greek and Latin, are in *Gretzer*, de cruce, Tom. ii. He wrote seventeen books, on Christ's transfiguration, in defence of *Palamas*, against *Barlaam*; also discourses against *Barlaam*; a confession of faith; homilies on the Gospels for the year, and on all the saints; and some other things; which are preserved in manuscript. Tr.]

(79) [*Gregory Palamas*, an Asiatic, educated at court, who renounced the world, gave up all his property, and became a monk. He spent 10 years at mount Athos, and 10 more at Berrhoea; and then went to Thessalonica, to recover his health, injured by his austerities. He now became the successful leader of the monks against *Barlaam*, for a series of years; and was much at court, and in councils. In 1347, he was imprisoned by a faction; but soon after was liberated by another faction, and nominated, but not ordained, patriarch. About the year 1354, by order of the emperor *Cantacuzenus*, he was consecrated archbishop of Thessalonica; but the magistrates there would not admit him to his see, and he retired to Lemnos, where he was supported by the emperor's bounty. His works are, two orations on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, against the Latins; a refutation of the statements of *John Veccus*; *Prosopopaeia*, or two judicial pleas of the body and the soul, each against the other; two orations on the transfiguration of Christ: besides some pieces never published.

Besides those hitherto mentioned, there were the following Greek writers in this century.

Haiton, or *Aiton*, an Armenian prince, who served long in the wars of Palestine against the Saracens, and then, about AD. 1290, became a Praemonstratensian monk in the island of Cyprus, and spent his life in retirement, and devo-

§ 38. Of the vast host of Latin writers, we shall select only the most eminent. Among the scholastic doctors, who united theology with philosophy, *John Duns Scotus*, the great antagonist of *Thomas*, and a Franciscan monk, holds the first rank; and if deficient in candor, and ingenuousness of mind, he certainly was second to none of his age, in subtilty. (80) After him the more

tion. About AD. 1307, while resident at Poitiers in France, he dictated a history of the Tartars, their customs, and their wars; which *Nicolaus Falconius* translated, from the French in which it was dictated, into barbarous Latin; entitled *Itinerarium et flos Historiarum Orientis*; with an Appendix, entitled *Passagium Terrae Sanctae*. It was printed repeatedly; e. g. by *Reineccius*, Helmst. 1585. and in Italian, Venice 1553.

Georgius Lecapenus, a monk, who lived in Thessaly, was intimate with *Gregory Palamas*, and flourished about AD. 1354. He wrote de constructione Verborum, published in Gr. Venice and Florence, 1526. 8vo. also many epistles, and a number of grammatical works; which exist in manuscript.

Callistus, a monk of mount Athos, sent to court by his monastery, and made patriarch of Constantinople, by *Cantacuzenus*, AD. 1354; retired after two years; again resumed the chair, and died on an embassy to the Servian princess Elizabeth. To him is ascribed a homily on the exaltation of the cross; in *Gretser de Cruce*, Tom. ii. p. 1347. and some others, which exist in manuscript.

Demetrius Cydonius, a native of Constantinople, and one of the principal counsellors and courtiers of the emperor *Cantacuzenus*. He retired with that emperor to a monastery; and afterwards leaving Greece, studied theology and the Latin writers at Milan; and then, selling his property, spent his life in a monastery in Crete. He has left a tract, on the execrable doctrines of *Gregory Palamas*; another on the Procession of the Holy Spirit; two deliberative orations on public political affairs; an oration on contempt of death; and an epistle to Barlaam, against the procession of the Spirit from the Son; all of which have been printed; as also his Greek translation of *Richard's* confutation of the Alcoran. He also translated into Greek *St. Thomas' Summa Theologiae*, and some other of *St. Thomas' works*, as well as some of *St. Anselm* of Canterbury: which exist in manuscript.

John the Wise, surnamed *Cyparissiota*, of an uncertain age, but supposed to have flourished about AD. 1360. His *Expositio materiaria eorum, quae de Deo a theologis dicuntur*, in x. decades, is extant in a Latin translation, *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxi. and two of his discourses, Greek and Latin, in *Combesis, Auctuar. noviss.*

Manuel Caleca, a Greek, who is reported to have become a Dominican monk, and who lived about AD. 1360. His four Books against the Greeks, in regard to the Procession of the Holy Spirit, in a Latin translation, are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxvi. and his two tracts, one against the Palamites, and the other de principiis fidei christianae, Greek and Latin, are in *Combesis, Auctuar. noviss.*

Isaac Argyrus, a Greek monk, who flourished about AD. 1373, whose *Computus* was published Greek and Latin, by *J. Christmann*, Hidelb. 1611. 4to. and by *Dionys. Petavius*, de doctrina Temporum, Tom. iii. p. 359.

Emanuel II, Paleologus, created Caesar AD. 1384, and emperor, AD. 1391—1425. His works were published, Greek and Latin, by *Leunclavius*, Basil 1578. 8vo. comprising one hundred precepts for the education of a prince; seven addresses to his son, on virtues and vices, and learning; two prolix morning prayers, and several other tracts.

Joseph, called *Alshaker Biltabib*, a native of Alexandria in Egypt, and create of the catholic church of the holy virgin, AD. 1390, and ordained a presbyter AD. 1398. He translated paraphrastically nearly all the canons, received by the Greek church, into Arabic. The whole work, in manuscript, is in the Bodleian library. The canons of the four first general councils, Arabic and Latin, were printed in *Beveridge's Pandecta Canonum*, Oxon. 1671, Tom. ii. p. 681. Tr.]

(80) The works of *Scotus* were first published, accurately, in the 17th century, by *Lu. Wadding*, a very laborious man, Lyons 1639, xii. vol. Fol. See *Wood's Antiq.* Oxon. Tom. i. p. 86 &c. but especially, *Wadding's Annales Minor. frat.* Tom. vi. p. 40, 107. *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. iv. p. 70 &c. [*John Duns Scotus* was probably born about AD. 1265; but whether in England, Scot-

distinguished in this class, were, *Durand* of St. Porçian, who attacked the received doctrine respecting the co-operation of God in human actions : (81) *Antonius Andreas* ; (82) *Hervaeus Natalis* ; (83) *Francis Mayron* ; (84) *Thomas Bradwardine*, an acute and ingenious man ; (85) *Peter Aureolus* ; (86) *John Bacon* ; (87)

land, or Ireland, is uncertain. He studied first in a Franciscan monastery in Newcastle, and then at Merton college, Oxford, where he became a fellow, and AD. 1301, professor of theology. He greatly distinguished himself as a disputant, and was learned in philosophy, mathematics, civil and canon law, and theology. His lectures on the Sentences of Lombard were greatly admired, and very fully attended, by the 30,000 students, then said to be at Oxford. They are since printed, with notes, and fill six folio volumes. In the year 1304, the general of his order commanded him to remove to Paris, and there defend his doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary ; which he did with great success and applause. In 1308, his general sent him from Paris to Cologne, to found a university there, and to defend his doctrine of Mary's sinless birth. He died soon after his arrival, Nov. 8, 1308, aged 43 years. His works embrace, besides his commentaries on *Lombard's Sentences*, commentaries on some works of Aristotle, and numerous tracts, theological, metaphysical, and philosophical. Tr.]

(81) See *Jo. Launoi's* tract, entitled *Syllabus rationum, quibus Durandi causa defenditur* ; Opp. Tom. i. Gallia Christiana, Tom. ii. p. 723. [*Durand* of St Porçain, was born in the village of St. Porçain in Auvergne, France, was a Dominican monk, and a distinguished theologian at Paris, called Doctor resolutissimus. In 1323, he went to Italy, became master of the pontifical palace, bishop of Meaux in 1326, and bishop of le Puy in 1327, and died AD. 1333. He wrote commentaries on the four Books of Sentences, often printed ; de origine jurisdictionum, seu de ecclesiastica jurisdictione ; and a tract de legibus. Tr.]

(82) [*Antonius Andreas* was a Spaniard of Arragon, a disciple of *John Duns Scotus*, a Franciscan monk, flourished AD. 1308, and died, it is said, AD. 1320. His works are commentaries on the Sentences, and on the works of *Gilbert Porretanus*, *Aristotle*, and *Boethius*, with some law tracts. Tr.]

(83) [*Hervaeus Natalis*, a native of Brittany, a student and doctor at Paris, a Dominican monk, and AD. 1318, general of the order. He flourished AD. 1312, and died AD. 1323. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, printed, Paris 1647. Fol. Quodlibeta majora, and minora ; Tracts on the power of the popes ; against the Franciscans ; and on various theological, philosophical, and practical subjects ; a commentary on St. Paul's Epistles ; and a treatise on Logic. Tr.]

(84) [*Francis Mayron* was born in Provence, studied under *Duns Scotus* at Paris, where he became a noted doctor. He was a Franciscan monk, and died at Placentia AD. 1325. His commentaries on the Sentences, Quodlibeta varia, de formalitibus liber, de primo principio, de expositione divinatorum nominum, and de univocatione entis, were published at Venice 1520. Fol. and his sermons, and various theological tracts, Basil 1498. He also wrote commentaries on the ten Commandments, on Genesis, on *Augustine's Civitas Dei*, and on some books of *Aristotle*. Tr.]

(85) See *Rich. Simon*, *Lettres Choiesies*, Tom. iv. p. 232, and his *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiast.* par. M. du Pin, Tom. i. p. 360, and *Stéph. Soucier's* notes on this passage, p. 703. *Nouveau Dictionnaire hist. critique*, Tom. ii. p. 500 &c.—[also p. 423, above, and note (15) there. Tr.]

(86) [*Peter Aureolus* was a Frenchman, born at Verberie on the Oise, a Dominican monk and theologian, became a public teacher in the university of Paris, AD. 1318, and lectured on the Sentences, became archbishop of Aix in Provence AD. 1321, and died after AD. 1345. He wrote commentaries on the four Books of Sentences ; Quodlibeta varia ; Breviarium Bibliorum, or Epitome of the Scriptures ; a tract on the immaculate conception of Mary ; besides other tracts, and sermons. Tr.]

(87) [*John Bacon*, or *Baconthorp*, an Englishman, born at the obscure village of Baconthorp in Norfolk. He early became a Carmelite monk ; was sent to Oxford, and then to Paris, to study ; became celebrated as a jurist, and a theologian ; returned to England, and was soon after made provincial of his order for England, AD. 1329. Four years after, he was called to Rome, to give his opinion on some difficult matrimonial questions ; and died at London, AD. 1346.

William Occam; (88) *Walter Burley*; (89) *Peter de Alliaco*; (90) *Thomas of Strasburg*; (91) and *Gregory de Rimini*. (92) Among the mystics, *John Tauler* and *John Ruysbrock* excelled the others in wisdom and integrity, though they were not free from all errors. (93) Of *Raymund Lully*, we have already spoken. (94)

He wrote Commentaries on the Sentences; a Compendium of the law of Christ; Quodlibeta; on the rule of the Carmelites; and a historical defence of it; which have been published: also commentaries on the whole bible, and on *Augustine's Civitas Dei*; a tract against the Jews; sermons, &c. never published. Tr.]

(88) [See above, p. 449, note (56). Tr.]

(89) [*Walter Burley*, an English secular priest, or as some say, Franciscan monk, called Doctor planus et perspicuus. He was of Merton College, Oxford, and afterwards studied at Paris. In both, he heard *Duns Scotus*; but on his return to Oxford, he dissented from *Scotus*. He was preceptor to king *Edward III.*, and flourished AD. 1337, being then 62 years old. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, and a great number of philosophical works, comments on *Aristotle* and others, lives of the philosophers, tracts on philosophical questions, &c. Only a part of his works have been printed. Tr.]

(90) [*Peter de Ailly*, or *de Alliaco*, born of slender parentage, at Compeigne on the Oise, 48 miles N. E. Paris, AD. 1340; after a good previous education, he was admitted a bursar in the college of Navarre, Paris 1372; began to lecture on the Sentences, and to preach in public, in 1375; was created D.D. 1380, and head of the college of Navarre, in 1384; pleaded the cause of the immaculate conception of Mary, before the pope, at Avignon, in 1387; became chancellor of the university, and confessor to the king, in 1399; treasurer of the royal chapel, and royal envoy to the pope in 1394; was appointed bishop of la Puy in 1395, and of Cambrai in 1396; attended the council of Pisa in 1409; was made cardinal in 1411, and papal legate to Germany in 1414; at the close of which year, he repaired to the council of Constance, presided in the third session, and was very active during the three years of the sitting of that council, and often preached in it to the fathers. He died at Cambrai, AD. 1425: and was called the eagle of France, and the maul of errorists. He was strenuous for condemning *John Huss*, and also for restraining the ambition of the popes, and reforming the church and preserving its liberties. His writings are very numerous, and various; comprising commentaries on the Sentences of Lombard, on the study of the scriptures, on the power of the popes, pious meditations, sermons, expositions of scripture, the mode of electing popes, the authority of cardinals, the reformation of the church, the connection of astrology with theology, on the kalendar, comments on *Aristotle*, &c. many of which have been published. Tr.]

(91) [*Thomas of Strasburg*, was a German, born at Strasburg, an Augustinian Eremita, a theologian of Paris, was made prior general of his order in 1345, and died at Vienne, AD. 1357. He wrote commentaries on the four Books of Sentences; and has left us the constitution of his order and some other tracts. Tr.]

(92) Of all these [scholastic doctors], there is an account given, in the *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, Tom. xiv. p. 11, 12 &c. [*Gregory de Rimini*, was an Italian, born at Rimini, an Augustinian Eremita, a Parisian doctor of theology, general of his order AD. 1357, and died the year after at Vienne. He wrote on the two first Books of the Sentences, commentaries on the epistles of Paul, and on the epistle of James, a tract on usury, and some others. Tr.]

(93) [*John Tauler* was a German Dominican monk, and a popular preacher at Cologne and Strasburg. He died at the latter place, AD. 1360. *Luther* and *Melancthon* frequently quoted his writings, particularly his sermons. He left in German, *Postills*, or sermons for all the Sundays and festivals of the year; (highly commended by *Luther*;) *Imitation of Christ* in his poverty; *Marrow of the soul*, or perfection in all the virtues; *Spiritual contemplations on the life and sufferings of Christ*; the noble little book, or the way to become in earnest, hearty, spiritual, and devout; (the preceding were published, Francf. 1604, and 1703, 4to.) also, the *Soul-enlightening mirror*; with plates, 1713. 8vo. The other works ascribed to him, are letters, hymns, prayers, dialogues, and other tracts; several of which are not his.—*John Ruysbrock*, was born at Ruysbrock in Brabant, AD. 1293; was presbyter of the great church at Brussels; became a regular canon of St. Augustine; and established and presided over the convent of Grönthal, two miles from Brussels, AD. 1360, and died AD. 1381, aged 88. He was at the

Nicolaus Lyranus obtained great reputation by his concise exposition of the whole bible.(95) *Raynerius Pisanus* is known, for his *Summa Theologiae*.(96) and *Astesanus*, for his *Summa casuum conscientiae*.(97)

head of the mystics, and was called a *second Dionysius Areopagita*. His writings were all in Dutch; but *Laur. Surius* translated most of them into Latin; in which form they were published, Cologne 1552. Fol. 1669. 4to. and 1692. Fol. These are, a Summary of the spiritual life; the Mirror of salvation; Remarks on the tabernacle of Moses, and its furniture; on the principal virtues; on faith and the judgment; on the four temptations; on the seven guards of the spiritual school; on the seven degrees of love; on spiritual nuptials, three books; the perfections of the sons of God; the kingdom of the friends of God; on true contemplation; twelve useful epistles; two spiritual cautions; Samuel, or deep contemplation; a short prayer. Several of the protestants have commended his writings for their pious spirit. *John Gerson* accused him of heresy, after his death; but *Surius* defends him. He was severe upon the vicious monks and clergy. See the *Unpartheyische Kirchenhistorie*, Jena 1735, vol. i. p. 1320, 1331. Tr.]

(94) [See p. 426, above. Tr.]

(95) [*Nicolaus Lyranus*, or *de Lyra*, was born at Lire, in Normandy, and as some say, of Jewish parentage. He became a Franciscan monk, about AD. 1292; was master in theology at Paris, AD. 1320; expounded the scriptures there, in the Franciscan convent, and died AD. 1340. His great work, is *Postillae perpetuae*, sive *brevia Commentaria in universa Biblia*, libris lxxxv. which he commenced AD. 1293, and completed AD. 1330. After several incorrect editions, in vi. vol. Fol. it was published at Lyons 1590, Douay 1617, and Antwerp 1634, in the *Biblia glossata*, and Paris 1660, in the *Biblia maxima*. His other works are *Postillae minores*, seu *enarrationes in Epistolas, et Evang. dominicalia totius anni*; Venice 1588, 8vo: *Tractatus de idoneo ministrante et auspiciente S. altaris Sacramentum*; *Disputatio contra perfidiam Judaeorum*; *Tractatus contra Judaeum quandam*; and *Contemplatio de vita et gestis S. Francisci*. His exposition of the scriptures far exceeded all others of that age, and contributed so much to advance the knowledge of the bible, that some have attributed the reformation, in no small degree, to it: it was said, Si *Lyra* non lyrasset, *Lutherus* non saltasset: i. e. *Lyra's* Lyre, enabled *Luther* to dance. Tr.]

(96) [*Rayner* was a native of Pisa, a Dominican monk, and an eminent theologian and jurist. He lived in the former part of this century, but the precise time is not ascertained. His *Pantheologia*, or *Summa universae theologiae*, alphabetically arranged, has been repeatedly printed, though greatly interpolated and altered. Tr.]

(97) [*Astesanus*, or *Astensis*, a Franciscan monk, born at Asti, in the north of Italy, who died about AD. 1330. His eight Books, entitled *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, were printed at Venice, 1519. Fol.]

Besides those already mentioned, the following Latin writers lived in this century; according to *Henry Wharton*, continuation of *Cave's Historia Litteraria*.

Andrew, an English, Dominican monk, of Newcastle, and doctor of theology, AD. 1301. He wrote a commentary on the first Book of the Sentences, (Paris 1514. Fol.) and a commentary on *Boethius de consolatione philosophiae*.

William of Nangis, a French Benedictine monk of St. Denys, Paris, who flourished AD. 1301. He wrote a chronology, from the creation to AD. 1301, which others continued to AD. 1368. (*Dachery's Spicileg.* Tom. xi. p. 405.) Chronicle of the kings of France, to AD. 1301. (in *Pithoeus Scriptorum Francicos.*) and history of *St. Lewis*, king of France, and of his sons, *Philip* and *Robert*. (also in *Pithoeus l. c.*)

William Mandagot, a French cardinal, whom *Boniface VIII.* employed to compile the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*. He also wrote a tract on the election of new prelates; printed, Cologne 1573. 8vo.

Henry Sero, a German Benedictine monk, who wrote, about AD. 1301, *Annals of Germany*, from AD. 1152, to 1273, (inter Scriptor. Germanicos, and in *H. Canisius' Lectiones Antiq.* Tom. i.) also, *History of Rudolph of Hapsburg*, *Adolphus of Nassau*, and *Albert of Austria*, from AD. 1266, to 1300. (extant in *Fraker's Scriptorum German.*)

Dinus Mugellanus, an Italian jurist, and professor at Bologna, AD. 1301. He wrote several comments, and tracts, on different portions and subjects of the canon law.

Jacobus de Benedictis, an Italian Franciscan, AD. 1301. renowned for court-ing contempt and abuse, as the means of sanctification. He composed many uncouth religious poems, in Italian; published, Venice 1617. 4to.

John of Fribourg, in the Brigow, a Dominican, and bishop of Ossuna in Hungary, distinguished AD. 1302, for his eloquence in preaching. He wrote *Summa Prædicatorum*, (Reutling. 1487,) and *Summa major, seu Confessoriorum*, in four Books, (Lyons 1518,) and some other things.

Ptolomy of Lucca, disciple of *Thomas Aquinas*, a Dominican, confessor to the pope, and AD. 1318, bishop of Torcello in the Venetian territory. He wrote *Annals*, civil and eccles. from AD. 1060, to 1363, and a *Chronicle of the popes and emperors*; (both printed, Lyons 1619, and the *Annals*, in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxv.) His *Historia Eccles.* in xxiv. books, was never published.

Eberardus, a German Benedictine monk, and archdeacon of Ratisbon. He wrote, about AD. 1305, *Annals of the Dukes of Austria, Bavaria, and Swabia*, from AD. 1273, to 1305; extant in *Canisius*, Lect. Antiquæ, Tom. i.

Clement V, pope AD. 1305—1314, author of the *Clementinae*, or *Liber septimus Decretalium*, and of numerous epistles and bulls.

Thomas Joyce, or *Jorsius*, DD. a Dominican monk of London, who taught theology at Paris and London, was provincial of his order, confessor to the king, became a cardinal in 1305, was sent legate to the emperor of Germany in 1311, and died on the way, at Lyons. He wrote commentaries on *Genesis*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Daniel*, the books of *Maccabees*, *Lamentations*, the canonical epistles, the *Apocalypse*; and on *Boethius*, and on *Aristotle's* logic; all of which are printed as the works of *Thomas Aquinas*. His work on xxvii. Psalms; and explanations of *Ovid's* metamorphosis; have been published. Many others are in manuscript.

William of Paris, a Dominican monk, created general censor of the faith in France, by the pope, AD. 1305; and commissioner to try the cause of the *Templars* AD. 1308. He was probably the author of the *Dialogues on the eight Sacraments*, published as the work of *William of Auvergne*, Paris 1587.

Philip of Eichstadt, DD. a native of Alsace, abbot of a Cistercian monastery at Paris, sent to Rome by the emperor of Austria AD. 1305, and then made bishop of Eichstadt, where he died AD. 1322. At the request of *Ana*, queen of Hungary, he wrote the life of *St. Walpergis*; in *Canisius* Lect. Antiquæ, Tom. iv.

Siffrid, a presbyter of Meissen in Saxony, AD. 1307. He wrote a *Chronicle*, from the creation to AD. 1307; a large part of which is in *Pistorius*, *Scriptores Germanici*.

Nicolaus Trivet, an English Dominican monk, born in Norfolk, studied at London, Oxford, and Paris, and was a prior of his order in London, where he died AD. 1326, nearly 70 years old. He wrote *Annals of England*, from AD. 1135, to 1307, (in *Dachery's* *Spicilegium*, Tom. viii.) and commentaries on *Augustine's* *Civitas Dei*; published, Toulouse 1488, and Venice 1489.

Malachias, an Irish Franciscan monk, and theologian of Oxford, AD. 1310, and chaplain to the king. He wrote *de veneno peccatorum mortalium deque remediis ipsorum*; published Paris 1518.

William Durant, nephew to *Durandus Speculator*, bishop of Mende in France, by whom he was educated. He was distinguished as a theologian and jurist; and was made canon, archdeacon, and AD. 1296, bishop of Mende. In the year 1311, he wrote his famous tract, *de modo celebrandi generalis concilii*; ed. Paris 1635, 4to. and 1671. 8vo. He expelled the Jews from his diocese in 1312; and died in 1328.

Marinus Sanutus, or *Sanudo*, surnamed *Torsellus*, a Venetian patrician. He first constructed a church organ, called in Italian *Torsellos*; whence his surname. He was a great traveller; and visited Cyprus, Armenia, Alexandria, Rhodes, Palestine, and was at various European courts. He wrote between AD. 1306, and 1322, *Secreta fidelium crucis super terræ sanctæ recuperatione et conservatione*, in three parts: in the *first*, he proposes means for subduing the Saracens; in the *second*, the manner in which the christian crusaders should conduct; and in the *third*, the way to preserve Palestine when conquered, and also gives the history and geography of that country. This work, with 22 epistles of *Marinus*, nearly fills the second volume of *Jac. Bongarsius*, *Gesta Dei per Francos*. Hanov. 1611. Fol.

Alexander de St. Elpidio, D.D. an Italian, and Augustinian monk, general of his order, from 1312, to 1325, when he was made archbishop of Ravenna. He wrote, by order of the pope, a tract *de jurisdictione Imperii et auctoritate summi pontificis*; published, Arimini, 1624.

Vitalis e Furno, a Frenchman, a Franciscan, cardinal AD. 1312; died at Avignon, AD. 1327. He opposed the Spirituals, and wrote mystical expositions of the Proverbs, the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and various portions of all the bible.

Hugo Pratenſis, or *de Prato Florido*, born near Florence, a Dominican and a celebrated preacher. He died AD. 1322; and left sermons for the Sundays, and others for the holy days, through the year; and also a Lent sermon.

Porchetus Salvaticus, a Carthusian monk, of noble Italian birth, supposed to have lived about AD. 1315. He wrote a confutation of the Jews, borrowing much from *Raymund Martini's* *Pugio Fidei*; Paris 1520. Fol.

Ubertinus de Cassalis, an Italian Franciscan, leader of the Spirituals from AD. 1312, to 1317; then became a Benedictine in Brabant; and at last, it is said, a Carthusian. In the year 1321, he gave to the pope his famous *Responsio circa quaestionem de paupertate Christi et Apostolorum*; namely, that, to say: Christ possessed any property in the common and worldly manner, was heretical; but not so, to say: he held possessions in the usual, spiritual manner. It is extant in *Wadding's Annales Minor.* Tom. iii. ad ann. 1321, and still better in *Baluze, Miscellanea*, Tom. i. p. 292, 307.

John of Naples, a Dominican divine, doctor of theology at Paris, and a zealous follower of *Thomas Aquinas*, AD. 1315. His *Quaestiones variae philosophicae et theologicae*, were printed at Naples, 1618. Fol.

John XXII, Pope AD. 1316, to 1334, has left us more than 400 epistles and bulls, besides his Extravagantes, which are in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

Albert of Padua, an Augustinian eremite, teacher of theology, and preacher at Paris, where he died AD. 1328. He has left many sermons, printed; and extensive MS. commentaries on the scriptures.

James of Lausanne, a French Dominican monk, theologian of Paris, AD. 1317, provincial of his order for France, and bishop of Lausanne: a voluminous and diffuse writer. His 12 Books of Morals, and various sermons, have been printed. His commentaries on the scriptures remain in MS.

Bertrand de Turre, a French Franciscan monk, archbishop of Salerno 1319, a cardinal 1320, general of his order by papal appointment in 1328: died 1334. Several of his sermons were printed; but others, as well as his commentaries on the Sentences of Lombard, slumber in MS.

Thomas Morus, or *de la Moor*, an English knight, of the household of king *Edward II*, under whom he served in his Scotch wars. He flourished about AD. 1330, and wrote a history of the reign of *Edward II*, from AD. 1307, to 1326. He composed in French, and had it translated into Latin by *Walter Baker*. It is printed among the *Scriptores Anglicos*, Lond. 1674. Fol.

Albertinus Mussatus, an Italian historian and poet of Padua, who died AD. 1320. He wrote de Gestis Henrici VII, Germanor. imperatoris, Libri xvi: and several poems; printed, Venice 1635. Fol.

John Bassolis, a Scotch Franciscan, and disciple of *Duns Scotus*. He lectured on the Sentences, at Rheims AD. 1313, and at Mechlin AD. 1322. His commentaries or lectures on the 4 Books of Sentences, and some miscellaneous pieces, were printed, Paris 1517. Fol.

Bernard Guido, a French Dominican monk, born near Limoges, 1261; became a monk 1280, was successively prior of Albi 1294, of Carcassonne 1297, of Castres 1299, and of Limoges 1303; was appointed Inquisitor against the Albigenses 1305; represented his order at the papal court 1312; was papal legate to Italy 1316; bishop of Tuy 1323; and of Lodeve 1324; and died, 1331. He wrote a concise history of the establishment of the Grandmontensians and some others, (in *Labbe's* *Biblioth. Nov.* MS. Tom. ii.) *Gesta Comitum Tholosanorum*, (Toulouse, 1623. Fol.) Lives of various saints, lives of popes, &c. never printed.

Peter Bertrand, a distinguished French jurist, counsellor, bishop, and cardinal, who died AD. 1349. He composed a tract, de jurisdictione ecclesiastica; (defending the rights of the Gallic church, against *Peter de Cuneris*; ed. Paris 1495. 4to.) and another, de origine et usu jurisdictionum. Both are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xxvi.

Peter de Dusberg, a priest and a Teutonic knight. He composed, AD. 1326, his *Chronicon Prussiae*; or History of the Teutonic order, from its foundation AD. 1190, to 1326: continued by another hand to AD. 1435: edited with notes and dissertations, by *Christoph. Hartnoch*, Jena 1679. 4to.

Gerhard Odonis, a French Franciscan, general of his order in 1329: died in 1349. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle's Ethics; and the *Officium de Stigmatibus S. Francisci*; still used by that fraternity.

John Canon, or *Canonicus*, an English Franciscan theologian, who studied at Oxford and Paris, under *Scotus*, and lectured at Oxford till his death. He flourished AD. 1239; and wrote commentaries on the Sentences; *Lectura Magistralis*; *Questiones disputatas*; and on *Aristotle's* 8 Books of physics; all printed, Venice 1492, and 1516.

Petrus Paludanus, a French Dominican theologian, and preacher: became a licentiate at Paris, 1314, was made titular patriarch of Jerusalem about AD. 1330, and died in 1342. He wrote commentaries on the 4 Books of Sentences; of which, those on the 3d and 4th Books were printed at Paris, 1530. 2 vol. Fol. also sermons; a treatise on ecclesiastical power; and another, on the right of the Franciscans to hold property; besides several works never published.

Guido de Perpiniano, D. D. a Spanish Carmelite, studied at Paris, became general of his order 1318, bishop of Majorca 1321, and afterwards of Perpignan. He wrote, *Summa de haeresibus omnibus et earum confutationibus*; (ed. Paris 1528. Fol. and Cologne 1631.) a Harmony and Commentary on the four Gospels; (ed. Cologne 1631;) besides a Commentary on the Decretum of Gratian; yet in MS.

Adamus Goddamus, or *Waddheam*, D. D. an English Franciscan, of Norwich, professor at Oxford: died 1358. His commentary on the Sentences was published, Paris, AD. 1512.

Walter Hemmingford, an English regular Augustinian canon of Gisburn, near Clives in Yorkshire, where he died AD. 1358. He wrote History of the reigns of the kings of England, from AD. 1066 to 1313: ed. among the *Historiae Anglicae Scriptores quinque*. Oxon. 1687. Fol.

Ludolphus Sazo, of Saxon origin, a Dominican, and then a Carthusian; a pious man, and good writer; flourished AD. 1340. His life of Christ, has been often printed; e. g. Paris 1589: and also his commentary on the Psalms of David; in which he follows the spiritual sense; ed. Lyons 1540.

Monaldus, a Dalmatian, of Justinianople, a Franciscan, and abp. of Benevento; died about AD. 1332. His *Summa casuum conscientiae*, called *Aurea*, and *Monaldina*, was published, Lyons 1516. 8vo.

Bartholomaeus, of St. Concordia, a Dominican monk of Pisa, died 1347. His *Summa casuum conscientiae*, (written in 1318,) and his *sermones Quadragesimales*, were both printed, Lyons 1519. 8vo.

Thomas Walleis, a Welchman, Dominican, and theologian of Oxford; often confounded with *Thomas Jorgius*, an Englishman, and cardinal, who died in 1311. He maintained before the papal court at Avignon, AD. 1332, that deceased saints are admitted to the immediate vision of God; and accused *John XXII.*, of heresy, on this subject. His *Articuli haereticales*, and *Libellus de theoria praedicandi*, have been published.

Richard Buriensis, born at St. Edmundsbury, Suffolk, educated at Oxford, tutor to *Edward III.*, bishop of Durham AD. 1333, chancellor of England 1334; lord treasurer 1336; died 1345, aged 59. He founded a library at Oxford; and wrote AD. 1344, *Philobiblion*, seu *Liber de amore librorum*, et *bibliothecarum institutione*; frequently printed; e. g. Oxon. 1599. 4to.

Benedict XII., Pope AD. 1334—1342, has left us many epistles and bulls.

Simon Fidatus de Cassia, an Italian Augustinian monk, abbot at Florence, AD. 1335, till his death in 1348. Distinguished for sanctity, and as a preacher; he wrote *Enarrationum Evangelicae veritatis Libri xv.* seu *de Gestis Domini Salvatoris*; ed. Cologne 1540. Fol. a tract, de B. Virgine; another, de speculo crucis; and several epistles.

Gulielmus de de Baldensel, a knight of Jerusalem, composed AD. 1337, his *Hodosporicon*, or Journal of his travels in the holy land; published by *Cassinius*, *Lectiones Antiq.* Tom. v. P. ii. p. 96.

Arnaldus Cascomus, abp. of Tarragona, AD. 1337; wrote *Epistolae duae de Saracenis ab Hispania pellendis*; extant in *Baluze*, *Miscell.* Tom. ii.

Richard Hampolus, D. D. an Augustinian hermit of Yorkshire, who died AD. 1349. He wrote a tract on Repentance; and brief expositions of the Psalter; the canticles of the O. T. included in the public offices; on the 20th Psalm; on the Lord's prayer; the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creeds; some parts of Solomon's Songs; the Lamentations; some chapters of Job, &c. which are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xxvi.

Robert Holkat, of Northampton, a Dominican, and professor of theology at Oxford; died, AD. 1359. He wrote a commentary on the Sentences, (ed. Lyons 1497. fol. 1510. 4to.) *Moralitates pulchrae historiarum*, (ed. Paris 1510. 8vo.)—

213 Lectures on the book of the Wisdom of Solomon (ed. Venice 1509, 1586. fol.) Lectures on the Canticles and vii. chapters of Ecclesiastes (ed. Venice 1509:) Commentaries on the Book of Proverbs (ed. Paris 1515:) a tract on the imputability of sin: and conferences on the Sentences, &c. (ed. Lyons 1497. fol. 1518.) Several other of his works, are still in MS.

Philip de monte Calerio, a Franciscan, first at Toulouse and then at Padua; flourished AD. 1340. His Conciones Dominicales totius anni, (abridged,) and Quadregessimale, Conciones de eucharistia, and Sermones de Sanctis, were published, Lyons 1515.

Henry de Urimaria, or *de Trimaria*, a German Augustinian eremite, and doctor of theology at Paris: flourished AD. 1340; and was distinguished for his piety, and his liberality. He wrote additions to the Books of Sentences; on a fourfold Instinct; and several sermons: published, Cologne 1513, Paris 1514.

Lupoldus Babenbergius, a noble German, a jurist, professor of civil and canon law, and bishop of Bamberg AD. 1340. His Tracts, de zelo veterum regum Galilae et Germaniae principum, and de iuribus regni et imperii, were published, Paris 1540, Cologne 1564, 8vo. &c. often.

Alvarus Pelagius, or *Pelagius Alvarus*, a Spanish Franciscan, who studied at Bologna, Pisa, and Paris AD. 1304: was papal penitentiary in 1332, and afterwards a bishop in Portugal. He wrote de planctu ecclesiae Libri ii. (ed. Venice 1560:) Summa Theologiae, (ed. Ulm 1474:) and other works, never printed.

Bartholomaeus of Urbino, an Italian Augustinian eremite, and bishop of Urbino; died AD. 1350. He collected flowers of *Augustine* and of *Ambrose*, which he published, each under the title of *Milleloquium*. Both were printed at Lyons; the former in 1555, and the latter in 1556.

John Hensemius, a canon, and teacher at Liege, AD. 1348. He continued *Agidius* history of the bishops of Liege, from AD. 1247, to 1348.

John Becan, a canon of the church of Utrecht, AD. 1350. He wrote a chronicle of the church and bishops of Utrecht, and of the counts of Holland, from St. Willibrord, to AD. 1346; which was continued by *William Hedam*, dean of Harlem, to AD. 1524: both printed, Utrecht 1643. Fol.

Albericus de Rosate, an Italian doctor of canon law, AD. 1350. He wrote *Dictionarium Juris civilis et canonici*, ed. Venice 1573, 1601. commentaries on the *Liber sextus Decretalium*; de Testibus; and other Tracts.

Roger of Conway, or *Conovius*, D. D. an English Franciscan, educated at Oxford, and provincial of his order for England. In the dispute between the mendicants and the regular clergy, respecting the right to hear confessions, AD. 1350, *Roger* appeared in behalf of his order, in a work de Confessionibus per Regulares audiendis; published by *Goldast*. Monarch. Tom. ii.

Petrus de Columbanio, cardinal bishop of Ostia; sent by the pope to anoint and crown the emperor *Charles IV*, at Rome: of which mission, he wrote the history, entitled *Historia itineris Romani*; in *Labbe's Biblioth. Nov. MSS.* Tom. i. p. 354.

Nicolaus Eymericus, a Spanish Dominican, Inquisitor general for Arragon, 1356; chaplain, and supreme judge at Avignon, in 1371: died in 1399. His *Directorium Inquisitorum*, in three parts, with the notes of *Francis Pagna*, was published, Venice 1595, Fol. Rome. 1578, and 1587.

Ranulph Higden, or *Hikeden*, or of *Chester*, an English Benedictine monk of Chester, who died AD. 1363, having been a monk 64 years. He compiled a universal history, from the creation, to AD. 1357, entitled *Polychronicon*, in eight parts or books. His history, *John de Trevisa* translated into English, AD. 1357: and that translation, with some amendment of the style, was printed by *William Caxton*, Lond. 1482. Fol.

Alphonsus Vargas, a Spanish Augustinian eremite, a doctor of Paris, bp. of Badajoz and abp. of Seville, where he died AD. 1359. His commentary on the first Book of the Sentences, was printed, Venice 1490; and his Quaestiones in Aristotelis libros tres de Anima, Venice 1566.

Thomas Stubbs, or *Stobaeus*, D. D. an English Dominican monk of York, who flourished AD. 1360, and died after 1373. He wrote, the lives, or a chronicle of the archbishops of York, from St. *Paulinus*, the first archbishop, to the year 1373: published among the *Scriptores x. Angliae*, Lond. 1652. Fol.

John Calderinus, a famous canonist of Bologna, AD. 1360, who wrote several works on canon law, published in the 16th century.

Peter Berchorius, a Benedictine monk, born at Poitiers, and abbot at Paris, where he died AD. 1362. He wrote *Dictionarium*, seu *Repertorium morale bibli- cam*; (containing numerous biblical words and phrases, alphabetically arranged

and explained, for the use of practical religion;) *Rectorium morale utriusque Testamenti*, *Libris xiv.* (containing tropological and allegorical expositions of nearly the whole bible;) and *Inductorium morale*. The three works have been frequently printed; e. g. Cologne 1620. iii. vol. Fol.

Bartholomew de Glanvilla, an English Franciscan, who studied at Oxford, Paris, and Rome; flourished AD. 1360; and wrote *Opus de proprietatibus rerum, seu Allegoriarum ac Tropologiarum in utrumque Testamentum*; (on the figurative language of the bible;) published with some other pieces, frequently; e. g. Paris 1574. 4to.

Nicolaus Oresmius, or *Orem*, the coryphaeus of the Parisian doctors in his times; tutor to the dauphin; rector of the Gymnasium of Navarre; dean of Rouen in 1361; and bishop of Lisieux in 1377. He died about AD. 1384. In the year 1363, he preached a sermon before the pope and cardinals, in which he boldly attacked their vices, (ed. by *Illyricus*, *Catalogus Testium veritatis*, p. 512.) He wrote de mutatione monetæ liber; de sphaera; and translated the *Scriptures* into French, and also *Aristotle's Ethics*, some works of *Cicero*, and some of *Petrarch*.

Haimricus, a German monk of Rebdorf, about AD. 1362, wrote *Annals of Germany*, from AD. 1295, to 1363; published by *Marq. Freher*, *Historici Germaniae*, Francf. 1600. Tom. i.

Saint Brigitta, a Swedish lady, who had visions from her childhood. She persuaded her husband to become a monk; while she became a nun, in Spain; established the new order of St. Savior. She had many visions and revelations. These led her to Rome, to Palestine, Sicily, &c. She died AD. 1373, and was canonized AD. 1391. She wrote *Revelationum Libri viii.* a Rule for her order, dictated by Christ himself; several discourses and orations; besides additional revelations: all printed, frequently; e. g. Cologne 1628. ii. vol. Fol.

St. Catherina, an Italian lady, who early became a Dominican nun, was famed for her visions and revelations, by which she guided even popes and cardinals, whom she addressed with freedom. She died AD. 1380, aged 33, and was canonized AD. 1461. She wrote *Dialogues on providence*, (ed. Venice 1611. 8vo.) 364 epistles, (printed in Italian, Venice 1506. Fol. and in French, Paris 1644. 4to.) several orations, translated into Latin, published, Ingolst. 1583; and *Divina Doctrina data per personam aeterni Patris intellectui loquentis*, translated into Latin, by *Raymund de Vineis*, and published, Cologne 1553. Fol.

Philip Ribotus, a Spanish Carmelite monk, who flourished AD. 1368, was provincial of his order for Catalonia, and died AD. 1391. He wrote *Speculum Carmelitarum*, in ten Books; in which he describes the establishment, progress, privileges, and history of his order: printed Antw. 1680. Fol. He also wrote sermons, and epistles.

Philip de Leidis, a Dutch jurist, counsellor to the count of Holland, vicar to the bishop of Utrecht; died 1386; wrote *Tractatum de reipublicae cura et sorte principantium*; printed, Leyden 1516. Fol.

Gerhard Magnus, or *Groot*, in his native language, born at Davenport, studied theology at Paris, was a canon of Utrecht and Aix la chapelle; became a regular canon, and established several houses of that order. He died AD. 1370, aged 44. His three tracts, *Protestatio de veridica praedicatione*; *Conclusa et proposita*; and *de Studio sacror. librorum*; are usually published with the works of *Thomas a Kempis*.

Philotheus Achillanus, a fictitious name, assumed by some pious counsellor of *Charles V.* king of France, AD. 1370; who wrote against the ambition and tyranny of the pope, a work entitled *Somnium viridarii*, or *Libri ii. de potestate regia et sacerdotali*; in form of a dialogue between a clergyman and a soldier: printed in *Goldastus*, *Monarchia*, Tom. i. p. 58.

Gallus, a German Cistercian, abbot of a monastery near Prague, AD. 1370. He wrote a prolix work for the edification of his monks, entitled *Malagranatum*, in three Books: printed 1481, 4to. and 1487. Fol.

Bartholomew Albicius, a native of Pisa, and a Franciscan monk, who flourished AD. 1372, and died very aged, AD. 1401. His book entitled *The conformities of St. Francis with the life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, was presented to the general convention of the Franciscans at Assisi, AD. 1399, and approved by a unanimous vote; and the author was rewarded with the entire wardrobe of St. Francis. The work was printed, at Bologna 1590. Fol. He also wrote the conformities of the blessed virgin with our Lord Jesus Christ, or her life and praises, in six Books; printed, Venice 1596. Fol. likewise *Sermones Quadragesimales*; Milan 1468. 4to.

Benedictus Baduarius, an Italian of Padua, who studied at Paris, became an Augustinian hermit, general of his order in 1377, a cardinal in 1378, was often a papal legate, and was murdered at Rome, AD. 1386, or somewhat later. He wrote *Speculum beatae Mariae*; printed, Augsburg 1476. iv. volumes; also commentaries on the four Books of Sentences; Meditations on the life of Christ, &c.

Matthew, called *Florilegus*, a Benedictine monk of Westminster, AD. 1377, who wrote *Historiarum Flores*; or *Annals*, from the creation to AD. 1307, in two Books, taken much from *Matthew Paris*; printed, Lond. 1567. Fol.

Albertus de Argentina, or of Strasburg, where he was a doctor of divinity, and perhaps a presbyter, and the bishop's legate to the pope. He wrote a Chronicle from AD. 1270, to 1378, published (imperfect at Basil,) entire, by *Uratisius*, among the *Scriptores Germanici*, Francf. 1585, and 1670. Tom. ii. p. 97.—also the life of *Berthold*, bishop of Strasburg, from AD. 1318, to 1363; printed with his Chronicle.

William Thorn, an English Benedictine monk of Canterbury, AD. 1380. He wrote a Chronicle of the abbots of Canterbury, from St. Augustine to AD. 1397: printed with the *Scriptores x. Historiae Anglicanae*, Lond. 1652. Fol.

Michael Ancianus, a Carmelite of Bologna, who studied at Paris, was general of his order, from AD. 1381, to 1386, and died at Bologna AD. 1416. He wrote a tolerable commentary on the Psalms, in five Books; often printed; e. g. Lyons 1673. also commentaries on the Sentences, and some other works.

Raymund Jordan, a regular Augustinian canon, in the diocese of Bourges, who concealed himself under the name of *Idiotus*. He flourished AD. 1381, and wrote seven Books of contemplations, (devotional,) and several ascetic tracts; published, Paris 1654. 4to.

John Tambacus, a German Dominican monk, and abbot of Strasburg, and then rector of the school at Prague, master of the palace to the pope AD. 1386, died at the age of 80, the year unknown. He wrote *Speculum patientiae*, or *de consolatione theologiae Libri xv.* printed, Paris 1493, &c. often.

Marsilius ab Ingen, doctor at Paris, a canon at Cologne, and founder and first rector of the gymnasium of Heidelberg; flourished AD. 1384, and died in 1394. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, printed at Strasburg, AD. 1501.

John de Burgo, D. D. chancellor of the university of Cambridge, flourished AD. 1385. He wrote *Pupilla Oculi*, a book of instructions for clergymen in their functions: printed, Paris 1510, and elsewhere, repeatedly.

Peter Herentalis, or *de Herentalis*, a canon, and prior of a Praemonstratensian convent in Brabant; flourished AD. 1390. He compiled a *Catena* on the Psalms, printed, Rouen 1504. 4to. and elsewhere, repeatedly: also a prolix commentary on the 4 Gospels, never printed.

Radulphus de Rivo, of Breda in Brabant, dean of Tungres, flourished AD. 1390, and died at Rome AD. 1401. He wrote *de Canonum observantia propositiones xxiii.* (in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xxvi.) and *Historia de rebus gestis trium pontificum Leodiensium*, (from AD. 1347, to 1386,) in *J. Chapeauville's Rerum Leodiens. Historia*, Leige 1616. 4to. Tom. iii.

Gerard of Zutphen, a regular clerk of St. Jerome, and distinguished for his piety; died AD. 1398, aged 31, leaving two ascetic tracts, *de Reformatione interiori*, and *de Spiritualibus ascensionibus*: in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. xxvi.

William Wodford, or *Wilford*, an English Franciscan, appointed by the council of London AD. 1396, to answer *Wickliffe's* *Dialogus*; which he did in his *Liber ad Thomam Archiep.* *Cantuariensem adversus articulos xviii. ex Wickliffe's Dialogo excerptos*; extant in the *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum*, Cologne 1535, Fol. p. 96. Several other tracts of his, exist in MS.

John Bromiard, of Hertfordshire, an English Dominican, theologian, and jurist; a doctor at Oxford, and professor of theology at Cambridge. He strenuously opposed *Wickliffe*, in the council of London AD. 1382, flourished AD. 1390, and died after AD. 1419. His *Summa Praedicatorum*, in two parts, treats of nearly every subject in ecclesiastical discipline, in alphabetic order; printed, Venice 1586, 4to. Several other works of his exist in MS.

Henry Knighton, an English canon regular of Leicester, who flourished AD. 1396. His *Chronicon de eventibus Angliae Libris v.* from AD. 950, to 1395, (the second, third, and fourth books, from AD. 1066, to 1377, are copied from *Rasulph Higden's Polychronicon*;) and his *History of the deposition of king Henry II.* AD. 1399; are extant among the *Scriptores x. historiae Anglicanae*, Lond. 1652.

Antonius de Butrio, a famous Italian jurist of Bologna and Ferrara, who flourished AD. 1398, and died at Bologna AD. 1408. He wrote commentaries on the five Books of the *Decretals*, (ed. Venice 1578, vii. vol. Fol.) and several other works on canon and civil law.

Nicolaus de Gorkham, of Hertfordshire, studied at Merton college, Oxford, became a Dominican, went to Paris, was eminent for both learning and piety, and was provincial of his order for France. He probably lived, about AD. 1400. He wrote commentaries on all the books of the New Testament; and sermons for the whole year: all printed by *John Keerbergh*, Antw. 1617, 1620, in two vol. Fol.

Jacobus Magni, a Spanish Augustinian eremite of Toledo, distinguished for his knowledge of the scriptures and of the ancient theologians, confessor to *Charles VII.*, king of France, and refused the archbishopric of Bourdeaux. He flourished about AD. 1400. His *Sophologium, seu Opus de sermone et inquisitione divinæ sapientiæ*, in ten Books, was printed, Lyons 1495. 8vo.

Franciscus Ximenes, of Catalonia, bishop of Perpignan, and titular patriarch of Jerusalem, AD. 1400. He wrote several works of mystic divinity, which were published.

Franciscus Zabarella, an Italian of Padua, LL. D. a man of great respectability. He rejected two bishoprics, and one rich abbacy; but was made cardinal AD. 1411; and presided through the council of Constance, and died at its close AD. 1417. He wrote comments on the Decretals, and several other works on canon law; and a tract de Schismatibus autoritate Imperatoris tollendis; which the Index expurgatorius prohibits being read, till it is expurgated. Tr.]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. Corruption of religion.—§ 2. Exegetical theology.—§ 3. Dogmatic theology.—§ 4. Opposers of the scholastics. Biblical theologians.—§ 5. Contest among the scholastics. Scotists and Thomists.—§ 6. The Mystics.—§ 7. Moral or practical writers.—§ 8. Polemic writers.—§ 9. Controversies between the Greeks and Latins.—§ 10. Contest of the university of Paris, with the Dominicans. Montesonus.

§ 1. All those who are well acquainted with the history of these times, must acknowledge the corrupt state of religion, both as taught in the schools, and as presented to the people to regulate their lives and actions. Almost no part of the christian doctrine, retained its native form and comeliness. And hence the *Waldenses*, and all those who desired a reformation in religion, and who separated from the Roman pontiff, though no where safe from the fury of the *Inquisitors* and the monks, yet could be suppressed by no means whatever. Many of these people, after witnessing the destruction of an immense number of their brethren at the stake, and by other forms of execution, fled from Italy, France, and Germany, into Bohemia, and the neighboring countries; and afterwards became amalgamated with the Hussites and other dissentients from the Romish community.

§ 2. At the head of the expositors of the bible, stands *Nicolaus De Lyra*; who explained the books of both the Old Testament and the New, far better than was usual in that age; yet he succeeded better on the Old Testament than on the New, because he was familiar with Hebrew, but not with Greek.(1) The others who undertook this office, were servile imitators of their predecessors. For they either collected flowers from the ancient doctors, or neglecting the literal import of the scriptures, drew from them by forced interpretations occult spiritual meanings. Those who desire to become acquainted with this exegetical art, may consult the Moral Mirror of the whole scriptures, by *Vitalis a Furno*, or the Psalter spiritualized, by *Ludolphus Saxo*. The philosophic divines, who commented on the scriptures, often proposed, and scientifically resolved, questions of the most profound erudition, according to the views of that age.

§ 3. In explaining and inculcating the doctrines of religion, most of the Greeks and Latins followed the principles of the Peripatetic philosophy. And the Greeks, by their intercourse with the Latins, seem to have become acquainted with the modes

(1) *Rich. Simon, Histoire des principaux Commentateurs du N. T. p. 477. and Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccles. par M. du Pin, Tom. i. p. 352. Wadding's Annales Minor. Tom. v. p. 264 &c.*

of teaching, adopted in the schools of the Latins. The Greeks now read *Thomas Aquinas*, and other distinguished scholastics, in their own language ; (2) *Demetrius Cydonius*, and others, having in this age translated them from Latin into Greek. The Latins who adopted this mode of theologizing, were immensely numerous ; the most distinguished of them for acumen, were *John Scotus*, *Durand a St. Porçain*, *William Occam*, and a few others. Here and there an individual, also, applied the light of *scripture* and of *tradition*, to the explanation of divine truth ; but these were overpowered, and nearly silenced, by the immense throng of the dialecticians.

§ 4. Yet there were not wanting pious and good men, not only among the mystics, but others likewise, who censured this bold manner of philosophising on religious subjects ; and who endeavored to draw the attention of students in theology, to the holy scriptures, and to the writings of the ancient fathers. Hence there were fierce disputes, every where, but especially in the more distinguished universities, as those of Paris and Oxford, between the *biblical* theologians and the *philosophical*. The *biblical* party, though greatly inferior in numbers, sometimes gained the victory. For the *philosophical* divines, the most eminent of whom were mendicant monks, Dominicans and Franciscans, by philosophizing indiscreetly, not unfrequently so distorted and misrepresented the principal doctrines of revealed religion, as to subvert them, and to advance opinions manifestly impious and absurd. The consequence was, that some had to abjure their errors ; others sought their safety by flight ; the books of some were publicly burnt ; others were thrown into prison. (3) But as soon as the storm subsided, most of them returned to their former views, and oppressed their adversaries by various arts, and deprived them of their influence, their profits, and their number of pupils.

§ 5. Moreover the *scholastic* doctors, or the *philosophical* divines, had great controversies among themselves, on various subjects. For these contests, abundant matter was supplied by that very acute man, of the Franciscan order, *John Duns Scotus*, an Englishman, who being envious of the Dominicans, attacked certain doctrines of *Thomas Aquinas*, and maintained that they were untrue. The Dominicans united to defend the brother of their order, who was the oracle of the schools ; and on the other hand, the Franciscans gathered around *Scotus*, as a doctor that descend-

(2) *Rich. Simon*, *Creance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation*, p. 166.

(3) See *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iv. in many passages. In the year 1340, various opinions of the scholastic tribe, respecting the Trinity and other subjects, were condemned : p. 266. AD. 1347, *M. Jo. de Mercuria* and *Nic. de Ultricuria* had to abjure their opinions, p. 298, 308.—AD. 1348, one *Simon* was convicted of very great errors, p. 322.—AD. 1354, *Guido*, an Augustinian, shared the same fate, p. 329 ; and likewise AD. 1362, one *Lewis*, p. 374. and *Jo. de Calore*, p. 377 ; and AD. 1366, *Dionys. Soullechat*, p. 38.—The same scenes took place at Oxford. See *Ant. Wood's Antiq. Oxon.* Tom. i. p. 153, 183 &c.

ed from heaven. Thus the two most powerful orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, were again pitted against each other; and those famous sects of the *Scotists* and *Thomists*, were produced, which still divide the schools of the Latins. These schools disagree, respecting the *nature of divine cooperation*, the *measure of divine grace* necessary to a man's salvation, the *unity of form in man*, [or *personal identity*,] and many other subjects, which cannot be here enumerated. But nothing procured *Scotus* greater glory, than his defence and demonstration, in opposition to the Dominicans, of what is called the *immaculate conception* of the virgin *Mary*.(4)

§ 6. A great multitude of those called *mystics*, lived and inculcated their doctrines in nearly every country of Europe. Some of these were good men, and lovers of piety, who labored to withdraw the minds of people from ceremonies, to guide them to real virtue and the love of God. Such were, (though not all of them equally wise,) *Jo. Tauler*, *Jo. Ruysbrock*, *Henry Suso*, and *Gerhard* of Zutphen;(5) who must be acknowledged to have left us a considerable number of writings, suited to awaken pious emotions, and to draw forth the soul towards God; though they all labored under some infirmity of judgment, and were inclined to indulge their imaginations too far. But there were other mystics, every where active, who were beside themselves, and real fanatics; and who dreamed of an unintelligible extinction of all the powers and faculties of the soul, and a transition of the mind into the divine nature; and they led away their adherents into a senseless kind of piety, that bordered on licentiousness. So great was the extravagance of these people, that the more sober *mystics* themselves detested their doctrine, and warned their followers against it.(6)

§ 7. Concerning those who gave particular attention to moral theology, it is not necessary to say much; since their merit is of much the same kind with that of those already mentioned. Yet two things may be noticed, as illustrative of the state of this branch of theology. First; in this age, a greater number than before, collected and discussed what are called *cases of conscience*. The most noted of this class, were *Astesanus*, an Italian, *Monaldus*, and *Bartholomew* of St. Concordia. This species of writing accorded well with the education given in the schools; which taught

(4) See *Wadding's Annales Minor.* Tom. vi. p. 52 &c. [The doctrine of the *immaculate conception* of Mary, was, that she herself was miraculously conceived, and born out of the course of nature, so as not to be a partaker of original sin. *Tr.*]

(5) Concerning these, the reader may consult *Peter Poirer's Bibliotheca Mysticorum* [p. 108, 111, 146. *Schl.*] and *Godfrey Arnold's* History and description of mystic theology, [written in German, p. 395, 404, 412, 421.] Of *Tauler* and *Suso*, *Jac. Echard* treats particularly, *Scriptor. Prædicator.* Tom. i. p. 653, 677. See also the *Acta Sanctor.* Januar. Tom. ii. p. 652.

(6) *John Ruysbrock* inveighs strongly against them; in his Works, published by *Laur. Surius*, p. 50, 378; and *de vera contemplat.* c. xviii. p. 606.

men, not so much what to *believe*, and how to *live*, as to query, to dispute, and to wrangle. Secondly; those who treated of the duties men owe to themselves and others, and exhorted to the practice of them, were accustomed to derive arguments and illustrations from the brutes. For they first explained the prominent characteristics of some animal; and then applied them to the life and conduct of men. Of this description are *John Nieder's* *Formicarius*, *Thomas* of Brabant's treatise *de Apibus*, *Hugo a S. Victor's* *Bestiarium*, *Thomas Walleis' de Natura bestiarum cum moralizatione*, and some others. (7)

§ 8. In most of the defenders of christianity, we find nothing perspicuous, elegant, and praiseworthy. *Thomas Bradwardine*, in his *Books de Providentia*, advances many ingenious and pertinent arguments, in confirmation of the truth of religion in general. The Eye-salve of faith against the heretics, (*Collyrium fidei contra haereticos*;) by *Alvarus Pelagius*, does not come up to the magnitude of the subject; though it shews him to be an honest and well disposed man. Against the Jews, came forth *Porchetus Salvaticus*, in his *Victory of the Faith*, transcribed in great measure from *Raymund Martini*; and also *Nicolaus Lyra*. They were both excelled, by *Theophanes*, a Greek; in whose *Books* against the Jews, and his *Agreement between the Old Testament and the New*, are many things that are not contemptible.

§ 9. The contests between the Greeks and the Latins, seemed at times to come near to an adjustment. For the Greeks, finding themselves to need the aid of the Latins, in repelling the continually increasing power of the Turks, manifested at times a pretended willingness to subject themselves to the demands of the Latins. In the year 1339, *Andronicus Junior* sent *Barlaam* into the West, to negotiate a peace in his name. In the year 1349, other Greek envoys came to *Clement VI*, to negotiate a treaty. In 1356, a similar Greek embassy was sent to *Innocent VI*, at Avignon. In the year 1367, the Grecian patriarch came in person to Rome, to press the business; and in the year 1369, the emperor, *John Palaeologus*, came himself into Italy, published a confession of faith accordant with the views of the pontiff, and labored to conciliate the friendship of the Latins. But the majority of the

(7) [*John Nieder* belonged to the following century. He was a German of Suabia, a Dominican, prior of Basle, an Inquisitor, and rector of the gymnasium of Vienne. He flourished, A.D. 1431; and died A.D. 1438. His works are, *Consolatorium timoratae conscientiae*, (ed. Rome 1604. 8vo.) *Formicarius, seu Dialogus ad vitam christianam exemplo conditionum Formicæ incitativus*, (ed. Duaci 1602. 8vo.) *Praeceptorium*, (on the ten Commandments; ed. Duaci 1612. 8vo.) *Alphabetum divini amoris*; *de Modo bene vivendi*, (ed. Rome 1604. 8vo.) *de Reformatione religiosorum*, Libri iii. Antw. 1611. 8vo. *de Contractibus mercatorum Liber*; and *Sermons* for the year.—For *Thomas* of Brabant, or Cantipratensis, see above, p. 379. note (121). He flourished about the middle of the preceding century.—*Hugo de S. Victor* lived in the 12th century. See p. 282, note (60). His work *de Bestiis*, is in his *Opp.* Tom. ii. p. 418. ed. Rouen, 1648. Fol.

Greeks could never be persuaded to be silent, and to submit themselves to the Romans; though some, from interested motives, manifested a disposition to yield to the terms imposed on them. Hence this century was spent amidst contests, and vain negotiations for peace.(8)

§ 10. In the year 1384, a violent contest arose at Paris, between the university and the Dominican fraternity. *John de Montesono*, a native of Arragon, a Dominican, and professor of theology, by direction and in the name of his order, publicly denied, that the virgin *Mary* was conceived without sin or stain; and maintained, that such as believed in her *immaculate conception*, sinned against religion and the *faith*. The commotions that arose from this transaction, would doubtless have subsided; if *John* had not renewed his asseverations, in stronger and bolder language, in a public discussion, AD. 1387. The consequence was, that first the college of theologians, and then the whole university, condemned both this and some other opinions of *Montesonus*. For the university of Paris, influenced especially by the arguments of *John Duns Scotus*, had, almost from the beginning of the century, publicly adopted the doctrine of the sinless conception of the holy virgin.(9) The Dominicans, with *Montesonus*, appealed from the decision of the university, to *Clement VII*, resident at Avignon: for they maintained, that *St. Thomas* himself was condemned, in the person of his fellow Dominican. But before the pontiff had passed sentence, the accused fled from the court of Avignon; and revolted to the party of the rival pontiff, *Urban VI*, who resided at Rome: and hence, he was excommunicated in his absence. Whether the pontiff approved the judgment of the university of Paris, is uncertain. The Dominicans deny it; and maintain, that *Montesonus* was excluded from the church, merely on account of his flight:(10) though there are many others who assert, that his sentiments were also condemned. As the Dominicans would not abide by the decision of the university respecting their companion, they were, in the year 1389, excluded from the university; and were not restored to their former honors, till the year 1404.(11)

(8) *Henry Canisius*, *Lectiones Antiquae*, Tom. iv. p. 369. *Leo Allatius*, de perpetua consensione eccles. Orient. et Occident. Lib. ii. cap. 16, 17, p. 782 &c. *Luc Wadding's Annales Minor*. Tom. viii. p. 29, 40, 107, 201, 289, 303, 312. *Steph. Baluze*, *Vitae pontiff. Avenion*. Tom. i. p. 348, 380, 388, 403, 407, 410, 772.

(9) See *Wadding's Annales Minor*. Tom. vi. p. 52 &c.

(10) See *Jac. Echard's Scriptores Praedicator*. Tom. i. p. 691.

(11) *Caes. Egasse de Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. iv. p. 599, 618, 638. *Steph. Baluze*, *Vitae Pontiff. Avenion*. Tom. i. p. 521. Tom. ii. p. 982 &c. *Argentre*, *Collectio judicior. de novis errorib.* Tom. i. p. 61. *Jac. de Longueval*, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, Tome xiv. p. 347 &c.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Alteration of the Jubilee.—§ 2. Feast days. Prayers.

§ 1. The alterations and enlargements of the sacred rites, will here be dispatched in a few words ; while the subject affords matter far too extensive to be compressed into the narrow space here allotted to it. The first thing worthy of notice is, that *Clement VI*, in the year 1350, in compliance with the request of the citizens of Rome, altered the period of the year of *Jubilee*, which *Boniface VIII*, directed to be kept every hundredth year, limiting the period to fifty years.(1) He could give a plausible reason, to such as might ask one. For the Jews, it is well known, kept every fiftieth year as a sacred jubilee ; and the Roman pontiffs always copied from them, readily, in whatever related to the hierarchy and to magnificence. But *Urban VI*, *Sixtus VI*, and others, who subsequently assigned a much shorter period for the recurrence of this salutary and gainful year, would have found more difficulty in satisfying the demand for sufficient reasons for such inconstancy.(2)

§ 2. *Innocent V*, commanded christians to observe festal days, in memory of the *spear*, that pierced the Savior's side, of the *nails* that fastened him to the cross, and of the *crown of thorns*,

(1) *Baluzs*, Vitae Pontiff. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 247, 287, 312, 887. *Muratori*, Antiq. Ital. Tom. iii. p. 344, 481 &c. [Clement alleged, that few persons lived so long as a hundred years ; and of course, quite too many christians had to forego the great privilege of this full indulgence. *Von Ein.*]

(2) [Manifestly the pontiffs could offer no adequate reason for their limitations of the period ; yet they could frame some excuse. The real cause, which they wisely conceal, was their own emolument. But a *centennial* jubilee ; how few popes could it make happy ! Even one of *fifty years*, few could live to see. *Gregory XI*, therefore, thought of shortening the period still more ; notwithstanding the anathema, pronounced by his predecessors against such as should make innovations upon it. He wished to limit the jubilee to every thirty third year ; but death frustrated his purpose. *Urban VI*, intended to execute this design ; but he also died before he had accomplished it. *Boniface IX*, first attained the object. The concourse of people, however, was not great at this jubilee, because the adherents of his rival pope would not go to Rome. But he devised a remedy. He first instituted the *secondary* jubilee ; and also sent out hawkers of indulgences, every where, offering his indulgences cheap to such as were unable to come to Rome. The regular jubilee was fixed to every 33d year, on the ostensible ground, that Christ, in making atonement for the human race, lived 33 years on the earth. But the period of 33 years, was still a long time. *Paul II*, therefore, ordered that the festival should be kept every 25 years. Yet the benefit of his alteration, he was compelled by death, to resign to his successor, *Sixtus IV*. A more frequent recurrence of the Jubilee, no one has ventured to ordain. See *Cramer's Bossuet's History*, vol. v. p. 426 &c. *Von Ein.*]

which he wore at his death.(3) This was indeed irrational; yet it may in some measure be overlooked, considering the ignorance of the times. But no honest and well informed man can readily excuse the conduct of *Benedict XII*, in giving his sanction to the senseless fable of the Franciscans, respecting the impressment upon the body of their chief and founder, by the almighty power of God, of the marks of the wounds of Christ, by ordaining a festival to commemorate the event. *John XXII*, besides sanctioning many other superstitious things, ordered christians to annex to their prayers the words in which *Gabriel* saluted the virgin *Mary*.

(3) See *Jo. Henr. a Seelen's* Diss. de festo lancee et clavorum Christi. *Baluze* Vitae Pontiff. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 328. and his *Miscellanea*, Tom. i. p. 417.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. Controversies of the Hesychasts.—§ 2. State of the question between the Hesychasts and the Barlaamites.—§ 3. Severities of the Inquisition among the Latins.—§ 4. Severe edicts against the Cathari, the Beghardi, Beghinae, &c.—§ 5. Yet the Brethren of the free spirit could not be extirpated.—§ 6. Persecution of the Beguins. Its tragical issue.—§ 7. The sect of Flagellants again appears.—§ 8. The Dancers.—§ 9. The Knights Templars are extirpated.—§ 10. The alleged cause of the severity was the extreme iniquity of the Knights. An estimate of their guilt.

§ 1. The *Hesychasts*, or, as they may be called in Latin, the *Quietists*, gave the Greeks much employment. *Barlaam*, a native of Calabria, a monk of the order of St. Basil, and afterwards bishop of Geraci in Calabria, travelled over Greece to inspect the conduct of the monks; and he found not a few things among them that were reprehensible; but in none of them, more than in the *Hesychasts*, at mount Athos in Thessaly; who were *mystics*, or more perfect monks, that sought for tranquillity of mind and the extinction of all the passions, by means of contemplation. For these *Quietists*, in accordance with the prescription of their early teachers, who said there was a divine light hid in the soul, seated themselves daily in some retired corner, and fixed their eyes steadfastly, for a considerable time, upon the middle of their belly, or navel: and in that situation, they boasted, that a sort of divine light beamed forth upon them from the mind itself, which diffused through their souls wonderful delight.(1) When

(1) There is no reason for any to be surprised at this account, or to question its correctness. For among the precepts and rules of all those in the East, who teach men how to withdraw the mind from the body and to unite it with God, or inculcate what the Latins call a *contemplative* and *mystic life*, whether they are christians or muhammedans, or pagans, there is this precept, viz. that the eyes must be steadily fixed, every day for some hours, upon some particular object; and that whoever does this, will be wrapt into a kind of ecstasy, and being thus united to God, will see wonderful things, and will enjoy pleasures which words cannot express. See what *Engelb. Kaempfer* states concerning the monks and mystics of Siam, in his *Historia Japoniae*, Tom. i. p. 30. and the account of those of India, by *Francis Bernier*, *Voyages*, Tome ii. p. 127. Indeed, I can easily believe, that those who continue long in such a posture of the body, will see and perceive, what no sane and sober person can see and feel. For they must necessarily fall into a disordered and bewildered state of mind; and the images represented by the imagination, in this unnatural state, will form strange combinations. And this will be the more certain effect, because the same injunction, that requires the eyes to be long fixed immovably on one object, forbids these people who wish to behold God, all use of their reason during the time. I have said, that those in the eastern countries, who seek such intercourse with God, enjoin upon themselves this singular suspension of intellect and reason; but I might add that very many of the Latins, of the mystic class, observe the same, and enjoin the observance of it on their disciples. And hence it is, that persons of this description, sometimes relate to us so many visions, destitute of all rationality and truth. But this is not the place to enlarge on these prodigies.

asked, what kind of light this was, they answered, that it was the *glory of God*; and they appealed, for illustration, to the light which appeared at the *transfiguration* of Christ. *Barlaam*, who was ignorant of the customs of mystics, regarded this as absurd and fanatical; and to the monks who followed this practice, he applied the names of *Massalians* and *Euchites*, and also the new name of Ὁμφαλοψύχους, *Navelsouls*. On the other hand, *Gregory Palamas*, archbishop of Thessalonica, defended the cause of the monks, against *Barlaam*.(2)

§ 2. To put an end to this contest, a council was held at Constantinople, AD. 1341, in which the emperor *Andronicus* Junior, and the patriarch presided. Here the monks, with *Palamas* at their head, were victorious: *Barlaam* was condemned; and leaving Greece, he returned to Italy. Not long after, another monk, *Gregory Acindynus*, renewed the controversy; and denied what *Palamas* had maintained, namely, that God dwells in an eternal light, distinct from his essence; and that this was the light seen by the disciples on mount Tabor. The dispute was now no longer concerning the monks [or the *Hesychasts*], but concerning the Taboritic light, and the nature of God. This *Gregory* [*Acindynus*] was also condemned, as being a follower of *Barlaam*, in another council at Constantinople. There were several subsequent councils on this subject: among which was the distinguished one, held in 1351, in which the *Barlaamites* and their friends were so severely censured, that they gradually became silent, and left *Palamas* victorious. It was the opinion of *Palamas*, who came off conqueror in this combat, that God is surrounded by an eternal light, which is distinct from his nature or essence, and which he called his ἐνέργεια or *operation*; and that it was this light, which he permitted the three disciples to behold on mount Tabor. Hence he concluded, that the divine *operation* is really distinct from his *substance*: and he added, that no one can become a partaker of the divine *essence*, or *substance* itself; but it is possible, for finite natures to become partakers of this divine *light* or *operation*. Those called *Barlaamites*, on the contrary, denied these positions; and maintained, that the divine operations or attributes, do not differ from the divine *essence*; and that there is no difference in fact, but only in our modes of conceiving of them or in our thoughts, among all the things that are said to be in God.(3)

(2) Concerning both of these famous men, *Barlaam* and *Gregory Palamas*, see, besides others, *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, Biblioth. Græca, Tom. x. p. 247 &c. and 454 &c.

(3) See *Jo. Cantacuzenus*, Historia, Lib. ii. c. 39 &c. p. 263 &c. and the notes there of *Gregory* [*James*] *Pontanus*. *Niciphorus Gregoras*, Historia Byzantina, Lib. xi. c. 10. p. 277, and in various other passages. But these two writers differ, in many particulars. Many documents relating to this controversy remain unpublished. See *Bernh. Montfaucon's* Biblioth. Coisliniana, p. 150, 174, 404. Nor have we as yet a well digested and accurate history of this controversy. Till we have, may be consulted, *Leo Allatius*, de perpetua consensione Orient. et Occident. ecclesiæ, Lib. ii. cap. 22. p. 824. *Henr. Canisius*, Lectiones Antiquæ,

§ 3. In the Latin church, those papal ministers and judges, the Inquisitors, most industriously hunted out every where the remains of the sects that opposed the Romish religion, namely, the *Waldenses*, the *Cathari*, the *Apostoli*, and many others. Hence innumerable examples occur, in the monuments of those times, of persons who were burnt, or otherwise cruelly put to death by them. But none of these opposers of the church gave more trouble to the *Inquisitors* and the bishops, than the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*; who in Germany and the low countries, went by the common name of *Beghardi* and *Beghinae*, and in other countries were called by other names. For this class of people professing a sublime and austere kind of piety, and calling off men's attention from all external and sensible objects to an internal worship of God, easily gained the confidence of the honest, simple, and devout, and every where brought over multitudes to their views. And hence it was, that so many persons of this character, perished in the flames of persecution, in Italy, France, and Germany, during this century.

§ 4. In no part of Germany were this sect more numerous, than in the cities on the Rhine, and especially in Cologne. Therefore *Henry I*, archbishop of Cologne, published a severe ordinance against them, AD. 1306 : (4) and his example was followed by the prelates of Mayence, Treves, Worms, and Strasburg. (5) And as there were acute and subtle men among this class of people, the very acute *John Duns Scotus* was sent to Cologne, in the year 1308, to dispute against them and confute them. (6) In the year 1310, *Margaret Porretta*, a celebrated leader of this sect, was burnt at Paris, with one of the brethren. She had undertaken to demonstrate in a book she published, *that the soul, when absorbed in the love of God, is free from all laws, and may gratify every natural propensity, without guilt.* (7) Influenced by these, and numerous other examples, the sovereign pontiff *Clement V*, in the general council of Vienne, AD. 1311, published a special decree, against the *Beghardi* and *Beghinae* of Germany; in which he states the opinions held by this party, imperfectly indeed, yet so far, as to render it clear, they were *mystics*, and *Brethren and Sisters of the free Spirit.* (8) *Clement*

Tom. iv. p. 361. *Dion. Petavius*, Dogmat. Theol. Tom. i. Lib. i. c. 12. p. 76. *Steph. de Altamura*, Panoplia contra schisma Graecor. p. 381 &c. and others. [*Matth. Schroeckh's* Kirchengesch. vol. xxxiv. p. 431 &c. Tr.]

(4) See the Statuta Coloniensia, Colon. 1554. 4to. p. 58. [*Harzheim*, Concilia German. Tom. iv. p. 99. *Schl.*]

(5) *John's* Scriptores rerum Moguntinar. Tom. iii. p. 298. *Martens's* Thesaur. Anecdotor. Tom. iv. p. 250 &c. [*Harzheim*, Concil. German. Tom. iv. p. 139, 200, 234, 235, 407, 436, 438, 482, &c. *Schl.*]

(6) *Wadding's* Annales Minor. Tom. vi. p. 108 &c.

(7) *Luc. Dachery*, Spicileg. veter. scriptor. Tom. iii. p. 63. *Jo. Baleus*, de Scripturis Britannicis, Cent. iv. No. 88. p. 367. Basil. 1557. Fol.

(8) It is extant in the Corpus Juris canon. among the Clementinas, Lib. v. Tit. iii. de Haereticis, cap. iii. p. 1068.

published another decree, in the same council, in which he suppressed the *Beghinae* of a far different class, namely, those who had previously been approved, and who lived every where in established houses.(9) For the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit* had crept into most of the convents of the *Beguinae*, and inculcated their mysterious and sublime views on those women, who being captivated with these novelties, prated absurdly and impiously about the mysteries and the true worship of God.(10)

§ 5. The *Brethren of the free spirit*, oppressed by so many decrees and ordinances, endeavored to descend from upper to lower Germany; and they actually migrated to several provinces of the latter. Westphalia alone they were not able to disquiet. For *Henry*, the archbishop of Cologne, assembled a council in 1322, and warned the bishops in his province of the impending danger: and they, by their great vigilance, prevented the entrance of any of these people into Westphalia.(11) About the same time, also, the leader and champion of the *Beghardi* living on the Rhine, (as they were then called,) *Walter*, a Hollander, an eloquent man, and distinguished for his writings, having come from Mayence to Cologne, was there seized and burnt.(12) The death of this man was a great loss, to the *Brethren of the free spirit*; yet it by no means effected their ruin. For it appears from numberless testimonies, that this class of people held clandestine meetings, for a long time, at Cologne, and in other provinces of Germany; and that there were men among them distinguished for their learning and weight of character; among whom, besides others, was the celebrated *Henry Aycard* or *Eccard*, a Dominican of Saxony, and provincial of his order for Saxony, an acute

(9) In the *Corpus Juris canon. Clementinae*, Lib. iii. Tit. xi. de religionis domibus, cap. i. p. 1075. ed. *Boehmer*.

(10) Hence in the German monuments of this age, we may often notice a distinction made, between the *reputable and approved Beguinae*, and the *Beguinae of the sublime or free spirit*: of whom, the former adhered to the public religion, and the latter were corrupted by *mystical* opinions.

(11) *Nicol. Schatten's Annales Paderbornenses*, Tom. ii. p. 249.

(12) *Jo. Trithemius, Annales Hirsaugens.* Tom. ii. p. 155. *Schatten's Annales Paderborn.* Tom. ii. p. 350. This was the celebrated *Walter*, whom so many ecclesiastical historians tell us, was the founder of the sect of *Lollhards*, and a distinguished witness for the truth. These and other conclusions, the learned writers deduce from the language of *Trithemius: Lohareus* (thus it reads in my copy: but I believe the true reading to be *Lollhardus*; which term *Trithemius* often uses, in the manner common in his age, while treating of the sects that dissented from the church) *autem iste Waltherus, natione Hollandinus, Latini sermonis parvam habebat notitiam*. From these words, I say, those learned men infer, that the name of the man was *Walter*; and his surname, *Lollhard*: and hence they infer, farther, that the sect of the *Lollhards* derived its name from him, as being its founder. But it is clear, from this and other passages of *Trithemius*, that *Lollhardus* was not his surname, but an *epithet* of reproach, which was applied to all heretics who concealed the poison of error under the cloak of piety. This same *Walter*, is called by *Trithemius*, a little before, *Fratricellorum princeps*. Yet the name *Fratricelli*, he uses in a broader sense, or to include various sects. This *Walter* was a man devoted to mystic views, and a principal teacher among the *Brethren of the free spirit* along the Rhine.

man, who taught theology at Paris with applause. (13) *John XXII*, in the year 1330, sought to remedy this evil, by a new and severe ordinance, in which the errors of the sect of the *free spirit* were more distinctly and precisely stated, than in the ordinance of *Clement*: (14) but he could not by any means extirpate it. Both, the Inquisitors and the bishops fought against it, quite to the end of the century, over the greater part of Europe.

§ 6. From the ordinance of *Clement*, or of the council of *Vienne*, against the *Beguins*, or those females who associated in regular houses for united prayer and labor, originated that great persecution of the *Beguins*, which continued down to the times of the reformation by *Luther*, and proved ruinous to both *Beguins* and *Beghards* in several countries. For although the pontiff, at the close of that ordinance, had allowed pious females to lead a life of celibacy, whether under a vow or not, and forbid the toleration of such females only, as were corrupted with the opinions of the *Brethren* of the free spirit; yet the enemies of the *Beguins* and *Beghards*, who were very numerous both among the mechanics, especially the weavers, and among the priests and monks, took occasion from that ordinance of *Clement*, to expel the *Beguins* from their houses, seize and carry off their goods, and to offer them many other insults and injuries. Nor were the *Beghards* treated with more indulgence. *John XXII*, first succored the *Beguins* in the year 1324, by a special ordinance, in which he explained that of *Clement*, and commanded their houses and goods to be left to them unmolested. And other pontiffs afterwards extended to them relief. Moreover the *Beguins* themselves, in order to escape more easily the machinations and violence of their enemies, embraced in many places the third rule of *St. Francis*, and of the *Augustinians*. But all these guards could not prevent them from suffering great injury, both as to character and property, from this time onward; and in many places they were oppressed both by the magistrates, and by the monks and clergy, who were greedy of their property. (15)

(13) See *Jac. Echard's Scriptores Praedicator. Tom. i. p. 507. Odor. Raynald's Annales Eccles. Tom. xv. ad ann. 1329. § 70. p. 389.* [and *Harzheim's Concilia German. Tom. iv. in the Digressio ad Saecul. xiv. p. 635 &c.* where we find the bull of pope *John XXII*, which he sent to the archbishop of Cologne, and in which the 26 articles which *Eccard* taught, but afterwards had to retract, are stated; and are, almost word for word, the same as those propositions, quoted in the history of the preceding century, (Part. ii. ch. v. § 11. p. 408, above,) from the book *de novem rupibus. Schl.*]

(14) This new constitution of *John XXII*, has never been published entire. Its first words were: *In agro Domini*; and its inscription was: *Contra singularia, dubia, suspecta et temeraria, quae Beghardi et Beghinæ praedicant et observant.* A summary of it is given by *Herman Coerner*, *Chronicon*; in *Eccard's Corpus Histor. medii aevi, Tom. ii. p. 1035, 1036.* It is also mentioned by *Paul Langius*, *Chronicon Citizense*; in *Jo. Pistorius' Scriptores rerum German. Tom. i. p. 1206.*

(15) I have made very extensive collections respecting this long and eventful conflict of the *Beguins*. The most copious of all the printed histories of it, and

§ 7. Some years before the middle of the century, while Germany, France, and other countries of Europe, were afflicted with various calamities, the *Flagellants*, a sect long since forgotten, especially in Germany, appeared again; and roaming through various countries, produced excitement among the people. These new *Flagellants*, who were of every order, sex, and age, were worse than the old ones. For they not only supposed, that the compassion of God might be excited by self inflicted pains, but also circulated other doctrines opposed to religion: for example, that *flagellation* was of equal efficacy with baptism, and the other sacraments, that by it might be obtained from God, the forgiveness of all sins, without the merits of Christ; that the old law of Christ was soon to be abolished, and a new law (of baptism with blood by flagellation) was to be substituted in its place; and other doctrines, some worse, and some not so bad. *Clement VII.*, therefore, anathematized these flagellants; and the *Inquisitors* burned some of them, in one place and another. But they were as difficult to be suppressed, as the other sects of errorists. (16)

§ 8. Directly the opposite of this melancholy sect, was the merry one of the *Dancers*; which originated in the year 1373, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and thence spread through the district of Liege, Hanault, and other Belgic provinces. Persons of both sexes, publicly, and in private houses, suddenly broke into a dance, and holding each other by the hand, danced with great violence, till they fell down, nearly suffocated. Amidst those violent movements, they said they were favored with wonderful visions. These also wandered about, like the *Flagellants*, and lived by begging; they esteemed the public worship of the church and of the priesthood, of little value, and held secret assemblies. This appears to have been a singular species of disease: but the ignorant priests of that age supposed, that those people were possessed by some evil spirit; and at Liege, they endeavored to cast him out, by applying fumigations and incense to their bodies. And it is reported, that the evil spirit was dislodged by these means. (17)

§ 9. The *Knights Templars*, established near 200 years before this in Palestine, were far worse than all the heretics, and

especially of the conflict at Basle, and of that most bitter enemy of the Beguins, *John Müllberg*, a priest of Basle, is that of *Christian Wuratsen* or *Urstisius*, in his Chronicle of Basle, written in German, Lib. iv. c. ix. p. 201 &c. Basil 1580. Fol. The writings of *Müllberg*, so famous in the following century for his assaults on the *Beguins*, are before me, in manuscript, and are preserved in many old libraries.

(16) See *Baluze*, Vitae Pontiff. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 160, 316, 319; and *Miscellanea*. Tom. i. p. 50. *Matthaeus*, Analecta veteris aevi, Tom. i. p. 50. Tom. iii. p. 241. Tom. iv. p. 145. *Herm. Gyges*, Flores tempor. p. 139.

(17) See *Baluze*, Vitae Pontiff. Avenion. Tom. i. p. 485. *Ant. Matthaeus*, Analecta veter. aevi, Tom. i. p. 51, where the Chronicon Belgicum, ad Ann. 1374, obscurely says: *gingen de Dansers. Gens impacata cadit, cruciata salvat.* [These people fell down, if unexorcised; but the sign of the cross restored them.] These *Dancing Brothers and Sisters* were very much like the French *Convulsionists* [or Prophets], who in our age have produced so much disturbance.

were the enemies and deriders of all religion; if the crimes and enormities charged upon them were real. Their accuser, before the pontiff *Clement V*, was no less than the king of France, *Philip the Fair*; an avaricious prince, extremely vindictive and fiery. The pontiff had to yield to the wishes of the King, although at first he made some resistance. Therefore in the year 1307, and afterwards, all the Knights, dispersed over the whole of Europe, while apprehending no such thing, were seized on a day appointed: many, who refused to confess the crimes and enormities charged upon them, were put to death; others, who being compelled by tortures and allured by promises, confessed their crimes, were dismissed. The whole order, in the year 1311, was extinguished by the council of Vienne. Their very ample possessions were transferred, in part, to other orders, especially to the Knights of *St. John*, now of Malta, and in part were confiscated by the reigning sovereigns.

§ 10. The *Knights Templars*, if we may believe their judges, were a society of men who made ridicule of God and Christ, and of every thing sacred; and trampled upon all law and decency. Candidates for admission to the order, were required to renounce Christ, and to spit upon his image; and when initiated, they paid divine honors to a gilded head of wood, or to a cat; were required to practice sodomy; committed to the flames such children as happened to be the fruit of their commerce with women; and committed other crimes, too horrid to be mentioned or even thought of. That there were impious and flagitious men, in this, as well as in all the other religious [or monastic] orders, no one will deny. But that this whole order was so abominably corrupt, is so far from being proved by the records of the trial, which are now publicly extant, that the contrary rather is manifest from them. And if to this we add, that the accusations are evidently contradictory; and that many of these unhappy people most firmly attested their own innocence, and the innocence of their order, amidst the severest tortures, and even with their dying breath; it will appear most probable, that king *Philip* set on foot this bloody tragedy, to gratify his hatred against the order, and particularly against its general who had offended him, and to satisfy his avarice. (18)

(18) We have *Peter le Puy's* [or *Puteanus*] *Histoire de la condamnation des Templiers*, with the records of the trial annexed; which, with his other writings, relating to the history of France, was published at Paris, 1654. 4to. A second edition of the work appeared at Paris, 1685. 8vo. and a third, at Brussels, 1713. ii. vol. 8vo. The fourth and most ample was printed at Brussels, 1751. 4to. to which a great number of documents of different kinds were added. Any one by candidly examining the records and documents annexed to this book, will clearly perceive, that injustice was done to the *Templars*. There is also *Nicolaus Gurtler's* *Historia Templariorum*, Amstelod. 1703. 8vo. and the reader may likewise consult *Stephen Baluze*, *Vitæ Pontiff. Avenion.* Tom. i. p. 8, 11, 12 &c. *Gerh. de Bois*, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Paris*, Tom. ii. p. 540. The principal cause of king *Philip's* implacable hatred of the *Templars* was, that in his war with *Boniface VIII*, these knights took sides with the pontiff; and furnished the pontiff with money to carry on the war. This was an offense, which *Philip* could never overlook. More cannot be added in the present work.

CENTURY FIFTEENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. The Moors and Jews.—§ 2. The Samogetae and Indians converted.

§ 1. the new subjects added to the kingdom of Christ, were altogether unworthy the name of christians ; unless we apply the appellation to all that make any kind of profession of christianity. *Ferdinand* the Catholic, king of Spain, by the conquest of *Granada* in 1492, entirely subverted the dominion of the Moors or Saracens in Spain. Not long after, he ordered an immense multitude of Jews into banishment : and to escape this evil, a great number of them made an insincere profession of christianity.(1) It is generally known, that to this present time, Spain and Portugal are full of Jews, who pretend to be christians. The Saracens who remained in vast numbers, were at first solicited by exhortations and discourses, to embrace the christian religion. But as few would yield to these efforts, the great *Ximenes*, archbishop of Toledo, and prime minister of the kingdom, deemed it necessary to employ civil penalties. But even this severity induced only a small part of the nation, to renounce Muhammed.(2)

§ 2. The light of christianity was also carried among the inhabitants of Samogitia, and the neighboring provinces ; but with very little success.(3) Near the end of the century, the Portu-

(1) *Jo. de Ferreras*, *Histoire generale d' Espagne*, Tom. viii. p. 123 &c. p. 132. et alibi.

(2) *Espit Flechier*, *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, p. 89 &c. *Mich. Geddes*, *History of the expulsion of the Moriscoes*; in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, Vol. i. p. 8. &c.

(3) *John Henry Hottinger's Historia Ecclesiast. Saeculi xv.* p. 856. [In these countries, the *Teutonic Knights* distinguished themselves by their zeal to convert pagans ; but their zeal was neither so pure, nor so disinterested, as it should be to deserve commendation. We have in *Von der Hardt's Acta Concil. Constant.* Tom. iii. p. 9 &c. *Pauli Voladimiri de Cracovia*, academ. Cracov. Rectoris, *legati regis ad concilium, Demonstratio, Cruciferis de Prusia opposita: infideles armis et bello non esse ad christianam fidem convertendos, nec eorum bona invadenda*; in *Constant. concil.* 1415. die 6 Julii proposita. In the first chapter of this paper, is a confutation of the opinion, that, since the advent of Christ, the unbelieving have no rights, no honors, and no legitimate dominion over their lands. The second

guese navigators penetrated to India and Ethiopia ; and soon after, AD. 1492, *Christopher Columbus* opened a passage to America, and discovered the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and some others.(4) *Americus Vespuccius*, a citizen of Florence, now reached the [American] continent.(5) These modern Argonauts thought it their duty, to impart the light of christian truth to the inhabitants of these regions, which were before unknown to the Europeans. The first attempt of the kind was made by the Portuguese, among the Africans of the kingdom of Congo ; whose king, with all his subjects, instantly, received the Romish religion.(6) But all good and considerate men must necessarily smile, or rather be grieved, at this so sudden an abandonment of long established errors. Afterwards, when the sovereign pontiff, *Alexander VI*, divided America between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, he strongly exhorted both nations, not to suffer the inhabitants of the islands and the continent to continue longer in ignorance of the true religion.(7) And many of the Franciscans and Dominicans were sent to those countries, to convert the natives to Christ. With what degree of zeal and success they performed the service, is very generally known.(8)

chapter treats of the devices and pretexts of the Teutonic orders, for subjecting to themselves various countries, under the plea of religion. And the writer says: The pagans have now ceased to invade us ; but these, twice a year, invade the territories of the infidels, whom they call *Reisas* (giants)—The most powerful of the pagan princes have received baptism, through the ministry of the Poles, and a great multitude are still receiving it: yet the Crossbearers invade still the new converts, lest the object of their inroads should fail. Schl.]

(4) See *Charlevoix*, *Histoire de l' Isle de St. Domingo*, Tome i. p. 64 &c.

(5) See *Angeli Maria Bandini's* Life of *Americus Vespuccius* ; written in Italian, but translated into German.

(6) *Jo. Bapt. Labat's* Relation de l' Ethiopie Occidentale, Tome ii. p. 366. *Jo. Franc. Lafitau's* Histoire des decouvertes et conquetes des Portugais dans le nouveau monde, Tome. i. p. 72 &c.

(7) See the Bull, in the Bullarium Romanum, Tom. i. p. 466.

(8) See *Thom. Maria Mamachi*, *Originum et Antiquit. Christianar.* Tom. ii. p. 326 &c. where the gradual introduction of christianity into America, is described. *Luc. Wadding's* *Annales Minor.* Tom. xv. p. 1, 10 &c.

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Sinking of christianity in the East.—§ 2. Constantinople taken.

§ 1. In the countries of the East, christianity daily suffered a diminution of its glory and prevalence, by the inroads of the Muhammedans, both the Turks, and likewise the Tartars, who had embraced the Koran. In Asiatic Tartary, among the Moguls, the inhabitants of Tangut, and the adjacent nations, the ground, which had long been occupied by the religion of Christ, was now the seat of the vilest superstitions. Nor were even the vestiges of christianity any where visible, in those vast countries, except in China, where some feeble remains of the Nestorians glimmered faintly amidst the thick surrounding darkness. For it appears, that so late as this century, the Nestorian patriarch in Chaldea sent certain men to Cathai and China, to preside as bishops over the churches existing, or rather lying concealed, in the more remote provinces of that country.(1) Yet even this little handful of christians, must have become wholly extinct, in the course of the century.

§ 2. The lamentable overthrow of the Greek empire, brought incalculable evils upon the christians, in a large part of both Asia and Europe. For after the Turks under *Mahumet II.* (a great prince, religion only excepted,) had captured Constantinople, in the year 1453, the glory of the Greek church was at an end; nor had the christians any protection against the daily oppressions and wrongs of the victors, or any means of resisting the torrent of ignorance and barbarism that rushed in upon them. One part of the city of Constantinople, the Turks took by storm: but another part of it surrendered upon terms of capitulation.(2) Hence, in the former, all public profession of christianity was at once suppressed; but in the latter, during the whole century, the christians retained all their temples, and freely worshipped in them according to their usages. This liberty however, was taken away, in the times of *Selim I.*; and christian worship was confined within very narrow limits.(3) The outward form and organization of the christian church was indeed left untouched by the Turks; but in every thing else, the Greek church was so straitened and cut up,

(1) This is from the letters of *Theoph. Sigfr. Bayer*, which he addressed to me.

(2) ["In this account *Dr. Mosheim* has followed the Turkish writers. And indeed their account is much more probable than that of the Latin and Greek historians, who suppose that the whole city was taken by force, and not by capitulation. The Turkish relation diminishes the glory of their conquest, and therefore probably would not have been adopted, had it not been true." *Macl.*]

(3) *Demetr. Cantimir*, *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman*, Tom. i. p. 11, 46, 54, 55.

that from that time onward, it gradually lost all its vigor and efficiency under them. The Roman pontiff *Pius II*, addressed a letter to *Mahomet II*, exhorting him to embrace christianity ; but his communication was equally destitute of piety and of prudence.(4)

(4) *Peter Bayle*, Dictionaire, Tom. iii. p. 1872. [Article *Mahomet II*. The letter is the 396th of the printed letters of *Pius II*; and occasioned a debate between the French protestants and French catholics, as to its piety and discretion. The pope promised to confirm the dominion of the Sultan over the Greek empire, and assured him of the respect and esteem of the christian world, by which he would become the greatest prince on earth, if he would only be baptized, and make a profession of christianity. Tr.]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

§ 1. Learning flourishes among the Latins.—§ 2. The Greeks aid its progress in the West.—§ 3. Elegant literature and languages.—§ 4. Philosophy, the Aristotelian and the Platonic.—§ 5. The Platonic Syncretists.—§ 6. The Aristotelian has still the preponderance.—§ 7. The contests of the Nominalists and Realists continue.

§ 1. The tyranny of the Muhammedans well nigh imposed silence on the Grecian and oriental muses. Among the Latins, on the contrary, literature and the liberal arts returned under most favorable auspices to their long lost lustre and glory. Some of the pontiffs themselves encouraged them; among whom, *Nicolaus V.*, stands prominent: also many of the kings and princes aided literary men, by their protection and by extraordinary munificence; among whom, the illustrious family of *Medici* in Italy,(1) *Alphonsus VI.*, king of Naples, and the other Neapolitan sovereigns of the house of Arragon,(2) acquired permanent fame by their liberality and their attachment to learning. Hence universities were erected in Germany, France, and Italy; libraries were collected, at great expense; and young men were excited to study, by proffered rewards and honors. To all these means was added; the incomparable advantage resulting from the art of printing, first with wooden blocks, and then with metal types; which was invented at Mayence, about the year 1440, by *John Guttemberg*. For in consequence of this, the best Greek and Latin authors, which before had lain concealed in the libraries of the monks, were now put into the hands of the people; and awakened in every man a laudable desire of emulating their excellences, and purified the taste of innumerable individuals of a literary turn.(3)

(1) A direct treatise on the great merits of the house of *Medici*, in regard to all the liberal arts and sciences, is given us by *Joseph Bianchini de Prato*, *Del gran Duchi di Toscana della reale Casa de Medici, Protettori delle lettere et delle belle arti, Ragionamenti Historici*; Venice 1741. Fol.

(2) See *Giannone*, *Mistoire civile du royaume de Naples*, Tom. iii. p. 500, 628 &c. *Anton. Panormitanus*, *Dicta et facta memorabilia Alphonsi I. secund* ed. by *Jo. Gerh. Meuschen*, *Vitae eruditior. viror.* Tom. ii. p. i. &c.

(3) *Mich. Mattaire's Annales Typographici*. *Prosper Marchand's Histoire de l'imprimerie*, à la Haye 1740. 4to. &c. [*Jo. Dan. Schöpfli's Vindiciae Typographicae*, Strasb. 1760. 4to. *Gerhard Meerman's Origines Typographicae*, Hagae Comit. 1763. ii. vol. 4to. *Breithopf, über de Geschichte der Buchdrucker-kunst*, Lips. 1779. 4to. There has been much debate, where, and by whom, printing was first performed. *Haerlem*, *Mayence*, and *Strasburg*, each claim the honor of being the first seat of the art; and *Laurence Coster*, *Johu Gens-*

§ 2. The fall of the Greek empire likewise, contributed much to the promotion of learning in the West. For the most learned men of that nation, after the capture of Constantinople, emigrated to Italy; and thence, a part of them were dispersed into the other countries of Europe. These men faithfully taught the Greek language and Grecian learning, every where, for their own support; and they diffused a taste for literature and science, over nearly the whole Latin world. Hence, there was no considerable city, or university, in this age, in which some one or more of the Greeks were not employed as teachers of the liberal arts.(4) But they were no where more numerous, than in Italy, where they were encouraged and honored, by the munificence and the ardent zeal for useful learning of the Medicean family, and by other Italian cities: and hence, such as thirsted for knowledge in other countries, were accustomed to repair to that country for study.(5)

§ 3. The greater part of the learned men in Italy, which was the chief seat of learning, were engaged in publishing, correcting, and elucidating the Greek and Latin authors, in forming both a prose and poetic style after their model, and in illustrating antiquities. And in these departments, many attained such eminence, that it is very difficult to come up to their standard. Nor were the other languages and sciences neglected. In the university of Paris, a public teacher of the Greek and Hebrew languages, was now established.(6) In Spain and Italy, there were many who were eminent for their knowledge of Hebrew and oriental literature.(7) Germany was renowned for *John Ruechlin* or *Capnio*, *John Trithemius*, and others, eminent both in those languages and in other branches of knowledge.(8) Latin poetry was revived especially by *Anthony Panormitanus*; who had many followers.(9) The

Jeisch or *Gutenberg*, and *John Faust*, besides others, have been honored as inventors of the art. The probability is, that *Coster* first printed, at Haerlem, with carved wooden blocks, (much in the Chinese manner,) on or before the year 1430: that *Gutenberg*, invented forged metal types, at Strasburg, AD. 1436, or later; and that afterwards, forming a partnership with *Faust* and others, at Mayence, *Faust* invented the cast types, one *Peter Schoeffer* having devised the iron matrixes and punches to facilitate the casting of the types; and the company began to print in 1459; and in 1459, printed *Durant's* *Rationale divinior. officior.* at Mayence. See *Schroech's* *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxx. p. 175. and *Rec's* *Cyclopaedia*, art. *Printing*. Tr.]

(4) *Jo. Henr. Maius*, *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 11, 13, 19, 28, 152, 153, 165 &c. *Casper Barth*, on *Statius*, Tom. ii. p. 1003. *Boulay's* *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. v. p. 631.

(5) Happily illustrative of these facts, is *Humphrey Hody's* *Liber de Graecis illustribus litterarum instauratoribus*, edited by *Sam. Jebb*, Lond. 1742. 8vo. Very interesting and accurate, is, *Christ. Fred. Boerner*, *de doctis hominibus Graecis litterarum Graecarum in Italia Instauratoribus*, Lips. 1750. 8vo. *Sam. Eattier*, *Oratio de instauratoribus Graecar. litterarum*; in the *Museum Helveticum*, Tom. iv. p. 163 &c.

(6) *Rich. Simon*, *Critique de la Bibliotheque Eccles.* par *M. du Pin*, Tom. i. p. 502, 512 &c. *Boulay's* *Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. v. p. 852 &c.

(7) *Paul Colomesius*, *Italia Orientalis*, p. 4 &c. and *Hispania Orientalis*, p. 212.

(8) *Rich. Simon*, *Lettres Choisies*, Tome i. p. 262. Tom. iv. p. 131 &c. p. 140. and in other passages.

(9) *Peter Bayle*, *Dictionaire*, art. *Panormita*, Tom. iii. p. 2162.

principal collector of ancient monuments, coins, gems, and inscriptions, among the Italians, was *Cyniacus* of Ancona; whose example prompted others to do the same.(10)

§ 4. It is not necessary here, to be particular respecting the other branches of learning; but the state of philosophy deserves to be briefly noticed. Before the Greeks came to Italy, *Aristotle* alone was the admiration of all: he was extolled immoderately, and many were not ashamed to compare him, foolishly, with the precursor of Jesus Christ.(11) But about the time of the council of Florence, some of the Greeks, and especially the celebrated *Gemistius Pletho*, recommended to certain great men of Italy, instead of the contentious philosophy of the Peripatetics, what they called, the divine and mild wisdom of *Plato*. And these Italians, being charmed with it, took pains to have a number of noble youth imbued with it. The most distinguished among them was *Cosmo de Medicis*; who, after hearing *Pletho*, formed the design of establishing a Platonic school at Florence. For this purpose, he caused *Marsilius Ficinus*, the son of his physician, to be carefully educated and instructed, in order to translate the works of *Plato* from the Greek into Latin. He therefore first published a Latin version of *Hermes Trismegistus*, and then of *Plotinus*, and finally of *Plato*. This same *Cosmo* prompted other learned men, as *Ambrose* of Camalduli, *Leonard Bruni*, *Poggius*, and others, to engage in similar labors; that is, to translate Greek authors into Latin. In consequence of these efforts, there soon appeared two schools of philosophy in Italy, which for a long time contended zealously with each other, whether *Plato* or *Aristotle* ought to hold the preeminence in philosophy.(12)

§ 5. A middle course, between the two parties, was taken by certain eminent men among both the Greeks and the Latins, such as *John Francis Picus*, *Bessarion*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, and others; who indeed honored *Plato* as a kind of oracle in philosophy, yet did not wish to see *Aristotle* trodden under foot and despised, but contemplated a union of the two. These followed, both in their manner of teaching and in their doctrines or prin-

(10) See the *Itinerarium* of *Cyriacus Anconitanus*, published from a manuscript, with a preface, notes, and the epistles of this first antiquary, by *Laur. Mohus*, Florence 1742. 8vo. Add *Leonard Aretin's* Epistles, Tom. ii. Lib. ix. p. 149. recent edition, Florence.

(11) See *Christ. August. Heumann's* Acta Philosophorum; in German, Tomi. iii. p. 345.

(12) *John Bovin*, in the *Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscript. et des belles lettres*, Tom. iv. p. 381. *Jo. Launoï*, de varia fortuna Aristotelis, p. 225. *Leo. Allatius*, de Georgia, p. 391. *Matur. Veiss. la Croze*, Entretiens sur divers sujets, p. 384 &c. *Joseph Bianchini*, in his Italian work above quoted, On the merits of the house of Medici in regard to learning, the Preface. *Jac. Brucker's* Historia critica Philos. Tom. iv. p. 62 &c.—[“It was not only the respective merit of these two philosophers, that was debated in this controversy: the principal question was, which of their systems was most conformable to the doctrines of christianity; and here the Platonic most certainly deserved the preference, as was abundantly proved by *Pletho* and others. It is well known, that many of the opinions of *Aristotle* lead directly to atheism.” *Muel.*]

ciples, the later Platonic school, which originated with *Ammonius*.(13) This kind of philosophy was for a long time held in high estimation, and was especially prized by the mystic theologians; but the scholastic and disputatious divines were better pleased with the Peripatetic school. Yet these Platonists were not truly wise; they were not only infected with anile superstitions, but they abandoned themselves wholly to the guidance of a wanton fancy.

§ 6. These Platonists, however, were not so bad as their opposers, the Aristotelians, who had the upper hand in Italy, and instructed the youth in all the universities. For these, and especially the followers of *Averroes*, who maintained, (according to the opinion of *Averroes*,) that all men have one common soul, cunningly subverted the foundations of all religion, both natural and revealed; and approximated very near to the impious tenets of the pantheists, who hold that the universe, as consisting of *infinite matter* and *infinite power of thought*, is the deity. The most noted among this class, was *Peter Pomponatius*, a philosopher of Mantua, a crafty and arrogant man, who has left us many writings prejudicial to religion: (14) yet nearly all the professors of philosophy in the Italian universities, coincided with him in sentiment. When pressed by the Inquisitors, these philosophers craftily discriminated between philosophical truth, and theological; and said, their doctrines were only philosophically true, that is, accordant with sound reason; but they would not deny, that they ought, when viewed theologically, to be accounted false. On this impudent subterfuge, *Leo X*, in the Lateran council held in the following century, at length laid restrictions.

§ 7. In France and Germany, the philosophical sects of *Realists* and *Nominalists*, every where, had fierce contests with each other; in which they employed not only ratiocination and argument, but also accusations, penal laws, and the force of arms. There was scarcely a university that was undisturbed by this war. In most places, however, the *Realists* were more powerful than the *Nominalists*, or the *Terminists*, as they were also called. (15) In the university of Paris, so long as *John Gerson* lived, and his immediate pupils, the *Nominalists* were in high authority: but when these were dead, AD. 1473, *Lewis XI*, the king of France, at the instigation of the bishop of Avranches, who was his confessor, prohibited the doctrine of the *Nominalists* by a severe edict; and ordered all books composed by men of that

(13) See *Bessarion's* Letter, in the *Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des belles lettres*, Tom. v. 456. *Jac. Thomasius*, de *Syncretismo Peripatetico*; in his *Orationes*, p. 340.

(14) See *Jac. Brucker's* *Historia critica Philosophiæ*, Tom. iv. p. 158 &c.

(15) See *Jac. Brucker's* *Historia crit. Philos.* Tom. v. p. 904. *Jo. Salabert's* *Philosophia Nominalium vindicata*, cap. i. *Steph. Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. iv. p. 531, &c. *Argentæ*, *Collectio documentor. de novis erroribus*, Tom. i. p. 220 &c.

sect, to be seized and locked up from the public.(16) But he mitigated his decree, in the year 1474, and allowed *some* books of the Nominalists to be let out of prison.(17) And in the year 1481, he restored *all* the books of the Nominalists to liberty, and reinstated the sect in its former privileges and honors in the university.(18)

(16) *Gabr. Naudé*, additions à l' Histoire de Louis XI, p. 203. *Caes. Egasse de Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. v. p. 678, 705, 708, &c. *John Launoï*, *Historia Gymnasii Navarr. Opp.* Tom. iv. P. i. p. 201, 378.

(17) *Boulay*, *Historia Acad. Paris.* Tom. v. p. 710.

(18) The documents are published by *Jo. Salabert*, *Philosophia Nominal. Vindicata*, cap. i. p. 104. Add *Boulay*, l. c. Tom. v. p. 739, 747.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Vices of the clergy.—§ 2. Continuance of the schism of the West.—§ 3. The council of Constance called by the emperor Sigismund.—§ 4. Its proceedings and issue.—§ 5. John Huss.—§ 6. Causes of hatred against him.—§ 7. John Huss is burnt. Jerome of Prague.—§ 8. Decree of the council against the books and the ashes of Wickliffe.—§ 9. Sentence against John Petit.—§ 10. The reformation of the church.—§ 11. Council of Basil. Reformation of the church again attempted in vain.—§ 12. Decrees and acts of this council.—§ 13. Council of Ferrara under Eugene IV.—§ 14. Schism of the church renewed.—§ 15. Schism terminates under Nicolaus V.—§ 16. Pius II.—§ 17. Paul II.—§ 18. Alexander VI.—§ 19. The monks.—§ 20. The mendicants.—§ 21. Condition of the Fratricelli.—§ 22. New orders. Brethren and Clerks of the common life.—§ 23. Greek writers.—§ 24. Latin writers.

§ 1. No teacher or writer of any eminence can be named, in that age, who does not plainly and greatly lament the miserable state of the christian church; and anticipate its ruin, unless God should interpose for its rescue. The vices and faults both of the prelates, and of the other clerical orders, were so manifest, that no one dared to censure such complaints. And even prelates of the highest rank, who spent their lives in idleness and vice of every kind, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to commend, those bold orators, who publicly maintained, that there was nothing sound in either the head or the members of the church, and who called for the amputation of the infected parts. And indeed he only was accounted an honest and useful man, who fearlessly, and vehemently, declaimed against the court of Rome, the pontiff, and all his adherents.(1)

§ 2. At the commencement of the century, the Latin church had two heads, or two pontiffs, *Boniface IX*, at Rome, and *Benedict XIII*, resident at Avignon. On the death of *Boniface*, the cardinals of his party elected, AD. 1404, *Cosmat de Meliorati*,

(1) [*Flacius*, in his *Catalogus testium veritatis*, has collected many such testimonies. Still more may be found in *Peter de Alliaco's* tract de Reformatione ecclesiae; and in the tract of *Matthew of Cracovia*, bishop of Worms, de Squaloribus Romanae curiae; both of which tracts were published by *Wolfgang Weissemburg*, at Basil, 1551: likewise in the same *Weissemburg's* *Antilogia Romana*, Basil 1555. 8vo. in *John Wolf's* *Lectiones Memorabiles*, Tom. i. and especially in the *Monumenta medii aevi*, by *Dr. Walch* of Gottingen; where we have, Tom. i. Facie. i. p. 1. the tracts de Squaloribus curiae Romanae; and p. 101. the *Gravamina nationis German. adversus curiam Romanam*, Joanni cardinali S. Angeli, Nicolai V. Pontificis Rom. legato, exhibita; and p. 156, *James Junterberg's* tract de negligentia praelatorum; besides many of the speeches made in the council of Constance, which are in the second Fasciculus, and are of a similar import. Even at the council of Constance itself, which assembled to reform the church, and in which so many testimonies were exhibited of the corrupt state of the church, there were present a great number of buffoons, prostitutes, and public girls (joculatores, meretrices, and virgines publicae). See the *Diarium belli Hussitici*, in *Ludwig's* *Reliquiae manuscriptae*. Tom. vi. p. 127. *Schl.*]

who took the name of *Innocent VII.*(2) And he dying, after two years, or AD. 1406, his place was filled by *Angelo Corrani*, a Venetian, who assumed the name of *Gregory XII.* Both of them promised, under oath, that they would voluntarily resign the pontificate, if the interests of the church should require it: and they both violated their promise. *Benedict XIII.*, being besieged at Avignon by the king of France, AD. 1408, fled into Catalonia, his native province, and thence removed to Perpignan. Hence eight or nine cardinals of his party, finding themselves deserted by their pontiff, joined the cardinals of the party of *Gregory XII.*, and in conjunction with them, in order to put an end to the protracted schism, appointed a council of the whole church to be held at Pisa, on the 25th of March, AD. 1409. But this council, which was designed to heal the wounds of the divided church, unexpectedly inflicted a new wound. On the fifth of June, it passed a heavy sentence on each of the pontiffs; for it declared them both to be heretical, perjured, obstinate, and unworthy of any honors; and excommunicated them from the church. And in place of them, on the 26th of June, the council created *Peter de Candia* sovereign pontiff; and he assumed the name of *Alexander V.*(3) But the two pontiffs spurned the decrees of this council; and continued still to perform their functions. *Benedict* held a council at Perpignan; and *Gregory* assembled another at Austria [Cividad di Frioul],(4) near Aquileia; but fearing the resentments of the Venetians, he went first to Cajeta, where he threw himself upon the protection of *Ladislaus* king of Naples; and then fled, AD. 1412, to Rimini.

§ 3. The church was thus divided between three pontiffs; who fiercely assailed each other, with reciprocal excommunications, reproaches, and maledictions. *Alexander V.*, who was elected in the council of Pisa, died at Bologna, AD. 1410.(5) The sixteen

(2) Besides the common writers, see especially, in regard to *Innocent VII.*, *Leonh. Aretinus*, Epistolar. Lib. i. Ep. 4, 5. p. 6, 19, 21. Lib. ii. Ep. 2. p. 30. and *Calluccius Salutati*, Epistolar. Lib. ii. Ep. i. p. 1. or p. 18. ed. Florence:—in regard to *Gregory*, the same *Aretinus*, Epistolar. Lib. ii. Ep. 3. p. 32. Ep. 7. p. 39, 41, 51. Lib. ii. Ep. 17. p. 54, 56, 59. *John Lamy*, Deliciae eruditor. Tom. i. p. 494.

(3) See *Jac. Lefant's* Histoire du concile de Pise, Amsterd., 1724, 4to. *Franc. Pagi*, Breviarium Pontiff. Romanor. Tom. iv. p. 350. *Jac. Benign. Bossuet*, Defensio decreti Cleri Gallicani de potestate eccles. Tom. ii. p. 17 &c and elsewhere.

(4) [*Lefant*, (Histoire du concile de Pise, Tom. i. p. 295,) says, the place of this council was, *Cividad di Frioul et Udine*, towns two miles apart, in the diocese of Aquileia, in the Venetian states. Tr.]

(5) [*Alexander* committed two faults, which very much injured his cause. He published a bull for the advantage of the mendicants, in regard to hearing confessions; which was so offensive to the secular clergy, and particularly to the university of Paris, that under the countenance of the king, they set themselves against it; and his successor, *John XXIII.*, found it necessary to repeal it. In the next place, by the advice of the cardinal legate of Bologna, *Balthasar of Cosca*, he ventured to go to Rome; which prepared the way for *Lewis*, king of Naples, to gain the victory over his enemy, king *Ladislaus*. Under him likewise, a cardinal was allowed to hold many benefices, three or four deaneries, as many presbyterships, besides several bishoprics. *Schl.*]

cardinals, who were present in the city, immediately filled his place with *Balthasar Cossa*, a Neapolitan, who took the name of *John XXIII*, a man destitute of principle, and of piety. (6) From this war of the pontiffs, vast evils arose, which affected both the church and the state. Hence the emperor, *Sigismund*, the king of France, and other kings and princes of Europe, spared no pains or expense, to restore harmony and bring the church again under one head. The pontiffs could not be persuaded at all, to prefer the peace of the church before their own glory; so that no course remained, but to assemble a general council of the whole church, to take cognizance of this great controversy. Such a council, *John XXIII*, being prevailed on by the intreaties of *Sigismund*, and hoping that it would favor his cause, appointed to be held at Constance, AD. 1414. In this council, were present, the pontiff *John*, the emperor *Sigismund*, many princes of Germany, and the ambassadors of the ancient kings and princes of Europe and of the republics. (7)

§ 4. The principal object of this great council was, to extinguish the discord between pontiffs; and this they successfully accomplished. For having established by two solemn decrees, in the fourth and fifth sessions, that a pontiff is subject to a council of the whole church; and having most carefully substantiated the authority of the council; (8) they on the 29th of May, AD. 1415,

(6) [History represents him as a great villain; and, in the council of Constance, he was accused, among other crimes, of procuring the death of his predecessor with poison. His persecution of *Ladislaws*, whom he very unreasonably excommunicated, and offended still more by proclaiming a crusade against him, obliged him to court the friendship of the emperor *Sigismund*; who, by a master piece of policy, induced him to call the council of Constance. *Scd.*]

(7) The Acts of this celebrated council were published, in six volumes, Folio, by *Herm. von der Hardt*, Francf. 1700; an elaborate work, yet imperfect; for very many Acts are wanting in it; while many Acts are inserted, which might have been omitted. *James Lenfant* composed an elegant history of this council, in French, which was printed, 2d ed. Amsterd. 1728. 4to. [also in English, 2 vol. 4to. *Tr.*] A Supplement to it, composed however with little judgment, was added by *Bourgeois du Chastenot*, an advocate of Paris, entitled *Nouvelle Histoire du concile de Constance, où l'on fait voir, combien la France a contribué à l'extinction du Schisme*. Paris 1718. 4to.

(8) Concerning these two celebrated decrees, which are extremely hateful to the pontiffs, see *Natalis Alexander's* *Historia Eccles. Saec. xv. Diss. iv. Jac. Benign. Bossuet's* *Defensio sententiae Cleri Gallicani de potestate eccles. Tom. ii. p. 2, 23 &c.* and *Jac. Lenfant's* *Diss. Historique et Apologetique pour Jean Gerson et concile de Constance*; annexed to his *History of that council*. [The second decree, of the 6th of April, repeats the most essential parts of the first, or that of the 30th March; and is as follows: *Haec sancta synodus Constantiensis generale concilium faciens, pro extirpatione ipsius schismatis, et unione et reformatione ecclesiae Dei in capite et in membris, &c. ordinat, definit, decernit, et declarat, ut sequitur.*

Et primo declarat, quod ipsa in spiritu sancto legitime congregata, concilium generale faciens, et ecclesiam catholicam repraesentans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet, cui quilibet cujuscunque status vel dignitatis, etiam si papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his quae pertinent ad fidem et extirpationem dicti schismatis, et reformationem dictae ecclesiae in capite et in membris.

Item declarat, quod quicumque cujuscunque conditionis, status, dignitatis, etiam si papalis, qui mandatis, statutis seu ordinationibus, aut praeceptis hujus sacrae synodi et cujuscunque alterius concilii generalis legitime congregati, super prae-

removed *John XXII*, from the pontificate, on account of various offences and crimes : (9) for he had pledged himself to the council, to resign the pontificate ; and yet withdrew himself by flight. *Gregory XII*, voluntarily resigned his pontificate, on the 4th of July, in the same year, through *Charles de Malatesta*. And *Benedict XIII*, on the 26th of July, 1417, was deprived of his rank as a pontiff, by a solemn decree of the council. After these transactions, on the 11th of November AD. 1417, *Otto de Colonna*, was elected pontiff, by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, and assumed the name of *Martin V*. *Benedict XIII*, who resided at Perpignan, resisted indeed, and claimed the rights and the dignity of a pontiff, till his death, AD. 1423 : and after the death of this obstinate man, under the auspices of *Alphonsus* king of Sicily, *Aegidius Mugnos*, a Spaniard, was appointed to succeed him, by only two cardinals. He assumed the name of *Clement VIII*, and wished to be regarded as the legitimate pontiff ; but in the year 1429, he was persuaded to resign the government of the church entirely to *Martin V*.

§ 5. The acts passed in this council for the suppression and extirpation of *Heretics*, are not equally commendable ; and some of them are wholly inexcusable. Before the meeting of the council, great religious commotions had arisen in several countries, but especially in Bohemia. At Prague, lived and taught with much applause, *John Huss*, an eloquent and learned man, who performed the duties of a professor of theology in the university, and those of a minister of the Gospel in the church. He preached vehemently against the vices of the clergy of all ranks : and numerous others did so, in that age ; nor did any good man disapprove of it. He likewise endeavored, after the year 1408, to detach the university from the interests of *Gregory XII*, whom Bohemia acknowledged as pontiff. This gave great offence to the archbishop of Prague, and to the rest of the clergy, who adhered to the interests of *Gregory*. Hence arose great hostility between *Huss* and the archbishop ; which the former kept up and increased, by his discourses against the Romish court, and the vices of the clergy.

missis, seu ad ea pertinentibus, factis, vel faciendis, obedire contumaciter contempserit, nisi resipuerit, condignae poenitentiae subjiciatur, et debite puniatur, etiam ad alia juris subsidia (si opus fuerit) recurrendo.—The decree then goes on, to forbid pope *John* from dissolving or removing the council to any other place, without its consent ; or from withdrawing any of his officers and servants from attending on the council, so long as it shall remain at Constance. It further declares null and void, all censures, deprivations of office, &c. passed, or that might be passed by the said pope, upon any persons whatever, to the prejudice of the council. See *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. viii. p. 258, 259. Tr.]

(9) [The crimes of this pope are laid down in certain articles, in *Herm. von der Hardt's Acta Concilii Constant.* Tom. iv. p. 196. among which are the following : Simony, extortion, poisoning, adultery, incest, the sale of ecclesiastical offices and bulls, &c. *Schl.* See the articles at large, in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. viii. p. 343 &c. and the judgment of the council upon them ; *ibid.* p. 376. Tr.]

§ 6. To these first causes of hatred against *Huss*, which might easily have been surmounted, others were added of greater magnitude. First, he took the side of the *Realists* in philosophy, and therefore, according to the usage of the age, goaded and pressed the *Nominalists* to the utmost of his power: yet their number was very considerable in the university of Prague, and their influence was not small.(10) Afterwards, in the year 1408, it was by his influence, that in the controversy between the Germans and the Bohemians, respecting the number of votes [each was to have in the university,] the decision was in favor of the Bohemians. By the laws of the university, it was ordained, that in the academic discussions the Bohemians should have *three votes*, and the other three nations but *one*. The university was then divided into four nations, the Bavarian, Polish, and Saxon, were comprehended under the general name of the *German nation*. The usage had been, that the Germans, who far exceeded the Bohemians in numbers, gave three votes, and the Bohemians but one. *Huss* therefore, either from partiality to his country, or from his hatred to the *Nominalists*, whom the greatest part of the Germans preferred before the *Realists*, obtained, by means of the vast influence at court which his eloquence gave him, a decree, that the Germans should be deprived of the privilege of three votes, and should content themselves with one. This result of a long contest so offended the Germans, that a great multitude of them, with the rector of the university, *John Hoffman*, at their head, left the university of Prague and retired to Leipsic; where *Frederic the Wise*, the elector of Saxony, [or rather, *Frederic the Warlike*, margrave of Meisen,](11) founded a university on their account, in the year 1409. This event contributed much to increase the odium against *Huss*, and to work his ruin. The Germans being ejected from Prague, *Huss* inveighed more freely than before, against the vices of the clergy, and also publicly preached and recommended the opinions and the books of *John Wickliffe*, the Englishman. Being accused before *John XXIII*,

(10) There is a letter of the Nominalists to Lewis VI, king of France, in *Steph. Baluze's Miscellanea*, Tom. iv. p. 534; which says, *Legimus Nominales expulsos de Bohemia eo tempore, quo haeretici voluerunt Bohemicum regnum suis haeresibus inficere.—Quum dicti haeretici non possent disputando superare, impetraverunt ab Abbisselao (Wenceslao) principe Bohemiae, ut gubernarentur studia Pragensis ritu Parisiensium. Quo edicto coacti sunt supradicti Nominales Pragam civitatem relinquere, et se transtulerunt ad Lipzicam civitatem, et ibidem universitatem crexerunt solemnissimam.*

(11) [*Mosheim* says, that *Fredericus sapiens*, Saxoniae *Septemvir*, established the university of Leipsic, in the year 1409. This was certainly a slip of memory in the venerable old man. It was not *Frederic the Wise*, but *Frederic the Warlike*, that established the university of Leipsic; and when he instituted it, he was only *Margrave of Meisen* and *Landgrave of Thuringia*; not *Electo*r, to which dignity he did not attain till the death of *Albrecht III*, duke of Wittemburg, without issue, AD. 1423. *Schl.* "Historians differ much in their accounts of the number of Germans that retired from the university of Prague upon this occasion. *Aeneas Sylvius* reckons 5000, *Trithemius* and others 2000, *Dubravius* 24000, *Lupacius* 44,000, *Lauda*, a contemporary writer, 36,000." *MacL.*]

in the year 1410, he was excommunicated by the pontiff. But he despised this thunder, and both orally, and afterwards in various writings, continued to chastise the corruptions of the Romish church and of the whole clerical order, with the applause of great numbers. (12)

§ 7. He was a good man, and a lover of real piety, though perhaps sometimes over ardent, and not sufficiently prudent. Being summoned to the council of Constance, and being protected by a safe-conduct from the emperor *Sigismund*, he went thither, for the purpose of demonstrating his innocence, and of proving the falsehood of the charge that he had apostatized from the Roman church. And certainly, he had not departed in things of any moment from the religion of his times; but had only inveighed severely against the pontiffs, the court of Rome, the bishops and clergy, and the monks; which was a common practice at that day, and was daily done in the council of Constance itself. Yet his enemies, who were numerous both in Bohemia and in the council, managed the procedure against him so artfully and successfully, that, in violation of the public faith, he was cast into prison; and when he would not, by order of the council, confess guilt, he was adjudged a heretic, and burnt alive, on the 6th day of July, AD. 1415. Full of faith and the love of God, he sustained this punishment with admirable constancy. (13) The same

(12) See *Laur. Byzinius*, *Diarium belli Hussitici*; in *Jo. Pet. de Ludwig's Reliquiae Manuscriptorum*, Tom. vi. p. 127 &c.

(13) Learned men have searched for the causes of so cruel a sentence being passed upon *John Huss*, and his companions; nor do they find them either in his opinions, or in his life and conduct. Hence they concluded, that he was unrighteously oppressed by his enemies. And the conclusion of these excellent men, is most just; for it is not difficult to shew, whence arose the readiness of the Fathers assembled at Constance, to inflict the punishment of a heretic on this good man, who by no means merited it. (I) By his discourses and his writings, *Huss* had produced very great commotion in Bohemia; and had excited vast odium against the whole sacred order, among the people. And the bishops, the priests, and the monks could readily see, that if this man should return to his country, and should go on to write and to teach; they must loose their honors, influence, and emoluments. And therefore they strove, to the utmost, and spared neither money nor pains and labor with his judges, to persuade them to destroy so dangerous an enemy. *Laur. Byzinius*, in his *Diarium Hussiticum*, (in *Ludwig's Reliquiae*, Tom. vi. p. 135.) says: *Clerus perversus præcipue in regno Boemæ et marchionatu Moraviæ condemnationem ipsius (Hussi,) contributiones pecuniarum et modis aliis diversis, procuravit, et ad ipsius consensum interitum.* And in page 150, he says: *Clerus perversus regni Bohemæ et marchionatus Moraviæ, et præcipue Episcopi, Abbates, Canonici, plebani et religiosi, ipsius fideles ac salutiferas admonitiones, adhortationes, ipsorum pompam, symoniam, avaritiam, fornicationem, vitæque detestandæ abominationem detegentes, ferre non valendo, pecuniarum contributiones ad ipsius extinctionem faciendæ procurarant.* (II) In the council itself there were many individuals of influence and power, who thought themselves greatly injured by *Huss*; and who were willing to avenge those injuries, by the death of the good man. *Huss* being a *Realist*, had rendered himself extremely odious to the *Nominalists*. And unfortunately for him, his principal judges were *Nominalists*; and especially, the oracle of the council, *John Gerson*, was the great champion of the *Nominalists*, and an enemy of *Huss*. These rejoiced to have, in the person of *Huss*, a man on whom they could take revenge, more sweet than life itself. The *Nominalists*, in their letter to *Leois*, king of France, (in *Baluze*, *Miscellanea*, Tom. iv. p. 634.) do not dis-

unhappy fate was borne, with the same pious fortitude and constancy, by *Jerome of Prague*, the companion of *John Huss*, who had come to Constance to support and aid his friend. He at first, through fear of death, yielded to the mandates of the council, and renounced those opinions, which the council had condemned in him : but being retained still in prison, he resumed courage, again

guise the fact, that *Huss* fell by the hand and efforts of their sect. *Suscitavit Deus doctores Catholicos, Petrum de Allyaco, Johannem de Gersonno et alios quamplures doctissimos viros Nominales, qui convocati ad concilium Constantiense, ad quod citati fuerant haeretici, et nominatim Hyeronimus et Johannes, — dictos haereticos per quadraginta dies disputando superaverunt.* That it was really so, the history of the council of Constance shews. The hostility at that time, between the *Realists* and the *Nominalists*, was deadly. Each sect, on every occasion that offered, accused the other of heresy and impiety, and inflicted punishment accordingly. The *Nominalists* at Constance, condemned *Huss*, a *Realist*; and on the other hand, the *Realists* condemned *John de Wesalia*, a *Nominalist*, in the year 1479. See the *Examen magistrale ac theologicale* Mag. Joh. de *Wesalia*; in *Ortwin. Gratius*, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*. Colon. 1535. pa. clxiii. I will transcribe from this *Examen*, a memorable passage illustrative of the deadly feud between the *Nominalists* and the *Realists*; pa. clxvi. b. *Quis nisi ipse diabolus seminavit illam zizaniam inter philosophos et inter theologos, ut tanta sit dissensio, etiam animorum, inter diversa opinantes? Adeo ut si universalia quisquam realia negaverit, existimetur in Spiritum Sanctum peccavisse, immo summo et maximo peccato plenus creditur contra Deum, contra religionem, contra justitiam, contra omnem politiam graviter deliquisse.* Unde haec coecitas mentis, nisi a diabolo, qui phantasias nostras illudit.—(III) These, in other respects, excellent and devout men, *Huss* and *Jerome*, burned with hatred against the Germans. This hatred they publicly confessed at Prague: this accompanied them to Constance: and they did not disguise it before the council. *Theod. de Niem*, *Invectiva in Johan.* xxiii. (in *Hardt's Acta Concilii Constant.* Tom. ii. p. 450.) Improperabat etiam in publico Alemannis dicendo, quod essent praesumptuosi et vellent ubique per orbem dominari.—Sicque factum fuisset saepe in Boemia, ubi volentes etiam dominari Alemanni, *Violenter exinde repulsi et male tractati* fuissent. On the other hand, the Germans, mindful of the injuries they had received at Prague, conceived the most violent hatred against these men. Yet the influence of the Germans was very great in the council. And who can doubt, that they exerted that influence against their adversaries?—(IV) Finally, the very rector of the university of Prague, *John Hoffman*, who, together with the German nation, had been driven from Prague by *Huss*, and who was the principal enemy of *Huss*, was made bishop of Misnia, 1413, and held a high place among the representatives of the German church in this council; and undoubtedly he was an unlucky star to *Huss*, in it.

Although these were the real causes of the condemnation of *Huss*, yet it must be confessed, there appeared one mark of a heretic in him; for which, in the judgment of that age, he might with some color of justice be condemned. I refer to his inflexible obstinacy; which the Romish church usually regards, even in those who err very little, as the most grievous heresy. *Huss* was commanded by this council, which was supposed to represent the whole church, to confess his faults, and to abjure his errors. He most pertinaciously refused to do this, unless first convinced of error. Thus he resisted the catholic church: he wished the church to show a reason, for the sentence passed upon him: and he not obscurely signified, that the church might be in an error. This indeed was a great crime, and intolerable heresy. For a true son of the church ought to subject his own judgment and pleasure, without reserve, to the will of his mother; and to believe firmly, that she could not possibly err. The Romish church, indeed, had for many ages followed *Pliny's* principle: *Epist. Lib. x. 97. p. 495.* where he says: *Perseverantes, duci jussi.* Neque enim dubitabam, quaecunque esset, quod faterentur, perversitatem certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. [Those who persevered, I ordered to execution. For I had no doubt, whatever it might be they professed, such perverse and inflexible obstinacy ought certainly to be punished.—For the Life of *Huss*, see *Wil. Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers*, vol. i. *Middleton's Biographia Evangelica*, vol. i. p. 29 &c. Tr.]

avowed those opinions, and was therefore committed to the flames on the 30th of May, AD. 1416.(14)

§ 8. Before *Huss* and *Jerome* were condemned by the council, *John Wickliffe* who was considered, and not unjustly, as their teacher, was pronounced infamous, and condemned by a decree of these fathers. For on the 4th day of May, AD. 1415, the council declared a number of opinions extracted from his writings, to be abominable; and ordered all his books to be destroyed, and his bones to be burnt.(15) Not long after, on the 14th of June, they passed the famous decree, that the sacred supper should be administered *to the laity, in the element of bread only*, forbidding *communion in both the elements*. For in the preceding year, 1414, *Jacobellus de Misa*, curate of the parish of St. Michael at Prague, by the instigation of a Parisian doctor, *Peter* of Dresden, had begun to celebrate the *communion in both elements* at Prague; and a number of other parishes followed his example.(16) The subject being brought before the council, by one of the Bohemian bishops, they deemed this *heresy* deserving of rebuke. By this decree of the council of Constance, the *communion of the laity in one element*, obtained the force and authority of a law in the Romish church.

§ 9. In the same year, the council adjudged to the list of execrable errors or heresies, the opinion of *John Petit*, a Parisian theologian, of the lawfulness even in any private person of killing a tyrant: but they did not name the author of the opinion, because he was supported by very powerful patrons. *John*, duke of Burgundy, employed assassins in the year 1407, to murder *Lewis*, the duke of Orleans. A great contest now arose, and *Petit*, an eloquent and ingenious man, pleaded the cause of *John* of Burgundy at Paris; and in order to justify his conduct, he maintained, that it is no sin to destroy a tyrant, without a trial of his cause, by force, or fraud, or in any other manner, and even if the persons doing it are bound to him by an oath or covenant. By a *tyrant*, however, *Petit* did not understand the sovereign of a nation, but a powerful citizen, who abused his resources to the

(14) [For the history of *Jerome* of Prague, see *Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers*, vol. i. and *Middleton's Biographia Evangel.* vol. i. p. 47 &c. Tr.]

(15) [The 45 articles extracted from *Wickliffe's* writings, and condemned by the council, may be seen in all the collections of councils; e.g. *Harduin's* Tom. viii. p. 299 &c. Tr.]

(16) *Byzinius*, *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 124. [*Peter* of Dresden had studied at Prague, and had been driven from there, with the other Germans. He was afterwards driven from Saxony, on account of his embracing and disseminating Waldensian doctrines; and now returned again to Prague. He acted the part of a schoolmaster there, and was the friend of *Huss* and *Jerome*.—The proper name of *Jacobellus* was *Jacobus*, the first being a nick-name. The opposition made to his administering the communion in both elements, only rendered him more zealous; so that his party increased and had numerous adherents, not only at Prague, but throughout Bohemia. Yet he was more fortunate than *Huss* and *Jerome*; and lived till AD. 1429. His writings are in *Herm. von der Hardt's Acta Concilii Constant.* Tom. iii. See *Schegel's* Note, here. Tr.]

ruin of his king and country.(17) The university of Paris passed a stern and severe sentence upon the author of so dangerous an opinion. The council, after several consultations, passed sentence, without naming the author of the opinion. But the new pontiff, *Martin V*, through fear of the house of Burgundy, would not ratify even this mild sentence of the council.(18)

§ 10. After these and some other transactions, the council proceeded avowedly to the subject of a *reformation of the church, in its head and members*, as the language of that age was. For all Europe saw the need of such a reformation, and most ardently wished for it. Nor did the council deny, that it was chiefly for this important object they had been called together. But the cardinals and principal men of the Romish court, for whose interest it was, especially, that the disorders of the church should remain untouched, craftily urged, and brought the majority to believe, that a business of such magnitude could not be managed advantageously, without first electing a new pontiff. But the new head of the church, *Martin V*, abused his power, to elude the design of *reforming* the church; and manifested by his commands and edicts, that he did not wish the church to be purged and restored to a sound state. Therefore, on the 22d of April, AD. 1418, the council, after deliberating three years and six months, broke up, leaving their business unfinished, and assigned the reformation of the church, which all men devoutly prayed for, to a council to be called at the end of five years.

§ 11. *Martin V*, being admonished on the subject, after a long delay, appointed this other council to be held at Pavia; and afterwards removed it to Siena, and lastly to Basil. But in the very commencement of it, on the 21st of Feb. 1431, he died; and was succeeded, in the month of March, by *Gabriel Condolmerus*, a Venetian, and bishop of Siena, who took the name of *Eugene IV*. He sanctioned all that *Martin* had decreed, respecting the council to be held at Basil: and hence, on the 23d of July, 1431, it commenced, under the presidency of cardinal *Julian*, as representative of the pontiff. Two objects especially were assigned to this celebrated council: first, a union between the Greeks and the Latins; and secondly, the *reformation of the church, both in its head and its members*, according to the resolution adopted in the council of Constance. And that the *head*, that is, the sovereign pontiffs, and all the *members* of the church, that is, the bishops,

(17) This is manifest from the oration of *Petit*, which *Jac. Lenfant* has subjoined to his *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, Tom. ii. p. 303 &c. See *August. Lyneus*, Dissert. qua memoriam Joh. Burgundi et doctrinam Joh. Parvi de caede perduellium vindicat. Wittemb. 1735. 4to.

(18) See *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris*. Tom. v. p. 113 &c. and many other passages. *Argentre*, Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus, Tom. i. P. ii. p. 184 &c. The Opera of *Jo. Gerson*, published by *Du Pin*, Tom. v. *Bayle*, Dictionaire, Tom. iii. p. 2208 &c. [Article *Petit*.] and nearly all the historians of France: [e. g. *Jo. Gifford's Hist. of France*, vol. ii. p. 377. Tr.]

priests, and monks, had become very corrupt, no one hesitated to admit. But when these fathers, by the form of the council, (19) by its method of proceeding, and by its first decrees, shewed, that they intended to perform in earnest, what they were bidden to do, *Eugene IV.*, being afraid of these reformers of a corrupt church, twice attempted to dissolve the council. This the fathers most firmly resisted; and they shewed, by the decrees of the council of Constance, and by other arguments, that the council was superior in authority to a pontiff. This first contest between the pontiff and the council, was brought to a close in the month of November, AD. 1433: for the pontiff silently gave up the point; and in the month of December, by letters sent from Rome, approved the proceedings of the council. (20)

§ 12. After this, the council prosecuted the business which they had entered upon, with energy. The legates of the Roman pontiff were now admitted into the council; but not till they had promised under oath, to obey the decrees of the council, and particularly the decrees of the council of Constance, asserting the dominion and jurisdiction of councils over the pontiffs. These decrees of Constance, so odious to the pontiffs, were renewed in a public meeting of the fathers, on the 26th of June, 1434. And on the 9th of June 1435, *Annats*, as they were called, were abolished, the pontifical legates in vain opposing it. On the 25th of March, 1436, a profession of faith was read, which pontiffs must assent to on the day of their election; the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty four; and *expectatives, reservations, and provisions* were abolished. As they were proceeding to other things

(19) ["By the form of the council, *Dr. Mosheim* undoubtedly means the division of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. into four equal classes, without any regard to the nation or province by which they were sent. This prudent arrangement prevented the cabals and intrigues of the Italians, whose bishops were much more numerous than those of other nations, and who, by their number, might have had it in their power to retard or defeat the laudable purpose the council had in view, had things been otherwise ordered." *Mad.*]

(20) A history of this great council, which is so worthy of everlasting remembrance, is wanting. One was contemplated by *Stephen Baluze*. See the *Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des belles Lettres*, Tom. vi. p. 544. After him, by *James Lenfant* also. But neither of them fulfilled his promise. Its acts were collected by *Herm. von der Hardt*, with vast labor, at the expense of *Rudolph Augustus*, duke of Brunswick, out of various archives and libraries, and put into many volumes: and they are said still to exist in the Wolfenbuttle library, and to be most worthy of publication. Till they appear, the more brief *Acta Concilii* may be consulted, which were published in various places, and among others, Paris 1512. 8vo. (which is the edition I have used in this history,) also *Aeneas Sylvius*, Libri duo de concilio Basiliensi; *Edm. Richer's* Historia concilior. generalium, Lib. iii. c. i. *Henry Canisius*, Lectiones Antiquae, Tom. iv. p. 447, and others. [We have indeed *Lenfant's* Histoire de la guerre des Hussites et du Concile de Basle, in two volumes, 4to. Amsterd. 1713. But the larger work, expected from him, has not appeared. It is also known, that the entire acts of this council still lie concealed in various libraries: e. g. in that of the college of Navarre, at Paris. See *Schöppfin's* Comment. hist. et crit. p. 541. Imperfect Acts may be found in *Harduin's* Concilia, Tom. viii. p. 1103 &c. and in *Mansi*, Supplem. Concil. Tom. iv. p. 159 &c. to Tom. v. p. 192; and Tom. vi. p. 573. Extracts from these Acts, are given in *Semler's* Selecta Hist. Eccl. Capita, Tom. iii. Saec. xv. p. 101—140. *Sch.*]

ungrateful to the pontiff, *Eugene* concluded, that this very audacious and troublesome council must either be removed to Italy, or be curbed by another council in opposition to it. Therefore, when these fathers decreed, May 7th 1437, that on account of the Greeks, the council should be held either at Basil, or Avignon, or in some city of Savoy, the pontiff on the contrary, by his legates, decided that the council should be held in Italy. Neither party would revoke its decision. Hence a violent conflict from this time onward, existed between the pontiff and the council. On the 26th of July, 1437, the council ordered the pontiff, to appear before them at Basil, and give account of his conduct. The pontiff, on the other hand, dissolved the council, and appointed another at Ferrara. But the fathers, with the approbation of the emperor, the king of France, and other princes, continued their deliberations at Basil; and on the 28th of September of the same year, pronounced the pontiff contumacious, for not obeying the council.

§ 13. On the 10th of January of the next year, AD. 1438, *Eugene IV*, in person, opened the council which he had summoned to meet at Ferrara; and in the second session of it, excommunicated the fathers assembled at Basil. The chief business of this council was, to negotiate a union between the Greeks and Latins. The Greek emperor *John Palaeologus*, the patriarch of Constantinople, *Joseph*, and the principal theologians and bishops of the nation, came personally to Italy, in order to facilitate the success of this important negotiation. For the Greeks, now reduced to extremities by the Turks, indulged the hope, that if their disagreements with the Roman pontiff were removed, the Latins would afford them succor. The business proceeded tardily, and with little success at Ferrara; but afterwards, some better at Florence. For *Eugene*, in the beginning of the year 1439, on account of the pestilence at Ferrara, had ordered the council to remove to Florence. The fathers at Basil, provoked by these and other acts of *Eugene*, proceeded on the 25th of June, 1439, to deprive him of the pontificate; but this their bold procedure, did not meet the approbation of the kings and princes of Europe. *Eugene*, on the 4th of September, by a very severe bull, anathematized the Basilian fathers, and rescinded all their acts. Despising these thunders, they, on the 17th of September, 1439, elected a new pontiff, *Amadeus*, duke of Savoy, who then led a retired life at Ripailles on the Leman lake. He assumed the name of *Felix V*.

§ 14. Thus the lamentable schism, which had been extinguished after so much labor and toil at Constance, returned with new and greater misfortunes. For there were not only two pontiffs, mutually condemning each other, but likewise two opposing councils, that of Basil, and that of Florence. The greater part of the church, indeed, adhered to *Eugene*; But most of the universities, and particularly the first among them, that of Paris, as well as

some kingdoms and provinces, chose to follow *Felix V.* The council of Basil, continued to deliberate, and to pass laws and decrees, till the year 1443, notwithstanding all the opposition of *Eugene* and his adherents. And although the council separated in the year 1443, yet they publicly declared, that the council was not at an end, but would assemble again, at a proper time, either at Basil, or Lyons, or Lausanne. The council of Florence was chiefly occupied in settling the disputes between the Latins and the Greeks. This great business was committed to selected individuals of both parties. The principal one, on the part of the Greeks, was *Bessarion*, a very learned man, who was afterwards admitted to the order of cardinals, in the Romish church. This man, being gained by the favors bestowed on him by the pontiff, exerted his influence, and the pontiff employed rewards, threats, and promises, to induce the other Greeks to accede to the proposed terms of accommodation, and to acknowledge, that the Holy Spirit proceeded also from the Son, that departed souls undergo a purgation by fire before they are admitted to the vision of God, that bread which is without leaven may be used in the sacred supper, and lastly, what was most important of all, that the Roman pontiff is the head and the judge of the church universal. One of the Greeks, *Mark* of Ephesus, could not be persuaded by entreaties or by bribes, to give his assent. After all, this peace, which was extorted by various artifices, was not stable. For the Greeks, on their return to Constantinople, stated to their fellow citizens, that every thing had been carried at Florence, by artifice and fraud, and they resumed their hostility. The council of Florence closed its deliberations on the 26th of April, AD. 1442.(21) There were also negotiations in this council for bringing the Armenians, and the Jacobites, but especially the Abyssinians, into union with the Romish church; which were attended with the same result, as those respecting the Greeks.

§ 15. The author of this new pontifical schism, *Eugenius IV.*, died in the month of February, 1447; and was succeeded, in the month of March, by *Nicolaus V.*, who was previously *Thomas de Sarzano*, bishop of Bologna, a man of learning himself, and a great patron of learning, and likewise a man of moderation,

(21) A history of this council and of its base artifices, was composed by a Greek, *Sylvester Sgyropulus*; and was published, with a Latin version, apparatus, and notes, by *Robert Creighton*, an Englishman, at the Hague 1660. Fol. In opposition to this, *Leo Allatius* wrote his *Exercitationes in Creightoni Apparatum, Versionem, et Notas ad Historiam concilii Florentini scriptam a Sguropulo*; Rome 1674. 4to. See also his *Lib. iii. cap. i. de perpetua consensione ecclesiae Orientalis et Occidentalis*, p. 875 &c. And compare *Jo. Mabillon's Museum Italicum*, Tom. i. p. 243. *Fred. Spanheim, de perpetua dissensione ecclesiae Orientalis et Occidentalis*, Opp. Tom. ii. p. 491 &c. *Jo. Gottfr. Hermann's Historia concertat. de pane azymo*, P. ii. c. v. p. 124 &c. [The acts of the council are in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. ix. p. 533 &c. and in *Mansi's Concilia*, Tom. v. p. 197 &c. The most essential things in these acts, are densely stated in *Semler's Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, Tom. iii. Saecul. xv. p. 140—163. *Schl.*]

and disposed for peace.(22) Under him, by means of the persevering labors and efforts of the kings and princes of Europe, especially of the king of France, tranquillity was restored to the Latin church. For *Felix V*, on the 9th of April, 1449, resigned the supremacy of the church, and retired to his former quiet Ripailles: and the fathers of Basil, assembled on the 16th of April at Lausanne, and ratified the abdication of *Felix*, and by a solemn decree, directed the whole church to obey *Nicolaus* only. On the 18th of June, *Nicolaus* promulged this pacification; and at the same time, confirmed by his sanction the acts and decrees of the council of Basil. This *Nicolaus* was particularly distinguished for his love of literature and the arts; which he laudably exerted himself to advance and encourage in Italy, especially by means of Greeks that came from Constantinople.(23) He died on the 24th of March, 1455, principally from grief, occasioned by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

§ 16. His successor, *Alphonsus Borgia*, a Spaniard, whose pontifical name was Calixtus III, performed nothing great or splendid, except showing himself very zealous in urging christian princes to war against the Turks. He died in the year 1458. Much more celebrated was his successor, *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, bishop of Siena, who ascended the papal throne AD. 1458, and took the name of *Pius II*, a man of superior genius, and renowned both for his achievements, and for his various writings and publications. Yet posterity would have accounted him a much greater man, if he had not been guilty of gross inconsistency. For after strenuously maintaining the rights of councils against the pontiffs, and boldly defending the cause of the council of Basil against *Eugene IV*, upon being made pontiff, he apostatized from himself; and, January 18th, 1460, denied that a council is superior to a pontiff, and severely prohibited appeals to councils; and in the year 1461, obtained from *Lewis XI*, king of France, the abrogation of the *pragmatic sanction*, which was favorable to councils;(24) and finally, April 26th, 1463, he publicly disappro-

(22) [Peace-loving as this pope may have been, he did what the chancery style of those times required, and issued a bull to all the faithful, in the year 1447, (*Harduin*, Tom. ix. p. 1313,) in which he calls *Felix* iniquitatis alumnus, transfers the duchy of Savoy to the French king, exhorts that monarch or his dauphin to a crusade against his rival pontiff, and denies forgiveness and eternal salvation to all who cooperate with him. Notwithstanding this, he created this same *Felix*, in the year 1449, bishop of Sabina, cardinal and vicar of the apostolic see in Savoy, and confirmed all the judicial sentences and acts of grace passed by him; nay he revoked all that he had angrily written or spoken against *Felix* and the council of Basil. *Schl.*]

(23) See *Domin. Georgius*, Vita Nicolai V, ad fidem veterum monumentorum: to which is annexed, Disquisitio de Nicolai V, erga litteras et litteratos viros patrocinio. Rome 1742. 4to.

(24) [*Lewis IX*, or *Saint Lewis*, AD. 1268, published the first *Pragmatic Sanction*, for securing the liberties of the Galican church against the pontiffs, in six articles. See above, p. 234, note (6). But the Pragmatic Sanction here referred to, was enacted by *Charles VII*, with the concurrence of the greater prelates and the nobles of his kingdom, assembled at Bruges, AD. 1438, and during the sec-

ved of all that he had himself written in favor of the council of Basil; and decreed that *Pius II.*, was to be heard and obeyed, but that *Aeneas Sylvius* was to be censored. After making this declaration, he died in the month of July, AD. 1464. (25)

§ 17. *Paul II.*, previously *Peter Barbus*, a Venetian, who was raised to the chair of St. Peter in 1464, and died in 1471, performed some acts not unworthy of commendation, at least, according to the views of that age; but he also did many things, that are scarcely if at all excusable; among which, his fixing the recurrence of the jubilee to every 25th year, is one of the smallest. Hence his reputation, with posterity, is equivocal. (26) The two subsequent pontiffs, *Sixtus IV.*, previously *Francis de Albescola*, who died in 1484, and *Innocent VIII.*, previously *John Baptist Cibo*, a Genoese, who died AD. 1492, were of indifferent characters, distinguished neither for great virtues, nor for great faults. Each, anxious for the safety of Italy and all Europe, on account of the power of the Turks, made preparations himself to withstand them; and very earnestly urged the kings of Europe to make war upon them. But each met with such obstacles as dis-

sion of the council of Basil. The king reported 38 decrees of that council, and proposed to adopt the substance of them, in 23 articles; which was readily agreed to. The 38 decrees of the council, as reported by the king, are in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. viii. p. 1949. The 23 articles, were afterwards prohibited to be published, or to be kept, any where, by authority of the popes. This Pragmatic Sanction, *Pius II.*, prevailed on *Lewis XI.*, to abrogate entirely. But the parliament of Paris refused to register his decree: and the king soon found he had been duped by the pope, and therefore allowed the Pragmatic Sanction to stand. It was accordingly observed in France, till the year 1517; when *Julius II.*, persuaded *Francis I.*, to substitute in its place the *Concordate*, which was approved by the council of the Lateran then sitting. This *Concordate*, which may be seen at large in *Harduin*, vol. ix. p. 1867 &c. was a sort of compromise between the pontiff and the Gallican church, in which the latter yielded up a part of their rights as secured by the Pragmatic Sanction, and had the rest secured to them. The parliament of Paris, however, resolutely refused to register it; and when at length compelled to do it, they expressed, that it was solely by command of the king, that they disapproved of it, and remonstrated against it. The Pragmatic Sanction of 1438, secured in France, the freedom of election to bishoprics and abbeys, the installation by the ordinaries, the abolition of reservations, annats, &c. The Concordate invested the king with the right of nominating bishops and abbots, yet under restrictions, and the pope was to confirm the election. Expectatives and reservations were prohibited. Appealed causes were to be tried where they originated. No mention was made of annats. In other respects the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction were followed in the Concordate. Such has ever since been for substance, the ecclesiastical law of France. See *Burnet's History of the Reformation*; vol. iii. P. i. p. 3 &c. and the other authorities referred to, in the next vol. Cent. xvi. Sec. i. ch. i. § 7. note (6). Tr.]

(25) Besides the common writers, see the *Nouveau Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Tome ii. Art. *Eneas Sylvius*, p. 26.

(26) *Paul II.*, obtained in our times a great and learned patron, in the celebrated *Angelo Maria* cardinal *Quirinus*, distinguished for his numerous writings and achievements. He has written, *Pauli II., Vita ex codice Anglicae Bibliothecae desumpta, praemissis ipsius vindictis adversus Platinam, aliosque obtractatores*; Rome 1740. 4to. [*Platina*, who wrote a history of the popes, was put out of office, and twice imprisoned, by this pope; and these personal collisions may have affected his impartiality. Yet *Paul* does not seem to have been a very estimable character, take him all in all. He had little regard for learning, was fond of innovations, partial to his friends, persecuted the Hussites, deposed the king of Bohemia, violated sworn compacts, encouraged carnivals, &c. Tr.]

appointed his most ardent wishes. Their other achievements were of no great importance.(27)

§ 18. The last in the series of pontiffs of this century, was *Alexander VI*, a Spaniard, whose true name was *Roderic Borgia*. He may not improperly be called the *Nero* of the pontiffs. For so many and so great villanies, crimes, and enormities are recorded of him, that it must be certain, he was destitute, not only of all religion, but also of decency and shame. Among the things charged upon him, though some may be false, and others overstated by his enemies, yet so many remain which are placed beyond all dispute, as are sufficient to render the memory of *Alexander* execrable, in the view of all who have even a moderate share of virtue. A large part of his crimes, however, originated from his excessive partiality for his children. For he had four sons by a concubine, among whom was the notorious *Caesar Borgia*, infamous for his enormous vices, and likewise one daughter, named *Lucretia*; and he was intent solely on bringing forward and enriching these, without regarding honesty, reason, or religion.(28) *Alexander* died in the year 1503, of poison, which he and his son *Caesar* had intended for others.(29)

§ 19. That most of the monastic orders were herds of ignorant, lazy, dishonest, and debauched people, is evinced by numerous documents, and the testimony of all the best historians. The opulent monks, as the *Benedictines* of every sort, and the *Augustinians*, abused their wealth for the gratification of their lusts;

(27) [*Sixtus IV*, carried *nepotism*, [bestowment of honors and riches on his nephews, and other relatives,] to the highest pitch; and thus provoked the hatred of the family of *Pizzo* in Venice, against that of the *Medici*; which was the source of oppression, robbery, assassinations, and destructive insurrections; which commenced at Florence, and involved all Italy in a bloody war, in which the pope himself engaged, for the benefit of his nephews, and both laid Florence under an interdict, and himself besieged it. See *Muratori*, ad ann. 1478.—*Innocent VIII*, had lived so shamefully, before he mounted the Romish throne, that he had sixteen illegitimate children, to make provision for. Yet on the papal throne, he played the zealot against the Germans, whom he accused of magic, in his bull *Summis desiderantes affectibus* &c. and also against the Hussites, whom he well nigh exterminated. *Schl.*]

(28) The life of this most abominable tyrant has been written by *Alexander Gordon*, an Englishman, [a Scotchman: 1729. Fol. Tr.] which appeared in a French translation, Amsterd. 1732. 2 vol. 8vo. but with far more moderation, by the learned and ingenious author of the *Histoire du droit public eccles. François*; to which work are annexed, *Lives of Alexander VI*, and *Leo X*. Lond. 1737. 8vo. and 1751. 4to. [The reader should also consult, especially, *Jo. Burchard's* *Diarium*; in *Eccard's* *Corpus hist. medii aevi*, Tom.ii. p. 2017 &c. *Schl.* Summary biographies of these monsters, *Alexander* and his son *Caesar*, may be seen in most of the biographical dictionaries. Debauchery, incest, murder, profigacy, faithlessness, &c. are charged upon them. Tr.]

(29) Thus state all the historians of the highest credibility; but *Voltaire*, not long since, attempted to show, that *Alexander* died a natural death: [in his *Annales de l'Empire*, Tome ii. The common, and the probable, statement is, that *Alexander* and his son, in order to get the wealth of certain cardinals, determined to poison them; and therefore invited them to dine. Before the arrival of the guests, they, by mistake of the servant, drank the poisoned cup themselves. *Alexander* died almost immediately; but *Caesar* recovered in great measure, and lived to perpetrate other crimes. Tr.]

and by the great licentiousness of their lives, in disregard to their rules, rendered themselves extremely odious.(30) Some good and honest men, particularly in France and Germany, perceiving this, formed the purpose of reforming them.(31) Among the Germans, besides others who were solicitous to effect a reformation in particular monasteries, were *Nicolaus de Mazen*, abbot of Moelk in Austria, and *Nicolaus Dünkelspühl*, a professor at Vienna, who with great earnestness attempted a reformation of the Benedictines throughout Germany: and they in fact produced some shew of order and decency, in many convents of Swabia, Franconia, and Bavaria.(32) In France, many persons formed designs for the reformation of the Benedictine order; among whom, *Guido Juvenalis*, a man of erudition, acquired distinction by his writings.(33) But a still greater number, both in France and elsewhere, resisted these reformers, and did them all the injury they could.

§ 20. The mendicant monks, particularly the Dominicans and Franciscans, offended as much, by their arrogance, their quarrelsome temper, their invasion of the rights of others, their propagation of superstition,(34) and their vain and futile disputes about religion, as the opulent monks did, by their luxury, their laziness, their hatred of learning and science, and their other views. Hence the old contests of the bishops and priests with the mendicants, and the complaints of the theologians in most of the universities and provinces, respecting the errors of these monks and their dangerous opinions on religious subjects, were almost never at rest, and were very frequently brought before the pontifical court. Dif-

(30) See *Martin Senging's* Tuitiones ordinis S. Benedicti, or Oration, delivered in the council of Basil, AD. 1433, against the vices of the Benedictines; in *Bernh. Pez*, Biblioth. Ascetica, Tom. viii. p. 517 &c.

(31) See *Leibnitz's* Prefatio ad Tom. ii. Scriptor. Brunsvic. p. 40.

(32) See, respecting these men, *Martin Knopf*, in the Bibliotheca Mellicensi seu de vitis et scriptis Benedictinor. Mellicensium, p. 143 &c. 163 &c. also pp. 203, 206. [Here also may be mentioned *John Burck*, a regular Augustinian canon, and provost of the cloister of Novum Opus, near Halle in Saxony, who undertook by command of the famous cardinal and papal legate in Germany, *Nicolaus de Cusa*, the reformation of the Saxon monasteries, and wrote a history of the matter, in iv. Books, de Reformationibus et visitationibus diversorum utriusque sexus monasteriorum; an extract from which, is in *Leibnitz's* Scriptores rerum Brunsvicens. Tom. ii. p. 476 &c. and the work entire, p. 806 &c. Extracts from it, are given by *Semler*, Selecta Eccl. Hist. Capita, Tom. iii. Saecul. xv. p. 42 &c. *Schl.*]

(33) See *Gabr. Liron's* Singularitèes Historiques et Littéraires, Tome iii. p. 49 &c. [In the 5th volume of the Histoire de Languedoc, we are informed that in the year 1411, the French parliament sent commissioners into the province of Languedoc, to enquire into the shameful conduct of the Benedictines there; and that the archbishops of Narbonne and Toulouse, in vain, assembled a synod to excommunicate these commissioners. *Schl.*]

(34) [The Franciscans, for example, preached up, in the city of Lubec, that whoever died clad in the Franciscan garb, would certainly be saved; and that St. Francis, every year, descended from heaven, in order to deliver his followers from purgatory, just as Christ descended into hell, to bring up thence the souls of the patriarchs. See *Eccard's* Corpus Scriptor. medii aevi, Tom. ii. p. 1161. *Schl.*]

ferent pontiffs of this century, stood differently affected towards these fraternities : and hence, these conflicts assumed different aspects at different times.(35) This hatred against the mendicants, was not a little increased by the persecution of the *Beghards*, which was hot throughout this century. For the *Beghards* and *Lolhards*, being cruelly harrassed by their enemies, the priests and others, frequently took refuge in the *third order* of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, hoping to find security under the protection of these powerful fraternities. Nor were their hopes entirely frustrated. But their persecutors now attacked also their protectors, that is the *mendicants*; and often caused the latter great trouble, involving them in painful contests.(36)

§ 21. The rebellious and more rigid Franciscans, who had revolted from the pontiff and the Romish church, that is, the *Fratricelli*, as they were commonly called, with their *Tertiaries* or *Beghards*, continued openly at war with the pontiffs. Their principal seat was Italy, and particularly, the Picenum, or the marquise of Ancona, and the neighboring regions; for here the president of the sect resided. They were violently persecuted, about the middle of the century, by *Nicolaus V.*, who employed against them the Franciscan monks, soldiers, and judges, and committed many of them to the flames, for their persevering obstinacy.(37) Succeeding pontiffs continued the persecution; and none of them more fiercely and resolutely, than *Paul II.*, who however, is said to have punished their audacity, more by imprisonment and exile, than by fire and fagot.(38) Yet the *Fratricelli*, whose great appearance of piety procured them supporters of much eminence, frequently repelled force by force; they also slew some of the inquisitors; and among others, *Angelo*, a Camaldulensian.(39) No less commotions were raised by this sect, which made conformity with Christ to consist in mendicity, in Bohemia, and in the adjoining Silesia.(40) And the king of Bohemia, himself favored them; whence *Paul II.*, excommunicated him.(41) In France, the inquisitors condemned to the flames, all they could lay hands on:(42) for in the parts about Toulouse, many of these people

(35) See *Jo. Launoi's* tract, de Canone, Omnis Utriusque sexus; in his *Opp.* Tom. i. P. i. p. 287 &c. *Boulay's* Historia Acad. Paris. Tom. v. p. 189, 196, 204, 552, 558, 601, 617, 752. *Ant. Wood's* Antiq. Oxon. Tom. i. p. 210, 212, 224 &c.

(36) See the preceding century. [Pa. 451, 452, above.]

(37) *Maurus Sarti*, de antiqua Picentum civitate Cupromontana; in *Angelo Calogera's* Raccolta di Opuscula scientifici, Tom. xxxix. p. 39, 81, 97. where are some extracts from the manuscript dialogue of *Jac. de Marchia*, against the *Fratricelli*.

(38) *Angel Mar. Quirini*, Vita Pauli ii. p. 78 &c. *Jo. Torgionius*, Preface to the *Claror. Venetorum* Epistolae ad Magliabechium, Tom. i. p. 43 &c. where there is notice of the writings of *Nicolaus Palmerius* and others, against the *Fratricelli*, in the reign of Paul ii, which have never been published.

(39) See the *Acta Sanctor.* Tom. ii. Maii, p. 356 &c.

(40) *Jo. Geo. Schelhorn's* Acta Historiae Eccles. P. i. p. 66, 283 &c.

(41) *Quirini*, Vita Pauli ii. p. 73.

(42) I have in MS. the *Acta Inquisitionis contra Jo. Gudulchi de Castellione et Franc. de Archata*, Fratricellos; who were burnt in France, AD. 1454.

lay concealed. Some also migrated to England and Ireland.(43) This party continued to exist, amidst numerous troubles and calamities, till the times of the reformation in Germany, when such as remained espoused the cause of *Luther*.

§ 22. Of the religious fraternities that were founded in this century, none is more worthy of notice, and none was more useful to the christian cause, than that of the *Brethren and Clerks of the common life*, living under the rule of *St. Augustine*. This sect indeed was instituted in the preceding century, by the pious, learned and good *Gerhard Groote* or *Great*, of Deventer;(44) but it was first approved in this century, at the council of Constance; and was now propagated throughout Holland, lower Germany, and other provinces. The sect was divided into the *literary Brethren*, or the *Clerks*, and the *unlearned Brethren*; who lived in different houses, but in the bonds of the greatest friendship. The *Clerks* devoted themselves to transcribing books, the cultivation of polite learning, and the instruction of youth; and erected schools wherever they went. The [*unlearned*] *Brethren* labored with their hands, and pursued various mechanic trades. Neither were under the restraint of religious vows; but they ate at a common table, and had a general community of goods. The sisters lived in nearly the same manner; and what time was not employed in prayer and reading, they devoted to the education of female children, and to such labors as were suitable for their sex. The *schools* of these *Clerks of the common life* were very celebrated, in this century; and in them were trained nearly all the restorers of polite learning in Germany and Holland; and among others, the great *Erasmus* of Rotterdam, *Alexander Hegius*, *John Murmelius*, and others.(45) On the rise of the *Jesuits*, these schools, previously so very useful, ceased to flourish: and at this day, only a few of them exist. These brethren were often designated by the appellations of *Beghards*, and *Lolhards*, which were common to so many sects; and they endured great hatred from all the priests and monks, who were unfriendly to learning and the fine arts.(46)

§ 23. Of the Greeks who acquired reputation as writers, the most worthy of notice were the following. *Simeon* of Thessa-

(43) *Wood's Antiq. Oxoniens.* Tom. i. p. 232 &c.

(44) The life of this famous Dutchman, *Gerhard Groote*, was written by *Thomas a Kempis*: and is published in the works of *Kempis*, being the first of the lives of eleven of his contemporaries.

(45) This order is treated of, by *Aub. Miraeus*, in his *Chronicon. ad. ann. 1384.* by *Helyot*, in his *histoire des Ordres monastiques*, Tome iii. and by others. But I have here added some things, from monuments never printed. For I possess some papers and records, which give a clearer account of the institution and history of the *Clerks of the common life*, than are to be found in the printed works.

(46) In the records of this century, we frequently read, that the *Lolhards*, and sometimes, that the *Beghards*, opened schools at Deventer, Brunswick, Königsburg, Münster, and various other places. These *Lolhards* were *Clerks of the common life*, who being good, industrious, and useful schoolmasters, were often invited and sent for, by the magistrates of cities, for the sake of the public good.

lonica, several of whose tracts, besides a book against *Heresies*, and some writings against the Latins, have been published. (47) *Joseph Bryennius*, who wrote on the Trinity, and against the Latins. (48) *Macarius Macres*, who likewise greatly hated the Latins. (49) *George Phranza*, noted for his History, which is printed among the Byzantine writers. (50) *Marcus of Ephesus*, the strenuous opposer of the council of Florence. (51) *Bessarion*, a cardinal, the distinguished supporter of the moderate Platonic school; renowned for his genius and erudition, but odious to the Greeks, because he favored the cause of the Latins, and planned the union of the two nations, to the detriment of the Greeks. (52) *George Scholarius*, who was also called *Genna-*

(47) *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, Biblioth. Graeca, Tom. xiv. p. 49. *Rich. Simon*, Critique de la Bibliotheque Eccles. par M. du Pin, Tom. i. p. 400. [*Simon*, Abp. of Thessalonica, died AD. 1429, while Thessalonica was besieged the second time by the Turks. His principal works are a large treatise on the church, its ceremonies, ministers, &c. a dialogue against all heresies; and Answers to 86 Questions of Gabriel, metropolitan of Pentapolis. Extracts, and imperfect copies of parts of these, were published by *Allatius*, *Morin*, and *Goar*; and his whole Works, much better, at Jassi in Moldavia, 1683, small folio. He was one of the greatest men, among the Greeks, of his age. Tr.]

(48) [*Joseph Bryennius* was a Constantinopolitan monk, and a distinguished preacher. He flourished AD. 1420, and died between 1431 and 1438. His works were printed, Leips. 1768. in 2 vol. 8vo. and consist of various Discourses, and Dialogues, against the Latins. Those on the Trinity, respect the procession of the Holy Spirit. Tr.]

(49) [*Macarius Macres* was a monk of mount Athos, prior of a monastery at Constantinople, and protosyncellus. His hostility to the Latins exposed him to vexations. The emperor, *John Palaeologus*, sent him on an embassy to Rome; and he died on his return, AD. 1431. He wrote a tract on the procession of the Holy Spirit, in 10 chapters; mentioned by *Leo Allatius*, de Consensu &c. Lib. ii. c. 18. § 10. Tr.]

(50) [*George Phranza* was nobly born, AD. 1401; was admitted to court, AD. 1418; and filled various offices, civil, military, and diplomatic, till the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, when he was made a prisoner. Recovering his liberty, he fought and served his country, in the Morea, till that was conquered by the Turks, in 1466. He now retired to Italy, and thence to Corcyra, where he became a monk, assumed the name of *Gregory*, and spent his life in writing the history of his country. He died AD. 1477. His history of Byzantine affairs, from AD. 1260, to 1476, in four Books, is brief, till he comes to his own times, and then full and minute. With some abridgment, and in a Latin translation, it was published by *Jac. Pontanus*, Ingolst. 1604. 4to. subjoined to *Theophylus Simocatta*. Tr.]

(51) *Rich. Simon*, Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. par M. du Pin, Tom. i. p. 431. [*Marcus Eugenicius*, was a learned schoolmaster at Constantinople, bishop of Ephesus AD. 1436, and imperial ambassador to the council of Ferrara, AD. 1438. There he strenuously opposed the doctrines of the Latins, and was the only one of the Greeks, that persevered in rejecting the terms of union between the two churches. For this conduct, the emperor was displeased with him, and the pope demanded his punishment; but the nation applauded him, and he lived in honor, employing the rest of his life in exposing the corrupt proceedings at Ferrara, and confuting the dogmas of the Latin church. His works, consisting of letters and tracts, are partly contained in the Acts of the council of Ferrara, partly in *Leo Allat.* de Consensu &c. in the Orthodoxygraphia, and partly in manuscript. Tr.]

(52) Concerning this celebrated man, and others here mentioned, see *Christ. Fred. Boerner*, and *Humphrey Hody*, in their books de Graecis erud. prestantibus; also *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, Bibliotheca Graeca. [*Bessarion* was a native of Trebizond, a monk of the order of *St. Basil*, bishop of Nice, AD. 1436, and imperial envoy to the council of Ferrara in 1438. Here he learnedly defended the

dus; he contended more learnedly and more lucidly, than the rest of his countrymen, against the Latins, and especially against the council of Florence.(53) *George Gemistius Pletho*, a learned man, who awakened in many of the Italians ardor for Platonic philosophy, and for all the Grecian learning.(54) *Gregory Trapezuntius*, who translated some of the best Greek authors into Latin, and also wrote some tracts in favor of the Latins against the Greeks.(55) *George Codinus*, who has left us various contributions to the Byzantine history.(56)

doctrines of the Greek church, for a time; but at length gave up to the Latins, and was the principal cause of the union agreed on. Returning to Constantinople, his popularity declined; and he was obliged to refuse the patriarchate, offered him by the emperor. He now retired to Italy, was made a cardinal, bishop of Tusculum, papal legate at Bologna, patron of the Dominican and Franciscan orders; was near being made pope in 1455, and again in 1471. He labored to rouse the Europeans to war against the Turks, in 1458; was frequently papal legate; and died on his return from France, AD. 1472, aged 77. His works consist of orations, epistles, and tracts, chiefly in relation to the controversies between the Greeks and Latins, (most of which are in the collection of Councils,) and a Defense of the Platonic philosophy, a correction of *Plato de Legibus*, and a translation of *Aristotle's Metaphysics*; which were published, Venice 1503, 1506. His private library, which was very valuable, he gave to the city of Venice. *Tr.*]

(53) *Rich. Simon*, *Croyance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstant.* p. 87. and *Critique de M. du Pin*, Tome i. p. 438 &c. [This *George Scholarius* was one of the Greek envoys at the Council of Ferrara, in 1438, where he delivered three orations in favor of union with the Latins; extant in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. ix. p. 446. Some other speeches and tracts of a similar tenor, are ascribed to him. But afterwards, he changed sides, and wrote against the council of Ferrara, in eight Books; published, Gr. Lond. 4to. When the Turks captured Constantinople, AD. 1453, he was made patriarch, by the Sultan, assumed the name of *Gennadius*, reigned five years, and then retired to a monastery. As patriarch he was treated with attention by the Sultan *Mahomet*; and delivered before him an apologetic discourse, which was translated into Turkish, and has been frequently printed, Gr. Turkish, and Latin. This work with a dialogue on the way of Salvation, a tract on Predestination, and an oration on the Trinity, may be found in Latin, in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Tom. xxvi. But the learned have not all agreed, that *Gennadius* the patriarch, and *George Scholarius* were the same person; and some have made two *Georges* instead of one. *Tr.*]

(54) [*George Gemistius*, surnamed *Pletho*, was born at Constantinople, but spent most of his life in the Peloponnesus. He was an acute and learned Platonist, and a decided opposer of the Latins. He was employed by the Greeks in the council of Ferrara, to unravel the subtleties of the Latin metaphysicians; was preceptor in philosophy to cardinal *Bessarion*, and to the *Medici* of Florence; and lived, it is said, to the age of one hundred years. His works are, de differentia philosophiae Aristotelis et Platonis; de virtutibus libellis; Scholia in Zoroastriis Oracula; de rebus Peloponnesiacis constituendis Orationes II. de gestis Graecor. post pugnam ad Mantineam Lib. ii. and two tracts on the procession of the Holy Spirit. *Tr.*]

(55) [*George Trapezuntius*, whose parents were from *Trebizond*, was born in Crete, AD. 1396. After obtaining a good education among the Greeks, he removed to Italy, where he spent his life, as a teacher and writer. Pope *Eugene* employed him as a Greek secretary; and after the death of *Eugene*, *Alphonso* king of Naples was his patron. In 1465, he made a voyage to Crete and Constantinople. He returned; sunk into idiocy; and died at the age of 90, at Rome, AD. 1486. He wrote on the procession of the Holy Spirit, in favor of the Latins; the martyrdom of Andrew of Chios, AD. 1465; on the eight parts of speech; a concise logic; a comparison of *Plato* and *Aristotle*; five Books on rhetoric; on the deceptions of astrology; expositions of some of *Cicero's* orations; and Latin translations of the works of *St. Cyril*, *St. Chrysostom*, *Gregory Nyssen*, *St. Basil*, also of *Eusebius* Praeparat. Evang. *Aristotle's* Rhetoric, and *Ptolemy's* Almagest. *Tr.*]

(56) [*George Codinus*, surnamed *Curopolates*, was a Greek, whose age and his-

§ 24. The Latin writers form a host almost innumerable. We shall name only the principal of those who attempted by their pens to subserve the cause of religion. The greatest of these, by the acknowledgement of them all, was *John Gerson*, chancellor of the

tory are little known. He probably lived and wrote soon after the capture of Constantinople, AD. 1453. He wrote on the offices and officers of the court and church of Constantinople, (Paris, 1648, Fol. by Goar,) on the antiquities of Constantinople, a description of Constantinople; on the statues and curiosities of Constantinople; on the edifices of Constantinople; on the church of St. Sophia, in that city; and a history of the Constantinopolitan emperors, from *Constantine the Great* to *Constantine Palaeologus*, and the capture of the city by the Turks. All these, except the first, were published by *Lambecius*, 1655. Fol.

The following Greek writers are passed over by *Dr. Mosheim*.

Joseph, archbishop of Ephesus, and patriarch of Constantinople, AD. 1416—1439. He was long averse from a union with the Latins, but at length yielded the point, went to the council of Florence, argued for a union, signed the articles of it on a sick bed, repented of it, and died 8 days after signing the instrument. He has left us two epistles, addressed to the council of Basil; and an address to a synod at Constantinople, when about to go to Italy and Florence.

John Cananus, wrote a history of the siege of Constantinople by the Turks, in the year 1422, (at which time he flourished,) extant, Gr. and Lat. subjoined to the history of George Acropolita; Paris 1651. Fol.

Demetrius Chrysoloras, an eminent philosopher and astronomer, AD. 1430, much esteemed by the emperor, *Emanuel Palaeologus*. He wrote an oration, and two dialogues, against the Latins; which are in the Vatican Library.

Esaias of Cyprus, a Greek who espoused the cause of the Latins, about AD. 1430, in a long epistle; extant Gr. and Lat. in *Leo Allat. de Consensu &c.* Lib. ii. c. 18. § 16. and in the *Graeca Orthod.* Tom. i. p. 396.

John Anagnosta, of Thessalonica, who witnessed the siege and capture of that city, in 1430, and again in 1432; of which he wrote a narrative and a monody; published by *Leo Allat. Symmicta*, P. ii. p. 317 &c.

Andreas de Petra, born and educated among the Greeks, and by them made a bishop; he afterwards joined the Latins; and, as papal legate, argued against his countrymen, in the council of Basil, AD. 1432, and in that of Ferrara, 1438. Both his speeches are in *Bzovius' Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 1432. § 37. and 1438. § 8.

John Eugenius, nomophylax of the patriarchal church of Constantinople, and brother to *Marcus* of Ephesus, whom he accompanied to the council of Ferrara, AD. 1438. He wrote against that council; and *Leo Allatius* has given extracts from the work, de Purgatorio, p. 61, 220, 241, 265.

Isidorus Ruthensis, or of *Russia*, born at Thessalonica, a Basilian monk, abbot of St. Demetrius at Constantinople; sent to the council of Basil in 1435, returned, and was made metropolitan of Kiow, and primate of all Russia; attended the council of Florence, 1438; there opposed the Latins; then changed sides, and signed the articles of union; remained in Italy; was made a cardinal in 1439: soon after went to Russia, where he was arrested and imprisoned for betraying the cause of the Greeks; escaped with difficulty and fled: was by the pope made titular patriarch of Constantinople, and papal legate in the East; witnessed the capture of that city in 1453; escaped to Italy, became dean of the college of cardinals, and died at Rome AD. 1463. He wrote an epistle describing the siege and capture of Constantinople; which was published in *Reusner's Epistolae Turcicae*, Lib. iv. p. 104.

Silvester Sguropulus, or, as he writes it *Syropulus*, a deacon, diaconophylax, and one of the select counsel of the patriarch, at Constantinople. He attended his patriarch to the council of Ferrara, in 1438, was concerned in all that related to the Greeks, and decidedly and perseveringly opposed the union; but was compelled by authority to subscribe the articles of union. On his return, he found himself odious to the people, for having yielded so far; resigned his office; and wrote a particular history of the transactions at Ferrara; which was published, Gr. and Lat. by *Robert Creighton*, (afterwards bp. of Bath and Wells,) at the Hague 1660. Fol.

Joseph, bishop of Modon in Greece, AD. 1436. He wrote an apology for the council of Florence, against *Marcus* of Ephesus; extant, Gr. and Lat. in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. ix. p. 549 &c.

John, the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, AD. 1440. He wrote an adulatory

university of Paris, a man of vast influence, the oracle of the council of Constance, and still in high estimation, by such of the French as would maintain their liberties against the Roman pontiffs. (57) He wrote and did much, that was very useful to purify the reli-

epistle to pope *Eugene IV*, a Latin version of which, is in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. ix. p. 1018 &c.

Nicodemus, an Ethiopian, and abbot of the Ethiopian monks resident at Jerusalem, AD. 1440, wrote a similar epistle to the pope; which we have in Latin, in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. ix. p. 1031 &c.

Gregory Melissenus, called *Mammas*, a monk, penitentiary of the church of Constantinople, and confessor to the emperor. He attended the council of Ferrara, was at first violent against the Latins; but being bribed, he turned about, and urged the union. In 1440, he was made patriarch of Constantinople; but a few years after, found it expedient to resign that dignity. He wrote an Apology for the council of Florence, against *Marcus of Ephesus*; extant, Gr. and Lat. in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. ix. p. 601 &c. also an epistle to the emperor *Alezius Comnenus*, on the procession of the Holy Spirit; printed Gr. and Lat. in *Leo Allatius* Graec. Orthod. Tom. i. p. 419.

John Argyropoulos, of Constantinople. When that city was taken in 1453, he retired to Italy. *Cosmo de Medicis* made him preceptor to his son *Peter* and his nephew *Laurence*. After residing some time at Florence, the plague caused him to remove to Rome, where he lectured on *Aristotle*. He died near the close of the century. He was very learned, very vain, very rich, and a very great eater. Besides translations and expositions of the works of Aristotle, often printed, he wrote on the procession of the Holy Spirit and the council of Florence; extant, Gr. and Lat. in *Allatius*, Graec. Orthod. Tom. i. p. 400.

Matthaeus Camariota, a distinguished philosopher and rhetorician of Constantinople, who witnessed the capture of that city in 1453, and described the scene in a long epistle; a considerable part of which, Gr. and Lat. is in *Crucius*, Turcograecia, Lib. i. p. 76. Many other writings of his exist in MS.

Ducas, nephew to *Michael Ducas*, of Constantinople. On the capture of that city, 1453, he retired to Lesbos, and entered the service of the tributary christian prince, in whose service he performed several embassies to the Turkish sovereigns, till the capture of Lesbos in 1562. He wrote *Historia Byzantina*, from AD. 1341, to 1462, preceded by a brief chronicle, from the creation; published Gr. and Lat. Paris 1649. Fol.

George, or *Gregory*, *Hermonymus* or *Charitonimus*, a native of Sparta, who, on the capture of Constantinople, 1453, fled to France, and taught Greek in the university of Paris. In 1476, pope *Sixtus IV*, sent him as his legate into England. He translated into Latin *Gennadius'* tract de Vita salutis hominum; the life of Muhammed; and some other things; and wrote a demonstration, that Christ is the Son of God, and himself God; printed Gr. and Lat. Augsb. 1608. 8vo.

Laonicus Chalcocondylas, or *Chalcondylas*, a native of Athens; flourished AD. 1468, and wrote a History of the Turks in 10 Books, from AD. 1300, to 1463; published Gr. and Lat. Geneva 1615. Fol. and Paris 1650. Fol.

Manuel, a native of Greece, pupil of *Matthaeus Camariota*, and orator of the great church of Constantinople, AD. 1500. He wrote a confutation of *Friar Francis*, the Dominican, respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit, unleavened bread, purgatory, the primacy of the pope, &c. published Gr. and Lat. by *Steph. le Moyne*, Varia Sacra, p. 270. Tr.]

(57) *Leois Ellis du Pin*, Gersonianorum Libri iv. prefixed to his edition of *Gerson's Works*, Antwerp 1706, 5 vol. Fol. and inserted by *Jo. Launois*, in his *Historia Gymnasii regii Navarreni*, P. iii. Lib. ii. cap. i. in his *Opp.* Tom. iv. P. i. p. 514. *Herm. von der Hardt*, Acta Concilii Constant. Tom. i. P. iv. p. 264o. —[*John Charlier de Gerson* was born, AD. 1363, at *Gerson*, in the diocese of Rheims, educated in the college of Navarre at Paris, succeeded to the chancellorship of the university, about AD. 1395, was active in condemning *John Petit* and his doctrine, in 1407; and subsequently labored much to heal the divisions and correct the abuses of the church of Rome. He was at the councils of Rheims, Pisa, and Constance. When the last of these councils broke up, in 1418, he could not safely return to Paris, where the duke of Burgundy was in power, and he traveled through Germany and Switzerland, and settled at Lyons, where he

gion, to excite the piety, and to cure the disorders of the church; but in several things, he but imperfectly saw what would comport with the true principles of christianity. *Nicolaus de Clemangis* [of Clamenge], a lover of truth and right, who eloquently deplored the calamities of his day, and the miserable state of the christian world.(58) *Alphonsus Tostatus*, of Avila, who loaded the sacred scripture with a ponderous commentary, and wrote some other things, in which there is a mixture of good and bad.(59) *Ambrose* of Camalduli has acquired great fame, by his accurate knowledge of the Greek language and literature, and by his various efforts for establishing harmony between the Greeks and the Latins.(60) *Nicolaus Cusanus*, a man of various learning, and no contemptible genius, but not possessed of a sound and vigorous judgment; as appears from his *Conjectures concerning the last day*.(61) *John Nieder*, distinguished himself by various

died in 1420. He composed no large work, but left a vast number of tracts, speeches, sermons, letters, and poems; which are dogmatical, polemic, exegetic, mystic, opinions on questions of public interest at that day, projects for reforming abuses, &c. The most valuable are said to be those occasioned by the council of Constance. Tr.]

(58) See *Laurio's* *Historia Gymnasii Navarr.* P. iii. Lib. ii. c. iii. p. 555 &c. *Longueval's* *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, Tome xiv. p. 436. His Works, though not entire, were published, with a glossary, by *John Lydius*, Leyden 1613, 4to.—[*Nicolaus de Clemangis*, was born at Clamenge, near Chalons, and educated in the college of Navarre, where he became rector of the university of Paris in 1393. He so distinguished himself for the elegance of his Latin epistles, that *Benedict XIII.* called him to Avignon, and made him his private secretary. But in 1408, being suspected of composing the papal bull which laid France under an interdict, he endured violent persecution. He retired into the Alpine country; and though afterwards proved innocent, and invited back to France, he chose to spend his days in retirement. He died before AD. 1440; an honest, and pious man. His works, besides about 150 letters, consist of about a dozen tracts and poems; the most important of which are, de Corrupto ecclesie statu; Deploratio calamitatis ecclesiast. per schisma nefandissimum, in heroica versu; de Fructu eremi; de Novis Festivitatibus non instituendis; de Anti-christo; de Studio theologie &c. Tr.]

(59) [*Alphonsus Tostatus*, a voluminous Spanish writer, who studied at Salamanca, attended the council of Basil, in 1434, became bishop of Avila, and was advanced to the highest offices in the kingdom. He died in 1454; aged, some say, 40 years; others say, 55 years. He was a man of immense reading, excellent memory, respectable judgment, and famed for his ascetic piety. His works, repeatedly printed, and first under cardinal Ximenes, fill 27 volumes Folio. Of these, 24 are commentaries on the whole bible. His style is crude. Tr.]

(60) [*Ambrosius Camaldulensis* was born at Portico, not far from Florence; became a Camaldulensian monk at the age of 14; acquired a thorough knowledge of Greek under *Emanuel Chrysolaras*; was made general of his order, about the year 1440; was repeatedly nominated a cardinal; served the popes faithfully, and with great ability, in the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence; and became almoner to the pope. He died in his monastery, at an advanced age, in high repute for sanctity. His life was written, at great length, by *Augustinus* of Florence, in an Appendix to his *Historia Camaldulensium*. Besides numerous translations from the Greek fathers, and many letters, he has left a *Hodopo-poricon*, or Journal of his travels to inspect the monasteries of his order, and some of the public documents for uniting the Greek and Latin churches. Tr.]

(61) *Peter Bayle*, *Response aux Questions d'un Provincial*, Tom. ii. cap. 117, 118, 517 &c. His works are published in one vol. [three volumes, Tr.] Fol. Basil 1565. [*Nicolaus Cusanus*, was born of indigent parents at Cusa, in the diocese of Treves, AD. 1403, educated by count de Manderscheidt, made doctor of Theology and of Canon Law; was dean of Coblenz, and archdeacon of Leige.

writings, which indicate the state of those times, and by his travels and achievements. (62) *John Capistranus* was esteemed great, by the Romish court, because he contended vigorously for the majesty of the pontiffs, against all sorts of opposers. (63) *John Wesselius* and *Jerome Savonarola* are to be ranked among the wisest and best men of that age. The former was of Groningen, and for his great perspicuity, was called *Lux mundi* (the *Light of the world*). The doctrines which *Luther* afterwards taught more clearly, he advanced to some extent; and he candidly exposed and censured the defects of the Romish religion. (64) The latter

In the council of Basil, he at first opposed the papal pretensions, and wrote three Books on the subject, entitled *de Catholica Concordantia*. But he afterwards changed sides, became bishop of Brixen, fell out with the emperor *Sigismund*, was made a cardinal, and repeatedly papal legate. He died AD. 1464, aged 63. He was very learned, understood Greek and Hebrew, and excelled in philosophy and mathematics. He wrote *de docta Ignorantia*, Lib. iii; *de Filiatione Dei*; *Idiotæ* Lib. iv. *de Visione Dei*; *de Ludo globi*, Lib. ii; *Exercitationum Libri x.* *Epistolarum Liber*; *Cribrationum Alcorani* Lib. iii. on arithmetical and geometrical complements; on the quadrature of the circle; on sines and chords; on correcting the *Kalendar*, &c. &c. His works were printed, Paris 1514, and Basil 1650, in 3 vol. Fol. The first volume is chiefly on theology; the second on controversial subjects; and the third, on mathematics, astronomy &c. Tr.]

(62) [See p. 472, note (7), above. Tr.]

(63) See *Jac. Lenfant's* *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, Tom. ii. p. 254 &c. *Wadding's* *Annales Minorum*, Tom. ix. p. 67. [*John Capistranus* was born in the village of Capistro in Abruzzo, Italy, AD 1385; became a Franciscan monk of the regular observance, was repeatedly Cisalpine general of his order; was an inquisitor and papal legate, and as such, preached up and commanded crusades, against the Fratricelli in Italy, the Hussites in Bohemia, and the Turks in Hungary, with dreadful effect. He died in 1456, aged 71. His writings are chiefly on different points of Canon Law; and are contained mostly in the *Tractatus Juris*. Tr.]

(64) *Jo. Hen. Maius*, *Vita Reuchlini*. [*John Wessel*, called also *Basilius*, and *Hermann Gersvort*, *Goesvort*, or *Gansvort*, was born at Groningen, AD. 1400, or rather 1419. He studied long in the school of the *Clerks of the common life*, at Zwol, and then at Cologne; became very learned, understood Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; was a Platonist, and a Nominalist; and a contemner of the reigning scholastic theology. He was very pious; studied the scriptures much and in the original languages, and based his faith upon them, in utter disregard for human authorities, doctors, traditions, popes and councils, or fathers. He was invited to Heidelberg; but not allowed to teach theology there, because he had not taken the degree of D. D. nor would they give him that degree, because he was not in orders. He returned to Cologne; and thence went to Louvain, and thence to Paris, where he resided many years, and acquired great reputation, as a learned, independent, honest, and truly christian man. He once visited Rome; was never persecuted; and died AD. 1489, aged, some say 89, and others, 70. His works are several theological tracts, chiefly on what he deemed the erroneous views in theology then prevailing. They are entitled, on the Providence of God; why Christ became incarnate, and the greatness of his sufferings; on Penance, or the clerical power of binding and loosing; on the Communion of saints; on the Treasury of merits in the church; on Fraternities; on Purgatory; on papal Indulgences; several epistles; on the Eucharist and the Mass; on Indulgences; on Prayer. These were published, Wittemb. 1522, and Basil 1523, Fol. and 1525, 4to. under the title of *Farrago rerum theologiarum*; with a preface by *Martin Luther*: also at Amsterdam, 1617, 4to. In his preface, *Luther* says: "*Wessel* appeared, (who was called *Basil*), a Frisian of Groningen, a man of admirable talents, of great and rare genius, who was manifestly taught of God, as *Isaiah* prophesied that christians should be; for he cannot be supposed to have followed men, even as I have not. If I had previously read *Wessel*, my enemies might have thought, *Luther* derived all his views from *Wessel*, so perfectly accord-

was a Dominican of Ferrara, and a pious, eloquent, and learned man. Having probed the Romish ulcers too freely, he suffered for his rashness, being burnt at the stake, in 1498, at Ferrara. He died with serenity and constancy. (65) *Alphonsus Spina* composed a book against the Jews and the Saracens, which he called *Fortalitium fidei*. (66) Conspicuous in the long list of

ant are the two in spirit. And it increases my joy and confidence, and I now have no doubt of the correctness of my doctrines, since with such uniform agreement, and nearly in the same words, though at a different period, in another clime and country, and with other results, he so harmonizes with me throughout." See *Seckendorf's Historia Lutheranismi*, Lib. i. Sec. 54. § 133. p. 225 &c. *Bayle*, Dictionaire hist. critique, art. *Wessel*.—*John Wessel* is two often confounded with his contemporary and friend *John de Vesalia*, or of *Wesel*, a doctor of theology, and a celebrated preacher, at Erfurth and Worms; who held nearly the same sentiments with *Wessel*, and was at length condemned by an assembly at Mayence AD. 1479, and cast into prison, where he soon after died. His theological opinions were condemned; yet a catholic, who witnessed the whole trial, says, he advanced nothing but what might be defended, except in regard to the procession of the Holy Spirit, in which he agreed with the Greeks. His condemnation is attributed, by this writer, to his being a *Nominalist*, while his judges, all but one, were *Realists*. See *Bayle*, Dictionaire Hist. et critique, art. *Wesalia Jean de*; and *Schroeckh's Kirchengesch.* Tom. xxxiii. p. 295 &c. Tr.]

(65) *Jo. Franc. Buddens*, *Parerga Historico-Theolog.* p. 279. The life of *Savonarola*, written by *Jo. Franc. Picus*, was published with notes, documents, and letters, by *Jac. Quetif*, Paris 1674. 2 vol. 8vo. In the same year, *Quetif* published at Paris, the spiritual and ascetic Epistles of *Savonarola*, translated from Italian into Latin. See also *Jac. Echard's Scriptores ord. Predicator.* Tom. i. p. 884 &c. [*Jerome Savonarola* was born at Ferrara, Oct. 12, 1452; religiously educated, and early distinguished for genius and learning. His father intended him for his own profession, that of physic; but he disliked it; and unknown to his parents, became a Dominican monk, AD. 1474. For a time, he taught philosophy and metaphysics; and then was made a preacher and confessor. He soon laid aside the hearing of confessions, and devoted himself wholly to preaching, in which he was remarkably interesting and successful. In 1489, he went to Florence, where his preaching produced quite a reformation of morals. He attacked vice, infidelity, and false religion, with the utmost freedom, sparing no age or sex, and no condition of men, monks, priests, popes, princes, or common citizens. His influence was almost boundless. But Florence was split into political factions; and *Savonarola* did not avoid the danger. He was ardent, eloquent, and so enthusiastic as almost to believe, and actually to represent what he taught, as being communicated to him by revelation. The adverse faction accused him to the pope; who summoned him to Rome. *Savonarola* would not go; and was ordered to cease preaching. A Franciscan inquisitor was sent to confront him. The people protected him. But at length, vacillating about putting his cause to the test of a fire ordeal, he lost his popularity in a measure. His enemies seized him by force, put him to the rack, and extorted from him some concessions, which they interpreted as confessions of guilt; and then strangled him, burned his body, and threw the ashes into the river. Thus he died May 23, 1498.—His character has been assailed and defended, most elaborately, and by numerous persons both Catholics and Protestants. His writings were almost all in Italian. They consist of more than 300 sermons, about 50 tracts and treatises, and a considerable number of letters; all displaying genius and piety, and some of them superior intellect. See especially, *Picus* and *Buddens*, ubi supra. C. F. *Armon's Geschichte der Homiletik*, vol. i. p. 169—198. Gotting. 1804. 8vo. *Bayle's Dictionaire*, art. *Savonarola*; and *Schroeckh's Kirchengesch.* vol. xxxiii. p. 543 &c. Tr.]

(66) [*Alphonsus Spina*, was a Spanish Jew, converted to christianity; who became a Franciscan monk, rector of the university of Salamanca, an inquisitor, and at last a bishop. He flourished about AD. 1459. His book defends the Romish religion against the arguments then used by Jews, Saracens, heretics and infidels. It is a weak performance; first published, anonymous, Norimberg 1494, 4to. then at Lyons AD. 1511. Tr.]

those called *Scholastics*, were *John Capreolus*, (67) *John de Turrecremata*, (68) *Antoninus* of Florence, (69) *Dionysius a Ryckel*, (70) *Henry Gorcomius*, (71) *Gabriel Biel*, (72) *Stephen Brulifer*, (73) and others. Among the most respectable *Mystics*,

(67) [*John Capreolus*, was a French Dominican monk, of Languedoc, professor of theology at Toulouse; flourished AD. 1415, and is said to have attended the council of Basil, 1431. He wrote Commentaries on Lombard's four Books of Sentences; published, Venice 1464, 1514, 1588. Fol. Tr.]

(68) [*John de Turrecremata*, a Spaniard, born at Torquemada, AD. 1388; a Dominican monk, sent to the university of Paris, where he studied and taught many years. From about the year 1431, he served the popes, first as master of the palace; then (1437) as legate to the council of Basil, and afterwards to that of Florence; then as a cardinal, and legate in France, and on various other embassies. From 1450, till his death in 1468, he held various bishoprics in Spain and Italy. He wrote commentaries on the Decretum of Gratian, on Paul's Epistles, on the Psalms; various tracts on scholastic theology, and disputed points of canon law and church government; against the Muhammedans; a series of Sermons; and, a number of ascetic pieces. His works were first printed, Augsburg 1472, in viii. vol. Folio. Tr.]

(69) [His true name was *Antonius*; but on account of his diminutive stature, he acquired that of *Antoninus*. He was born at Florence, in 1389, early studied Canon Law, became a Dominican monk at 16; afterwards presided over several different monasteries, was made vicar general of his order, and in 1446 archbishop of Florence. He was repeatedly envoy of his city to the court of Rome; and died May 2, 1459, aged 70; greatly esteemed for his piety and erudition. He was canonized AD. 1523. His piety is generally admitted; but his judgment as a writer has been questioned, and his works are said to be stuffed with silly stories collected from all quarters. He wrote *Summa Historialis*, or a universal History, from the creation to his own times; Lyons 1586, 3 vol. Folio. *Summa Theologica*; Strasburg 1496, 4 vol. Folio. *Summa Confessionalis*, Lyons 1564, 8vo. Notes on the donation of Constantine the Great; several law tracts; and one on the virtues. Tr.]

(70) [*Dionysius a Ryckel*, or *de Leewis*, or *Carthusianus*. He was born at Ryckel, a village in the diocese of Liege; educated at Cologne; and became a Carthusian monk, at the age of twenty-one: and died March 12th, 1471, aged 69, or as some say, 77. He was a most voluminous writer; and chiefly as an expositor, and a practical theologian. His commentary on the whole bible, was printed, Cologne 1533, in 7 vol. Folio: his commentary on the four Books of Sentences, Cologne 1535, 4 vol. Folio: his commentary on Dionysius Areopagita, ibid. 1536. Fol. He also wrote eight Books de fide catholica: two Books on a christian life; a treatise on the four last things, death, judgment, heaven, and hell; another on a particular judgment of souls; expositions of some works of *John Cassian*, and of the Climax of *John Scholasticus*; seven tracts on practical religion, printed at Louvain, 1577: and a work in five Books, against the Alcoran and the Muhammedans; with tracts on war with the Turks, holding a general council, and the vices of superstition; printed, Cologne 1533, 8vo. Tr.]

(71) [*Henry Gorcomius* was a native of Gorcum in Holland, became distinguished as a theologian and philosopher, was vicechancellor of the university of Cologne, and died in 1495. He wrote de superstitionis quibusdam casibus seu ceremoniis ecclesiasticis; de celebritate Festorum; Conclusiones et Concordantiae Bibliorum ac Canonum in libros Magistri Sententiarum; a Commentary on *Aristotle*, de Coelo, and de Mundo; Quaestiones metaphysicae de ente et Essentia. Tr.]

(72) [*Gabriel Biel*, D. D. a native of Spire, one of the first professors of theology and philosophy at Tübingen, founded AD. 1477. He died in 1495, leaving a commentary on the four Books of Sentences, Brixen 1574, 3 vol 4to: an exposition of the canon of the mass; a series of sermons; Defensorium obedientiae pontificis; Historia Dominicae passionis; de Monetatum potestate et utilitate; and an Epitome of the work of William Occam on the Sentences. Tr.]

(73) [*Stephen Brulifer*, born at St. Malo, a Franciscan, a doctor of Paris, a Scotist, professor of theology at Mayence and Metz, flourished AD. 1480, and died after AD. 1500. He wrote on Lombard's Sentences; on the Trinity; Sermons on the poverty of Christ; and some other tracts; all published, Paris 1490, and 1500, 8vo. Tr.]

were, *Vincentius Ferrerius*,⁽⁷⁴⁾ *Henry Harphius*,⁽⁷⁵⁾ *Laurentius Justinianus*,⁽⁷⁷⁾ and more famous than all the rest, *Thomas a Kempis*, the reputed author of the well known treatise on the *Imitation of Christ*.⁽⁷⁸⁾

(74) [*Vincentius Ferrerius*, was a Spanish Dominican of Valencia, renowned as a preacher, who travelled over Spain, France, and Italy, doing wonders, and converting multitudes from vice, and error, (if we may believe the Romanists,) was made confessor, and master of the palace to pope Benedict XIII. He was very metaphysical, poor in thought, and low in language. Yet was esteemed a great saint; and was canonized in 1455. He died AD. 1419. He wrote de *Vita spirituali*; *Tractatus consolatorius*; and several epistles; (published, Valencia, 1591;) and a volume of sermons, with several small pieces annexed; often published. Tr.]

(75) [*Henry Harphius*, was a Franciscan, born in the village of le Herp in Brabant, a theologian, provincial of his order, and guardian of the convent of Mechlin. He flourished AD. 1468, and died in 1478. He wrote de *Theologia mystica*, tum *speculativa*, tum *affectiva*, Libri iii. Cologne 1611. 4to. *Speculum aureum* in x. *praecepta decalogi*: *Speculum perfectionis*: and many sermons. He wrote generally in Dutch; others translated him into Latin. Tr.]

(76) [*Laurentius Justinianus* was of patrician birth at Venice, a regular canon of St. Augustine, for thirty years; then bishop of Venice AD. 1431, and promoted to the rank of a patriarch, AD. 1450; and died Jan. 8, 1455, aged 74, and was canonized AD. 1524. He was a man of sincere piety, very zealous in religion, and very liberal to the poor. His works, consisting of sermons, letters, and a number of tracts on metaphysical divinity and practical religion, were printed, Basil 1560. Fol. Lyons 1568. Fol. and Venice 1606. Fol. Tr.]

(77) [*Bernardine Senensis*, or of *Siena*, was nobly born at Messano in the territory of Florence, Sept. 8th, 1380; religiously educated in monkish austerities, yet instructed by distinguished masters; became a Franciscan monk in 1404; commenced preaching, and became very famous; was sent legate of his order to Palestine; travelled extensively there; returned, and travelled over Italy, a most renowned preacher. He flourished AD. 1426; repeatedly refused bishopricks, and died AD. 1444, aged 64; and was canonized in 1450. His works are chiefly Sermons; but embrace a few mystic tracts, and a commentary on the Apocalypse. He appears to have been devout, and possessed of considerable genius. His works were printed, Paris 1636, in 5 vol. Fol. Tr.]

(78) *Langlet de Fresnoy* promised to show, that this celebrated book, concerning the author of which there has been so much literary war, was first written in French, by one *John Gersen*, or *John Gerson*, and then translated into Latin by *Thomas a Kempis*. See *Granet*, in *Launoiana*, P. ii. Opp. Tom. iv. P. ii. p. 414, 415. A history of the disputes concerning this book, was drawn up by *Vincent Thuillier*, in the Opera Posthuma of *Matillon* and *Ruinart*, Tom. iii. p. 54 &c. [His real name was *Thomas Hammerlein*, in Latin, *Malleolus*. He was born at *Kempis*, or *Campis*, in the diocese of Cologne, AD. 1380; was sent to the school established by *Gerhard Groot* at Deventer, at the age of 13; and seven years after, to the Augustinian convent at mount St. Agnes, near Zwol; where he assumed the habit of a monk, AD. 1406; was afterwards proctor and superior of the convent. He died AD. 1471, aged 92. He was a very religious man. His writings are all on practical and experimental religion, and consist of numerous sermons, several letters, religious biography, and tracts; collected and printed often, in Folio, Quarto, and Octavo: e. g. Cologne 1728. 4to. The four Books de *Contemptu mundi*, (or de *Imitatione Christi*—on the *Imitation Christ*—from the subject of the first book,) have been translated into English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Bohemian, Hungarian, Greek, Arabic, and Turkish; and passed through innumerable editions. The general opinion is, that *Kempis* was the author. Yet there are substantial reasons for doubt and uncertainty. See *Wharton's* Appendix to *Cave's* *Historia Litter.* and *Schroeckh's* *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxxiv. p. 312 &c.

The following Latin writers are omitted in the preceding list, by *Dr. Mosheim*.

John Huss, born at Hussinetz in Bohemia, educated at Prague, where he commenced A. B. in 1393. A. M. in 1395; became preacher in the Bethlehem church in 1400; read the works of *Wickliffe*, began to attack the prevailing views of re-

ligion, in 1408; was silenced by the archbishop of Prague, *Sabinco Lupus*; was accused before the pope, who summoned him to Rome. He sent his proctor, who was not heard; and *Huss* was condemned as an obstinate heretic. In 1413, being driven from the city of Prague, he preached in the vicinity, till the tumult in the city subsided. In 1414, he set out for the council of Constance, protected by a safe conduct from the emperor; but was seized, imprisoned, condemned, and burnt at the stake, May 29, 1416. His works contain numerous theological, polemical, and devotional tracts; many letters and sermons, a Harmony of the Gospels, commentaries on some of the Epistles and Psalms, and on the Apocalypse: and were printed, Norimb. 1558. ii. vol. Fol.

Paulus Anglicus, an English doctor of canon law, AD. 1404, wrote *Aureum Speculum*, or a Dialogue between Peter and Paul, on the abuses of clerical power; extant in *Goldasti*, Monarchia, Tom. ii. p. 1527.

John Luttreburius, an English Franciscan monk, educated at Oxford. He wrote, AD. 1406, *Moralia super Threnos Jeremiae*; printed AD. 1482. Fol.

Richard Ullerston, of Lancashire, and a professor of theology at Oxford, AD. 1408. His *Petition for a reformation of the church*, exists in manuscript at Cambridge, England. The Preface and considerable extracts are published by *Whar-ton*, Appendix to *Cave's Historia Litteraria*. Some other works of his exist in manuscript.

Theodoric de Niem, or *Niemus*, a German, scrivener to the pope AD. 1372, bishop of Verdun, and of Cambray; flourished AD. 1408. He wrote a history of the papal schism in his own times, in four Books; printed, Strasburg 1608 and 1620. 8vo. also the Life of pope *John XIII*, and some other pieces, respecting the state of his times.

Thomas Netter, called *Waldensis*, because born at *Walden* in Essex; an English Carmelite monk of London, who was educated at Oxford, confessor to Henry IV, and his envoy to the council of Pisa; provincial prior of his order in 1414; a strenuous opposer of the *Wickliffites*; sent by the king to the council of Constance in 1415; and to the court of Poland, in 1419. He attended *Henry V*, in his French war AD. 1423; and *Henry VI*, in 1430; and died at Rouen, Nov. 3d, 1430. He wrote much: the only work of his printed, is his *Doctrinale Antiquitatum fidei ecclesiae catholicae*, a very prolix work against the followers of *Wickliffe* and *Huss*; Venice 1751. Fol. and elsewhere.

Petrus Ancharanus, a celebrated Canonist of Bologna, AD. 1410, who has left three large works on canon law; frequently printed.

Bostonus Buricensis, a Benedictine monk of St. Edmundsbury, England, AD. 1410. He visited all the monasteries of England, to make out a complete catalogue of all the works of the ecclesiastical writers. This manuscript catalogue was in the hands of archbishop *Usher*, *Thomas Gale*, &c.

John Grossius, or *Grossus*, a French Carmelite monk of Toulouse, elected general of his order in 1411, attended the council of Pisa, and died in 1424, at an advanced age. He wrote *Viridarium Ordinis Carmelitani*, in three Books; describing the origin, progress, and distinguished men of his order; published with other similar works, Antwerp 1680. iv. vol. Fol.

Hieronymus a S. Fide, a converted Spanish Jew, physician to Benedict XIII, AD. 1412. He wrote, de refellendis Judaeorum erroribus; and, adversus Talmuth Judaeorum; published Francf. 1602. 8vo. and in the Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. xxvi. p. 528.

Hermann de Lerbeke, a German Dominican monk of Minden; who wrote a History or Chronicon of the counts of Schauenburg, from AD. 1006, to 1414, published by *H. Meibomius*, Francf. 1620. 8vo.

Paulus Carthagena a S. Maria, a converted Spanish Jew; bishop of Carthagena, and of Burgos, high chancellor of Castile and Leon, and patriarch of Aquileia; died AD. 1435. He wrote additions to *N. Lyra's* commentary on the scriptures; *Scrutinium Scripturarum Libri ii.* and *Quaestiones xii. de Nomine Tetragrammato*.

Gobelinus Persona, born in Westphalia AD. 1358, travelled over Italy, and resided sometime at the Romish court; and in 1389, became rector of Trinity chapel at Paderborn; retired to Bielefeld, and was made dean. He flourished AD. 1418, and died about 1428. Between the years 1404 and 1418, he composed his *Cosmodromium*, or chronicle of the world, from the creation to AD. 1418: published with notes and an appendix, by *H. Meibomius*, Francf. 1599. Fol.

Leonard Brunus Aretinus, born at Arezzo, Florence; and one of the best Latin and Greek scholars of his age; epistolary secretary to the popes, from AD. 1404; retired to Florence, to literary ease, and there died in 1443, aged 74. He

wrote contra Hypocritas libellus; History of Florence, in xii. Books; de Bello Italico adversus Gothos, Lib. iv. (which is a mere plagiarism from *Procepius*;) de Bello Punico Libri iii. (taken from *Polybius*, and intended to supply the loss of *Livy's* second Decade;) Epistolarum Libri viii. a tract on Morals; Translation of *Aristotle's* Ethics; a history of his own times, (or of the papal schism;) and several other things. His Latin is very fine.

John Francis Poggini, Brandolinus, born near Arezzo, Florence, AD. 1364; a fine Latin and Greek scholar, secretary to eight successive popes, from AD. 1415, to 1455; then counsellor at Florence, till his death in 1459. He wrote numerous small works, descriptive, facetious, (or rather, obscene,) funeral orations; letters &c. besides a History of Florence in eight Books. He was active in the council of Constance; and quarrelled with *Laurentius Valla*; yet he promoted literature. His works are published, Strasburg 1511, and 1513. Fol. and Basil 1538. Fol.

Nicolaus Dinschpulus, a Swabian, rector of the gymnasium of Vienna, AD. 1490; and its representative in the council of Basil AD. 1431. He wrote sermons; on the Decalogue; on the Lord's prayer; on penitence; on the eight Beatitudes; on the seven mortal sins; a confessional; and on the five senses; printed, Strasburg 1516. Fol.

Theodoric Engelhusius, a canon of the church of Hildesheim, AD. 1420. He wrote Chronicon Chronicorum, or a universal history, civil and ecclesiastical, from the creation to AD. 1420, published by *Joach. Jo. Maderus*, Helmst. 1671.

William Lindwood, LL. D. a learned English jurist, educated at Cambridge and Oxford; dean of the Arches to *Chichely*, archbishop of Canterbury; lord privy seal to *Henry V.*, and his ambassador, in 1422, to Spain and Portugal; bishop of St. David's in 1432; died, 1446. He wrote *Provinciale*, seu Constitutiones Angliæ, Libri v. being the constitutions of 14 archbishops of Canterbury, from *Stephen Langton*, to *Henry Chichely*, with notes and comments; Oxford 1679. Fol.

John de Inola, a learned commentator on Canon Law, who died at Bologna, AD. 1436. His comments were published, Venice 1575. ii. vol. Fol.

Julianus Caesarinus, LL. D. professor of law in several Italian universities; then filled various offices in the court of Rome; and became a cardinal AD. 1426. He was papal legate in the Hussite war; in which he was unsuccessful; and then legate to the council of Basil, in 1431; presided there; refused to dissolve the council at the command of the pope; but in 1438, he again sided with the pope; attended the council of Florence; was sent legate to the king of Poland, in 1444; advised him to violate his treaty with the Turks, and was himself slain, leading the troops to battle. He died aged 46. His two letters to pope *Eugene IV.*, written from Basil, with a long oration he delivered there, have been printed.

Nicolaus Tudeschus, called *Panormitanus*, a Benedictine monk of Sicily, an abbot, and archbishop of *Palermo*; a very able canonist; who taught in Italy, and filled offices at Rome. In 1431, the king of Arragon sent him to the council of Basil; where he defended the supremacy of councils with great ability. He was made a cardinal in 1440, and died in 1445. Except his defense of the rights of councils, his works are all upon canon law. They were repeatedly published; e. g. Venice 1617. ix. vol. Fol.

Raymundus Sabunde, a learned Spaniard, rector of the gymnasium of Toulouse. He wrote, (AD. 1434—1436.) *Theologia naturalis, de homine et creatura, seu Thesaurus divinarum considerationum*; often printed, e. g. Venice 1581. 8vo.

Petrus Jeremiae, a Dominican monk, and a celebrated preacher, born at *Palermo*, lived at Bologna, and died there AD. 1452. His sermons, with expositions of the Lord's prayer, the decalogue, and tracts on faith, and Christ's sufferings; were printed Haguenae 1514.

Nicolaus Auximanus Picens, an Italian Franciscan monk, vicar of his order in Palestine; a pious man, and not destitute of learning, AD. 1430. He wrote *causarum conscientiarum*; *Supplementum ad Summam Pisanellam*; and *Interrogatorium Confessorum*; besides some things never printed.

Aegidius Carlerius, born at Cambray, fellow and professor of theology in the college of Navarre, Paris; dean of Cambray, in 1431. opposer of the Hussites in the council of Basil, 1433. He died, very aged, Nov. 23, 1473. His *Sporta Fragmentorum*, and his *Sportula Fragmentorum*, (two collections of tracts defending the Romish religion.) were printed, Brussels 1478. 2 vol. Fol. His long argument at Basil against the Hussites, is in *Harduin's* Concilia. Tom. viii. p. 1759 &c.

Catharina Bononiensis, an Italian Franciscan abbess, at Bologna; who thought she had many divine revelations. She flourished AD. 1438, and died March 9th 1463. Her *Liber de Revelationibus sibi factis*, was printed, Venice 1583.

John de Lydgate, an English Benedictine monk, and teacher of youth, at St. Edmundsbury. He was the imitator of *Chaucer*, and accounted a good poet; born AD. 1380, and lived till after 1460.

Thomas Walsingham, an English Benedictine monk of St. Albans, where he was praecentor, AD. 1440. He wrote two Histories of England; the more concise, from AD. 1273, to 1422; the larger, entitled *Hypodigma Neustriae*, relates the history of Normandy, from AD. 1066, to 1417. Both are esteemed, and were printed, Lond. 1574. Fol. He also continued the *Polychronicon* of *Ranulph Higden*, from 1342, to 1417.

John de Anania, a celebrated canonist of Bologna, who died AD. 1455, leaving several large works on canon law, which have been printed.

Laurentius Valla, of patrician rank, born at Rome, AD. 1415, doctor of theology, and canon of St. John de Lateran; a finished scholar, but extremely sarcastic, and a severe critic upon authors. He made himself many enemies; among whom was *Poggius*, with whom he had long and severe quarrels. In 1443, he left Rome, and went to Naples, where *Alphonse V.* patronized him. The Inquisitors would have burned him at the stake, had not that king protected him. He was at length permitted to return to Rome, and teach there, till his death, AD. 1465. He wrote *Elegantiorum linguae Latinae Libri vi.* on the use of *Serius* and *Susus*; three works in controversy with *Poggius*; several other personal attacks; three books on Logic; on the spurious donation of *Constantine the Great*; Annotations on the New Testament; on man's supreme good, 3 Books; and a tract on free will. These works were printed at Basil, 1540. Fol. He also wrote the History of *Ferdinand* of Arragon and Castile, from AD. 1410, to 1415; besides notes on *Sallust*, *Livy*, *Quintilian*; and translations of the *Iliad*, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, &c.

Flavius Blondus, or *Blondus Flavius*, born in Italy AD. 1388, a good classical scholar, secretary to various popes, died June 4th, 1463, aged 75. He wrote much; but so hastily, that his works are of little value. They are *Historiarum Decades III.*, or a general history of the western empire, from AD. 410, to 1440. *Romae instauratae Libri iii.* (a description of Rome in his day.)—*Italiae illustratae Libri viii.* (description of Italy in the middle ages.)—*de Venetorum origine et gestis*, (from AD. 456, to 1291.)—*Romae triumphantis Libri x.* (a description of the Roman republic in its best days.)—All these were printed, Basil 1559. Folio.

Meffrethus, a presbyter of the church of Meissen, AD. 1443. who wrote *Hortum Reginae*, (sermons for the year,) printed Norimb. 1487. Fol. Basil 1488. 2 vol. Fol.

Reginaldus Pavo, (in English, *Peacock*), born in Wales, educated at Oxford, bishop of St. Asaph AD. 1444, and of Chichester AD. 1450, accused of heresy, and compelled to retract, in 1457; and died not long after. He labored much to convince and convert the Wickliffites, Hussites, Lolhards, and Waldenses; but disapproved all persecution. He acknowledged the corruptions of the church; held the scriptures to be the only rule of faith, yet allowed a place for natural religion: denied the infallibility of popes and councils, yet admitted their right to legislate on points left undecided in the scriptures. He wrote, in English, two books on the faith, published, with abridgment, Lond. 1668, 4to. also a prolix work against the assailants of the clergy, the Wickliffites and others, written in 1449, and still preserved in the public library at Cambridge. See *Wharton's Appendix to Cave's Historia Litterar.*

Leonard de Utino, *Belluensis*, or *Micensis*, an Italian Dominican, rector of a gymnasium at Bologna, chaplain to *Eugene IV.*, provincial of his order for Lombardy; flourished AD. 1444. He has left us two series of sermons, which are elaborate, learned, and ingenious; but infected with the bad taste of the times. (See *Armon's Gesch. der Homiletik*. Gotting. 1804. p. 91 &c.) also a treatise de *Loci communibus praedicatorum*; and another de *Legibus*.

Petrus de Pilchdorf, a German professor of theology, about AD. 1444, who wrote *contra Sectam Waldensium*, Liber; in the *Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xxv.*

Maphaeus Vegius, an Italian poet and man of letters, datary to *Martin V.*, and a canon of Rome; died 1458. He wrote de *Perseverantia in religione Libri vii.* de *Educacione liberorum Lib. vi.* *Disputatio terrae, solis, et aerae, de praestantia*; *Dialogus de miseria et felicitate*;—*Veritas invisa et exulans*; a poetic life of *St. Anthony*, the monk, in iv Books;—on the four last Things; *Paraphrases* on the vii. penitential Psalms. The preceding are in the *Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xxvi.* also de *significatione verborum in jure Civili*; and a xiiiith Book of *Virgil's Aeneid*.

Matthaeus Palmerius, a poet, orator, and historian of Florence AD. 1449. con-

demned to the flames, for some expressions savoring of Arianism, in his Italian poem respecting the angels. He wrote a Chronicon from the creation to AD. 1449; usually printed with those of *Eusebius* and *Prosper*.

John Capgrave, an English Augustinian monk of Canterbury, D. D. at Oxford, and provincial of his order, AD. 1450. He died in 1464, or as others say, 1484: was an eminent theologian, and a severe reprover of the dissolute clergy. He wrote a Catalogue or Legend of all the English saints; printed, London 1516. Fol. and many other works, yet in manuscript.

Antonius de Rosellis, a Tuscan, professor of civil and cannon law at Pavia, papal legate to the council of Basil, and privy counsellor to the emperor *Frederic III.*, died, at an advanced age, at Pavia, 1467. In his famous work, entitled *Monarchia*, he proves, from scripture, the fathers, reason, and both civil and canon law, that the pope is not supreme in temporal things, and that he has no more power than any other bishop. He wrote some other law tracts.

John Canales, D. D. an Italian Franciscan, much esteemed by the duke of Ferrara, AD. 1450. He was a good scholar and divine; and wrote several tracts on practical religion, printed, Venice 1494. Fol.

Gulielmus Vorilongus, a French Dominican, called to Rome by *Pius II.*, to defend his order against the Franciscans, relative to the blood of Christ; where he died AD. 1464; leaving a commentary on the iv Books of Sentences, (printed Lyons 1484, &c.) and a Collection of passages from the Sentences, that are against *Scotus*.

Nicolaus de Orbellis, or *Dorbellus*, a Franciscan professor of theology and scholastic philosophy at Poitiers, AD. 1456; a strenuous defender of the opinions of *Scotus*, in a series of works, on the Sentences, logic, commentaries on Aristotle, &c.

Gulielmus Houpeland, a French theologian, archpresbyter of Paris, and dean of the theological faculty there, died Aug. 2, 1492. His book de Immortalitate animae et statu ejus post mortem, full of quotations from the ancients, was printed, Paris 1499. 8vo.

Jacobus de Paradiso, a Carthusian monk, and doctor at Erfurth, AD. 1457, wrote a number of tracts on ecclesiastical and religious subjects.

Pius II., better known as *Aeneas Sylvius*, of the noble Italian family of Piccolomini, born 1405: went to Sienna in 1423, where he studied the poets and orators, and then the civil law: in 1431, he went to the council of Basil, where, for 10 years, he was one of the most active and efficient, in restricting the papal power, and urging a reform of the church. In 1439, he became a counsellor to pope *Felix V.* and in 1442, privy counsellor and secretary of state to the emperor *Frederic III.* Here he slowly turned with the emperor, to the side of *Eugene IV.*, and was made a bishop in 1447; yet continued to serve the emperor in public business. In 1452, he was made legate for Bohemia and the Austrian dominions: was honored with a cardinal's hat in 1456; and in 1458 was created pope; reigned nearly 7 years, and died at Ancona, when ready to embark in an expedition against the Turks, Aug. 14th, 1464. His works are numerous, and written with much ability; (for he was perhaps, the best scholar that ever wore the triple crown;) but those written before he was pope are contradictory to those written afterwards, and are marked in the Index expurgatorius. He wrote *Bulla Retractionis omnium ab eo olim contra Eugenium Papam in consilio Basilienae gestorum*: de Gestis concilii Basiliensis Libri ii: de Coronatione *Felicitis V. de Ortu*, regione, or gestis Bohemorum, (a history of the Bohemians, from their origin, to AD. 1458; often printed, e. g. Amberg. 1593. 4to.); an Abridgment of *Flav. Blondus'* Roman history: *Cosmographiae Liber primus*, (on Asia Minor:) *Cosmographiae Liber secundus*, (on Europe, in his age:) a commentary on the history of *Alphonso* king of Arragon, in iv Books; 432 epistles; and several other tracts. All the above were published, Basil 1551, and Helmst. 1700. Fol.

John Gobelinus, counsellor to pope *Pius II.*, AD. 1458. His name is annexed to the *Commentariorum de rebus gestis Pii II. Papae Libri xii.* which it is supposed *Pius* himself composed, and left with his secretary to correct and publish: printed Francf. 1614. Fol.

Jacobus Piccolominæus, counsellor to *Callistus III.*, and *Pius II.*, a cardinal in 1462, died in 1487, aged 57. He wrote *Commentariorum de rebus toto orbe per quinquennium gestis Libri vii.* (from AD. 1464, to 1469,) also 782 epistles; both printed, Francf. 1614. Fol.

Andreas Barbatus, or *Barbatiæ*, a celebrated jurist of Sicily, AD. 1460, who taught and died at Bologna. He commented on the canon law, and wrote on

the offices of cardinal and legate a latere; and on some other parts of ecclesiastical law.

Gregory de Heimburg, a learned German jurist, active in the council of Basil, and much esteemed by *Aeneas Sylvius*; a decided and firm opposer of the papal pretensions. His friend *Sylvius*, when pope, persecuted him for his adherence to the views they had both held. His tracts against papal usurpations, were printed Francof. 1608. 4to.

Roderic Sincius de Arevalo, a Spanish jurist, bishop, counsellor to the king of Castile, &c. flourished 1466. He wrote a History of Spain in 4 Books, from the earliest times to AD. 1469; some law tracts; and *Speculum humane vite* (on the duties of all classes of people as immortal beings).

Alexander de Imola, called *Tartagnus*, a famous Italian jurist, who lectured on both civil and canon law, with vast applause for 30 years, at Pavia, Ferrara, and Bologna; and died AD. 1487, aged 54; leaving much esteemed commentaries on civil and canon law.

Jacobus Perezius, a Spanish Augustinian monk and bishop, who died in 1491. He wrote allegorical commentaries on the Psalms, the Canticles, and the Cantica Officialia, and a tract against the Jews: most of them printed together, Venice 1568. 4to.

Petrus Natalis, or *de Natalibus*, a Venetian, and bishop in that territory, AD. 1470. He wrote *Historia, sive Catalogus Martyrum et Sanctorum*; often printed.

Gabriel Barletta, an Italian Dominican monk, and distinguished preacher, AD. 1470. His two volumes of sermons were printed 1470, Venice 1585, 8vo.

Martin, surnamed *Magister*, rector of the college of St. Barbara at Paris, and a celebrated teacher of moral philosophy there, who died in 1482, aged 50. He wrote *Quaestiones morales de Fortitudine*, (Paris 1489, Fol.); *de Temperantia*, &c.

Rudolphus Agricola, born 1442, near Groningen; studied at Groningen, Paris, and in Italy; became an elegant scholar, learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, a sound theologian, and a good philosopher. He taught a few years at Groningen, and then at Worms, and Heidelberg, where he died, Oct. 1485; aged 42. He wrote on logical Invention; several orations and epistles; translations from the Greek, and comments on the Latin classics. Most of his works were printed, Cologne 1539. Fol. He opposed the corruptions of Rome.

Bartholomaeus Platina, an Italian; a soldier in his youth, then a man of letters, employed by cardinal *Bessarion*, and by pope *Pius II*, who gave him valuable benefices. *Paul II*, discarded him, imprisoned him, put him to the rack, and left him in poverty and disgrace. *Sixtus IV*, raised him again to honor and affluence, and made him keeper of the Vatican library. He died AD. 1481; aged 60. He wrote *Historia de vitis Pontificum*, (from the christian era, to AD. 1471; continued by *Onuphrius Panvinus* to AD. 1565: frequently printed; e. g. Cologne 1611. 4to.) *de Honestâ voluptate et valetudine Libri x. de falso et vero bono Dialogi iii. de optimo cive Dialogi ii. de naturis rerum; de vera nobilitate; a Panegyric on Bessarion; a number of letters, and other tracts; all collected, Cologne 1574. Fol. besides several pieces published separately.*

Robert Fleming, an Englishman, educated at Oxford, resided some time at Rome, became dean of Lincoln, where he died. While in Italy, AD. 1477, he wrote a fulsome, poetic, Eulogy on *Sixtus IV*, in 2 Books, entitled *Lucubrationes Tiburtinae*; printed, Rome 1477. 8vo.

John Raulin, educated at Paris, president of the college of Navarre, AD. 1481; became a Clugniacensian monk, in 1497; was learned and pious; died at Paris AD. 1501, aged 71; leaving many sermons and addresses, and 55 letters: published Antwerp, 1612, 6 vol. 4to.

Augustinus Patricius, a canon of the church of Sienna, and secretary to cardinal Francis Piccolomini; by whose direction, he composed, AD. 1480, a History of the councils of Basil and Florence; published in the collections of councils.

Matthaeus Marescalcus de Bapenheim, a German jurist, and canon of Augsburg; flourished AD. 1480. He wrote *Chronicon Australe*, (of Europe, from AD. 852, to 1327.) *Chronicon Augustanum*, (of Augsburg, from AD. 973, to 1104.) and *Chronicon Elwangense*, (from AD. 1095, to 1477.) published by *Freher*, *Scriptores Germani*. Tom. i.

Hermolaus Barbarus, a Venetian patrician, born AD. 1454, an elegant Greek and Latin scholar; envoy to the pope in 1491, who created him patriarch of Aquileia, without the consent of the senate of Venice. This involved him and his whole family in trouble, in banishment, and confiscation of property. He

died at Rome AD. 1494, aged 59. He corrected several of the Greek and Latin classics; translated some; and wrote a number of orations, poems, and tracts.

Baptista Salvis, or *de Salis*, an Italian Franciscan, AD. 1480. He wrote *Summa casuum conscientiae*; usually called *Baptistiana*; printed Paris 1499.

Angelus de Clavasio, an Italian Franciscan, vicar general of the Observants; a distinguished theologian and jurist; died, 1495. He wrote *Summa casuum conscientiae*, (Norimb. 1588. Fol.) and *de Restitutionibus*; and *Arca fidei*, (Completum, 1562. 4to.)

Baptista Trovamala, an Italian Franciscan, resident at Louvain, AD. 1480. He wrote *Summa casuum conscientiae*; Paris 1515, 8vo.

Bernardinus Aquilinus, an Italian Franciscan, a learned jurist, and court preacher at Rome, AD. 1480. He wrote, besides sermons, several tracts on practical subjects, and on points of canon law.

Antonius de Balochio, or *de Vercellis*, an Italian regular observant Franciscan, and an eloquent preacher, AD. 1480. He left several sermons, and religious tracts.

Bernardinus Tomitanus, surnamed *Parvus*, from his diminutive stature; an Italian Franciscan, in high repute at Rome, eminent for piety and eloquence. He died at Pavia, Sept. 28, 1494; leaving several Italian sermons, and a tract, *de modo confitendi*.

Bernardinus de Bustis, an Italian Franciscan preacher, learned and superstitious. He died after AD. 1500, leaving several series of sermons, and offices for the festivals of the conception of Mary, and the name of Jesus.

Robert Caracciolus, de *Licio*, an Italian Franciscan preacher, of very moving address. He died AD. 1495, having preached 50 years; and left numerous sermons; printed, Venice 1490. 3 vol. Fol.

Michael de Mediolano, (or *de Carcano*; according to *Wadding*.) a celebrated Italian Franciscan preacher, AD. 1480; who has left numerous printed sermons.

Andreas, a Dominican, and a cardinal; eminent for sanctity, eloquence, and zeal for reformation. Finding the pope and cardinals opposed to a reformation of morals, he in 1482 applied to the emperor *Frederic III.*, went to Basle, endeavored to assemble a general council there; was anathematized by the pope, seized, imprisoned, and strangled. Several of his letters and tracts on this subject, are annexed to *J. H. Hottinger's Historia Ecclesiast.* Saecul. xv.

Marsilius Ficinus, a Florentine, patronized by *Lawrence de Medicis*. He was a good classic scholar, the great reviver of Platonic philosophy; a good theologian, and, (after hearing *Savonarola*.) a pious man, and good preacher. He died AD. 1499; leaving numerous works, illustrative of the classic authors, the Platonic philosophy, and the principles of sound piety. His *Epistles*, in twelve Books, contain many solid and devout essays. His collected works were often printed, e. g. Paris 1641. in two vol. Fol.

Wernerus Rollwinck de Laer, a Westphalian, and Carthusian monk, at Cologne; died AD. 1502; aged 77. He wrote *Fasciculus Temporum*, embracing all the ancient Chronicles, and coming down, (in different copies,) to AD. 1470, 1474, 1480; and continued, by *John Linturius*, to AD. 1514; in *Pistorius, Rerum Germanicar.* Tom. ii.—*de Westphaliae situ et laudibus*; *Quaestiones xii. pro sacrae theologiae studuosis*; and some other things.

Jacobus Gruythodius, a Carthusian monk, and a prior near Liege, AD. 1483. He wrote *Speculum Quintuplex, Praelatorum, Subditorum, Sacerdotum, Saecularium hominum, et Senum* (on the duties of each).

John Picus, prince of Mirandula and Concordia, born 1463, became a very finished scholar, a great linguist, and philosopher, a great disputant, and then a sober theologian, and at last a humble and zealous christian; resigned his office, retired from the world, and was cut off prematurely, AD. 1494, aged 32. Besides his early disputations, he wrote *Precepts for a holy life*; on the 15th Psalm; on the kingdom of Christ and the vanity of the world; on the Lord's prayer; epistles, &c. all published, Basil 1601. Fol.

John Trithemius, or *de Trittenheim*, near Treves, born in 1462; educated at Treves and Heidelberg; became a Benedictine monk, AD. 1484, presided over the monastery of Spanheim AD. 1485—1505; and over that of Würzburg from 1506, till his death, AD. 1518. He was a man of vast reading, and a very voluminous writer. He wrote *Chronologia mystica*; *de origine gentis et regum Francorum* (from the year 433 B. C. to AD. 1514.) *Chronicon Ducum et Comitum Palatinorum*; *Catalogus scriptorum Germanicorum*; *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, (a work of much labor, embracing 970 articles,) *Chroni-*

con Coenobii Hirsaugensis; Chronicon Monasterii St. Martini Spanheimensis; Epistolae familiares, 140. The preceding were published, Francf. 1601. 2 vol. Fol. Some other Chronicona, sermons, tracts, and letters, compose another Folio, printed at Mayence 1604. Other pieces appeared, Cologne 1624. 8vo. He also wrote Polygraphiae Libri vi. Steganographia; de Providentia Dei; Historia belli Bavarici anno 1504 gesti; and Tractatus chymicus.

Carolus Fernandus, of Bruges, a professor at Paris, 1486, and a Benedictine monk. He wrote de animi tranquillitate Libri ii. de immaculata B. Virginis conceptione Lib. ii. Collationum Monasticar. Libri iv. Speculum disciplinae monasticae; de observat. regulae Benedictinae.

Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis, a Spaniard, born in 1444, travelled in Italy, became a finished scholar, did much for the cause of polite learning in Spain; aided cardinal *Ximenes* in his literary labors; wrote much; and died at Alcalá, AD. 1522; aged 77. He was a learned editor of classical and religious works; wrote the History of Ferdinand and Isabella, to AD. 1509; on the War of Navarre, AD. 1512: a Lexicon of civil law; a medical lexicon; a Latin-Spanish, and Spanish-Latin Lexicon; a Latin Grammar, and several other things.

Aurelius Brandolinus, of Florence, a distinguished theologian, poet, and preacher, and at last, an Augustinian hermit; died at Rome AD. 1498.

Henry Bebelius, a German, an elegant scholar, poet laureat, teacher of Belles Lettres at Tubingen AD. 1497. He wrote much, chiefly on rhetoric and poetry. His collected works were published, Straab. 1513. Fol.

Gaufridus Bousserdus, D. D. educated at Paris, chancellor there, travelled in Italy, bishop of le Mans AD. 1518; died there AD. 1520; aged 81. He wrote on marriage of the clergy; on the mass; and on the vii. penitential Psalms.

Donatus Bossius, of Milan, flourished AD. 1489. His Chronicon (or universal History, from the creation, to his own times,) and Chronicon de episcopis et archiepiscopis Mediolanensibus, (to AD. 1489,) were both printed, Milan 1498. Fol.

Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, a schoolmaster at Rome, and Utino, historiographer to the state of Venice; died of the venereal disease, AD. 1506; aged 70. He wrote Rhapsodiae Historiarum, (from the creation, to AD. 1504,) de Rebus gestis Venetorum, (from the founding of the city, to AD. 1487, in thirty-three Books.) Exemplorum Libri x. de Aquileiae antiquitate Libri vi. de Venetae urbis situ Libri iii. de Venetis magistratibus Liber; de Praetoris officio Liber; de officio Scribae Liber; Epistolar. Libri xii. besides orations and poems; collected, Basil 1560. 4 vol. Fol.

Bonifacius Simoneta, of Milan, a Cistercian monk, and abbot of Placentia, AD. 1420. He wrote on the persecutions of the Christians and the History of the pontiffs, from St. Peter, to Innocent VIII. in 279 letters; divided into vi. Books, Basil 1509.

Petrus Apollonius Collatus, a presbyter of Novara in Italy, probably lived about AD. 1490. He wrote de Excidio Hierosolymorum, (a Tito,) Libri iv. in the Biblioth. Patr. Tom. xii. Some refer him to the seventh century.

Robert Guaguinus, of Belgium, educated at Paris, a monk of the order of the Holy Trinity for the redemption of captives, general of his order in 1473, and envoy of Louis XII, of France, to Italy, Germany, and France; died at Paris, AD. 1501. He wrote Annales rerum Gallicarum, in twelve Books; on the immaculate conception; de Arte metrorum Libri iii. orations, poems, &c.

Felinus Sandeus, LL. D. of Ferrara, professor of Canon Law at Pisa, AD. 1464—1481, then praefect of the Rota at Rome, and bishop of Lucca in 1499; died 1503. He wrote largely on Canon Law; and an abridged History of Sicily. His works in several Folios, were printed, Venice 1570.

John Geiler of Kayserburg, born AD. 1445, educated at Friburg and Basil; an eminent preacher, and religious man. He preached at Friburg, Würzburg, and for 30 years at Strasburg, where he died in 1510. His numerous sermons are excellent, for the day, and have been frequently printed. See a critique upon them, with his biography, in *Ammon's Geschichte der Homiletik*, Gotting. 1804. p. 217—268.

John Reucklin, in Latin *Carpio*, born in Swabia, Jan. 1st. 1454, educated at Baden, Paris, Basil, and Aurleane; and retired to Germany in 1481, a finished scholar. He next accompanied the count of Wurtemberg to Rome; and returning, was sent envoy to the imperial court. Here he studied Hebrew, under a Jew; but perfected himself in that language at Rome. He was an elegant Latin and Greek scholar, and a great promoter of the fine arts in Germany; likewise learned in the Hebrew, and a great promoter of Hebrew learning. His censures

of the ignorance and stupidity of the clergy, drew on him their persecution. They attacked him, as being inclined to Judaism, and also as one poisoned by the Greek and Latin poets. He opposed them with ridicule and sarcasm; particularly in his two books of Letters of Obscure Men. The quarrel became serious; but at length was merged in that greater contest between the Romanists and Protestants. He wrote de Arte Cabbalistica Libri iii. de Verbo mirifico Libri iii. (on the absurdities of Greek, Hebrew, and Christian philosophy,) a Version of the eight penitential Psalms, from the Hebrew: de Arte concionandi libellus; an Judaeorum Talmud sit supprimendum? Breviloquium (a concise Latin dictionary); a Hebrew Lexicon and Grammar (Basil 1554. Fol.); Rudiments of the Hebrew language; on the accents and orthography of Hebrew; Obscurorum Virorum ad Ortuinum Gratium Epistolarum Libri ii. and a few other things.

Jacobus Wimphelingius, born in Alsace, AD. 1449, studied theology at Friburg, Basil, Erfurth, and Heidleburg; became an eloquent preacher; settled at Spire AD. 1494; and after several years, removed to Heidleburg, where he wrote and instructed youth. He died AD. 1528; aged 80. He was a pious man, and labored for a reformation of morals; but shuddered at the convulsions produced by the reformers. He wrote many historical, devotional, and literary pieces; which were published separately.

Oliver Maillord, of Paris, a Franciscan, general of his order, and a noted preacher; died AD. 1502. He published his sermons and tracts, Lyons, 1499. Fol.

Antonius Bonfinius, an Italian, a fine Latin and Greek scholar, highly esteemed by *Matthias Corvinus* king of Hungary, by whose suggestion he wrote *Rerum Hungaricarum Libri xlv.* (a History of Hungary, from the earliest times, to AD. 1495.) repeatedly printed; e. g. Hanover 1606. Fol.

John Jovian Pontanus, born in Umbria, spent his life at the court of Naples, where he became epistolary secretary to the king; and died, 1503; aged 78. He was a fine Latin scholar, and a poet, orator, and historian; but exceedingly sarcastic, and rather a pagan than christian moralist. He wrote largely on particular virtues and vices; de sermone Libri vi. de bello Neapolitano (between *Ferdinand* of Naples and *John Duke of Angers*) Libri vi. some dialogues; and numerous poems; all collected, Basil 1556. in iv. vol. 8vo.

Nicolaus Simonis, a Carmelite monk of Haerlem, who died, at an advanced age, AD. 1511. He wrote sermons; on Canon Law; and on the power of the popes, and counsels.

James Sprenger, a Dominican monk of Cologne, provincial of his order, AD. 1495, inquisitor general for Germany. He wrote *Malleum Maleficarum* (against witchcraft) in three Books; Francf. 1590. 8vo.

John Nauclerus, LL. D. professor of Canon Law at Tubingen, flourished AD. 1500. He wrote *Chronicon universale*, (from the creation, to AD. 1500,) enlarged and revised by *Melancthon*; often published.

The preceding writers belong to the 15th century. The following, of the 16th century, and before *Luther*, are inserted, to make the list reach to the time of the reformation.

John Ludovicus Vives, born in Spain, studied there, and at Paris and Louvain. In the latter place, he became an elegant Latin and Greek scholar, and a teacher of the liberal arts. He aided *Erasmus* in editing the fathers, and commented on *Augustine's Civitas Dei*; went to England, to be tutor to *Mary*, daughter of *Henry VIII.*, returned, and lived at Bruges, till his death, AD. 1537. He wrote much on education, on the classics, and on devotional subjects; collected, Basil 1555. ii. vol. Fol.

John Ludovicus Vivaldus, a Dominican, born in Piedmont, bishop in Dalmatia, AD. 1519. He wrote several tracts on experimental religion, printed Lyons 1558.

Baptista Mantuanus, of Spanish extract, born in Mantua, Italy, AD. 1448, became a Carmelite; general of his order, AD. 1513; died in 1516, aged 68; a prolific poet, biographer of saints, and religious writer. His works were printed, Antwerp 1576, iv. vol. 8vo.

Peter Martyr Anglerius, born at Milan, went to Spain AD. 1487, served the king in various offices; was sent envoy to the Sultan of Egypt AD. 1501; and died after AD. 1525. He wrote de Navigatione Oceani Libri xxx. (describing *Columbus'* recent discoveries, written AD. 1502.) Paris 1587. 8vo. de legatione sua Babylonica Libri iii. (printed with the preceding.) Epistolarum Libri xxxviii. (nearly a complete history of Europe, from 1488, to 1526, in 813 Letters.) Amsterdam. 1670. Fol.

Pelbartus Oswaldus, a Hungarian Franciscan, flourished AD. 1501. He wrote

Aureum S. Theologiae Rosarium, juxta iv. Sententiarum libros, (Hagenoe 1508. ii. vol. Fol.) and many sermons, printed at different times.

John Meder, a German Franciscan; preacher at Basil AD. 1501. He wrote sermons for the year, on the parable of the prodigal son; Paris 1511. 8vo.

Mauritius de Portu Fildaeus, of Irish birth, his Irish name was *Ophilla*. From his early childhood he lived about 40 years in Italy; was a Franciscan, and taught theology at Pavia; flourished AD. 1501. Pope *Julius II.* made him archbishop of Tuam. He was at the Lateran council in 1513; and died AD. 1514, not quite 50 years old. He was a distinguished theologian, of the school of *Scotus*; whose principles he illustrated in a series of works.

Nicolaus Dionysii, or *de Nyse*, a French Franciscan, prior of the convent of Rouen, and provincial of his order, AD. 1501; died at Rouen AD. 1509; wrote *Resolutio Theologorum*, or comments on the four Books of Sentences; and many sermons.

James Almain, a French scholastic divine of Paris, a Scotist, and defender of the superiority of councils over popes; a lecturer on dialectics, philosophy, and theology, in the college of Navarre; flourished in 1502, and died in 1515. His lectures were published, also tracts on morals, on the authority of councils, reply to cardinal Cajetan, &c. Paris 1516.

Finus Hadrianus, an Italian of Ferrara, secretary of the treasury of the duke. In 1503, being then in years, he wrote *Flagellus adversus Judaeos*, Libris ix. printed, Venice 1538. 4to.

Albert Crants, born at Hamburg, doctor of Canon Law and theology, AD. 1490; rector of the university of Rostoch, dean of Hamburg; died Decem. 7, 1517. He ardently desired a reformation of the church; but despairing of it, used to say to *Luther*: "Brother, brother, go to your cell, and say; 'The Lord be merciful.'" He wrote *Metropolis*, (a History of the German churches, especially in Saxony, founded in the age of Charlemagne,) Cologne 1574. 8vo. *Historiae Saxonicae Libri xiii.* Francf. 1575. *Historiae Vandalicae Libri xiv.* Francf. 1575. *Chronicon gentium Septentrionalium* (Denmark, Sweden, and Norway,) Francf. 1275. All these are prohibited by the *Index expurgatorius*, till purged of their heresy.

John Stella, a Venetian priest, wrote in the year 1506, *Commentarium de vita et moribus pontificum Romanorum*; from St. Peter to AD. 1506, printed Venice 1507, and 1650, 24mo. He dared not tell all he knew.

Damianus Crassus, a Dominican of Lombardy, published AD. 1506, a prolix commentary on *Job*; with several theological essays. He died AD. 1516.

Francis Ximenes, a Spaniard, nobly born at Alcala, AD. 1437, and well educated for the ministry, at Alcala and Salamanca. After visiting Italy, and filling some minor ecclesiastical offices, he forsook the world, became a Franciscan monk at Toledo, retired to a sequestered spot; became an abbot, confessor to queen *Isabella* in 1492, provincial of his order, archbishop of Toledo AD. 1496, high chancellor of the empire, inquisitor general of Spain; founded the university of Alcala (Complutum) in 1500; was regent of the prince, and protector of the empire in 1506; cardinal in 1507; ruled all Spain from AD. 1515; and died 7th Novem. 1517; aged 80. He was learned, and a great promoter of learning; an austere monk, a sound catholic, an able statesman, and a benefactor of his country. His great work, was the Complutensian polyglot Bible, in vi. vol. Fol. printed at Alcala (Complutum) AD. 1501—1515; on which he expended 50,000 crowns, employed a great number of the best scholars, and had the best manuscripts from the Vatican library.

Alphonsus Zamora, a Spanish Jew, and rabbi, converted to christianity, and employed by cardinal *Ximenes* on his Polyglot Bible. He flourished AD. 1506. He was the chief writer of the sixth volume of the Polyglot, containing the Apparatus for understanding the Hebrew Chaldee and Samaritan of the Old Testament. He also wrote another Hebrew Grammar, a concise Lexicon, and a treatise on Hebrew points; together with a letter to the Jews; all printed at Alcala, 1526. 4to.

Philippus Decius, LL. D. a famous Italian professor of Canon Law, at Pisa, and other places; who died AD. 1535; aged above 80. In 1511, he gave an opinion, that a general council may be called without the consent of the pope; an opinion which he defended at length. He wrote also extensive commentaries on Canon Law, which were printed.

Thomas Radinus, called *Todiscus*, an Italian Dominican, of Placenza; an acute theologian, and a distinguished poet and orator; flourished AD. 1510. He wrote

de Pulchritudine animae; *Abyesus Sideralis*; an Oration against *Luther*; and another against *Melanchthon*.

Cyprianus Benetus, a Spanish Dominican, professor of theology at Paris, AD. 1511. He wrote several tracts respecting the papal power; and some other things.

Marcus Vigerus, a Ligurian Dominican, professor of theology at Padua and Rome, bishop of Sinigaglia, and a cardinal: died AD. 1516; aged 70. He wrote various treatises respecting the death of Christ; printed Douay 1607. two vol.

John Aventinus, born in Bavaria AD. 1466, studied at Ingolstadt, and Paris; became a finished scholar; taught the classics at Vienna, Ingolstadt, and Munich; intimate with Erasmus. At the instigation and expense of the princes of Bavaria, he wrote *Annales Boiorum Libris vii.* (from the earliest times, to AD. 1466.) Ingolst. 1554. Fol. and enlarged, Basil 1580. Fol. He died AD. 1534; aged 68. His Annals are prohibited by the Index expurgatorius, till purged of their heresies.

Peter Galatinus, an Italian converted Jew, a Franciscan, doctor of theology, and Apostolic penitentiary; flourished AD. 1516; died after AD. 1532. He wrote a Dialogue, between Galatinus, Capnio, and Hocstratus, entitled *Opus de Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis*; chiefly borrowed from *Raymund Martini's Pugio Fidei*; printed often; e.g. Francf. 1672. Fol. Tr.]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. Corrupt state of religion.—§ 2. Witnesses for the truth every where.—§ 3. Commotions in Bohemia.—§ 4. The Hussite war. Its conductors.—§ 5. The Calixtines.—§ 6. The Taborites.—§ 7. The Bohemian commotions terminated.—§ 8. Expositors of the scriptures.—§ 9. The dogmatic and moral theologians much disliked.—§ 10. Especially by the well educated.—§ 11. And by the Mystics.—§ 12. Polemic theology.—§ 13. Schism between the Greeks and Latins, not yet healed.—§ 14. Controversies among the Latins.

§ 1. That the public religion of the Latins, no longer contained any thing to recommend it to the esteem of the pious and well disposed, is a fact so well attested, that even those who have the strongest inclination, dare not deny it. And among the Greeks and Orientals, the state of religion was not much better. Nearly the whole worship of God, consisted in ceremonies; and those in a great measure puerile and silly. The sermons that were occasionally addressed to the people, were not only destitute of taste and good sense, but also of religion and piety; and on the contrary, were stuffed with fables, and nauseous fictions.(1) And he was accounted a well informed and pious christian, among the Latins, who revered the clergy, and especially the head of that body, the Roman pontiff; who secured the favors of the saints, by frequent offerings to them, that is, to their temples, and to the priests; who attended the stated rights and ceremonies; and who had moreover, money enough to buy remission of sins from the Romish venders. If beyond this, a person now and then practised some severity towards his body, he was accounted eminently a child of God. Very few were able and disposed, to acquire just views of religion, to bring their hearts to accord with the precepts of Christ, and to make the holy scriptures their counsellor; and those who did so, with difficulty escaped with their lives.

§ 2. This most wretched state of things was seen, by wise and religious persons, in almost all the countries of the West; and they endeavored to alleviate the evil, though in different ways. In England and Scotland, the followers of *Wickliffe*, who were branded with the odious name of *Lollhards*, continued to censure the decisions of the pontiffs, and the conduct of the clergy.(2) The *Waldenses*, though oppressed and persecuted on all sides, did not cease to proclaim aloud, from their remote vallies and hiding places, that succor must be afforded to religion and piety, now almost extinct. Even in Italy itself, *Jerome Savonarola* among

(1) [For a full account of the preachers, and the subjects and modes of preaching in this century, see *C. F. Ammon's Geschichte der Homiletik*, vol. i. Gotting. 1804. 8vo. also with the title *Gesch. der praktischen Theologie*. Tr.]

(2) See *Dav. Wilkin's Concilia magnæ Britann. et Hiberniæ*, Tom. iv. *Anth. Wood's Antiq.* Oxon. Tom. i. p. 202, 204 &c.

others, asserted that Rome was a second Babylon ; and had many to support him. But as most of the priests, together with the monks, well understood that every diminution of the public ignorance, superstition and folly, would prove an equal detraction from their emoluments and honors, they strenuously opposed all reformation; and by fire and sword, enjoined silence and inaction on these troublesome censors.

§ 3. The religious dissensions and controveries in Bohemia, which originated from *John Huss* and *Jacobellus de Misa*, broke out into a fierce and deadly war, after the lamentable death of *Huss* and *Jerome* of Prague, at Constance. The friends of *Huss* and defenders of the [sacramental] cup, being variously persecuted by the adherents to the Roman pontiffs, selected a high and rugged mountain in the district of Bechin, where they held their religious meetings, and celebrated the Lord's supper in *both elements*. This mountain, they called *Tabor* from the tents under which they first lived there, and afterwards adorned with fortifications and a regular city. And now proceeding further, they put themselves under *Nicholas* of Hussinetz, lord of the place where *Huss* was born, and the celebrated *John Ziska*, a knight of Bohemia, and a man of great valor ; that under these leaders they might avenge the death of *John Huss* and *Jerome*, upon the friends of the Roman pontiff, and obtain the liberty of worshipping God in a different manner from that prescribed by the statutes of the Romish church. *Nicholas* died in the year 1420, and left *Ziska* alone to command this continually augmenting company. In the first conflicts, and at the commencement of greater evils, AD. 1419, the Bohemian king and emperor, *Wenceslaus*, was removed by death.

§ 4. His successor, the emperor *Sigismund*, employed edicts, arms, and penal statutes, to bring this war to a close ; and he put many of the Hussites to a miserable death. Hence, in the year 1420, the Bohemians revolted from him, and under *John Ziska* made war upon him. This *Ziska*, though blind, so managed the war, as to render his very name terrible to his foes. On the death of *Ziska*, AD. 1424, a large part of the Hussites chose *Procopius Raza* for their leader : who was likewise an energetic man, and successfully managed the cause of his party. On both sides, many things were done ferociously, and cruelly, and which were altogether inhuman. For the combatants, though they differed in most of their opinions in regard to religion and religious worship, yet both held the common principle, that the enemies of true religion might justly be assailed with arms, and be extirpated with fire and sword. The Bohemians in particular, who contended that *Huss* had been unjustly committed to the flames at Constance, still admitted, in general, that corruptors of religion and heretics, ought to be subjected to capital punishments : *Huss* however, they maintained, was no heretic. In this war, there was on both

sides so great ferocity, that it is difficult to say, which exceeded in cruelty, and in the multitude of abominable deeds.

§ 5. All the avengers of the death of *Huss*, were in harmony, at the commencement of the war; at least they had the same views, and made the same demands. But when their number was increased, and multitudes of all sorts of persons joined their standard, great dissension arose among them, on many points; and in the year 1420, this produced an open schism, dividing the body into two principal factions, the *Calixtines*, and the *Taborites*. The former, or *Calixtines*, who derived their name from the *cup* (*calix*), which they wished to have restored in the eucharist, were of more moderate views, and did not wish to have the old constitution and government of the church overturned, or the religion of their progenitors changed. All that they required, was comprehended in these four wishes:—(I) that the word of God might be preached in its purity and simplicity, to the people:—(II) that the sacred supper might be administered *in both the elements*:—(III) that the clergy might be recalled from the pursuit of wealth and power, to a life and conduct becoming the successors of the apostles:—(IV) that the greater or *mortal* sins might be duly punished. Yet those who confined themselves within these limits, were not free from disagreements. In particular, there was a great contest among them, respecting the Lord's supper. For *James de Misa*, the author of the doctrine that the sacred supper should be administered *in both* kinds, maintained that the sacramental elements should be presented to infants; and many followed his views: but others were for refusing infants the sacred supper.(3)

§ 6. The *Taborites*, who derived their name from mount *Tabor*, made far more extensive demands. For they would have religion, and the government of the church, both restored to their original simplicity; the authority of the pontiff put down; and the Romish form of worship, abolished: in short, they wished for an entirely new church, and commonwealth, in which *Christ* himself should reign, and every thing be conducted according to divine dictation. In this, their principal teachers, *Martin Loquis*, a Moravian, and his associates, were so extravagant, as to indulge themselves in fanatical dreams, and to disseminate and teach publicly, that *Jesus Christ* was about to descend, to purge away the corruptions of the church, with fire and sword; and other similar fictions. On this party alone, fall all the horrid deeds, the murders, plunderings, and burnings, which have been charged upon the Hussites, and upon their leaders, *Ziska* and *Procopius*. At least, a great portion of this class had imbibed ferocious sentiments, and breathed nothing but war and blood, against their enemies.(4)

(3) See *Byzinius*, *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 130 &c.

(4) I will here transcribe some of the *Taborite* sentiments, which *Laus. Byzinius* has faithfully stated, in his *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 203 &c. "All the op-

§ 7. The council of Basil, AD. 1433, attempted to put an end to the dreadful war in Bohemia; and for this purpose invited the Bohemians to the council. They appeared by their envoys; among whom their general *Procopius* was one.(5) But after much discussion, the Bohemians returned home, nothing being accomplished. The *Calixtines* were not averse from peace: but the *Taborites* could not be moved at all to yield. Afterwards, *Aeneas Sylvius*, who, with others, was sent by the council into Bohemia, managed the matter more successfully. For by granting the use of the cup to the *Calixtines*, which was the chief object of their wishes, he reconciled them to the Roman pontiff. But with the other party, the *Taborites*, neither the shrewdness and eloquence of *Sylvius*, nor the numberless menaces, sufferings, and persecutions, to which they were afterwards exposed, could avail any thing. From this time, however, they regulated both their religion and their discipline, more discreetly and suitably; abandoned war; discarded those tenets which were at variance with genuine christianity; and rejected and excluded all those who were either beside themselves, or of base lives and conduct.(6) These are those *Bohemian Brethren*, or as they were called by their enemies, *Piccards*, i. e. *Beghards*, who at the time of the reformation, entered into alliance with *Luther* and his associates,

powers of *Christ's* law ought to perish with the seven last plagues, to inflict which the faithful are to be called forth. In this time of vengeance, *Christ* is not to be imitated in his mildness and pity, towards those sinners, but in his zeal, and fury, and just retribution. In this time of vengeance, every believer, even a presbyter, however spiritual, is accused, if he withholds his material sword from the blood of the adversaries of *Christ's* law; for he ought to wash and sanctify his hands, in their blood." From men of such sentiments, who could expect any thing of equity, justice, or kindness?—On this most calamitous war, besides the ancient writers, *Sylvius*, *Theobaldus*, *Cochlaeus*, and others, *James Lenfant* has written an appropriate work; *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, Amsterd. 1731, 2 vol. 4to. But to this should be added, a work that *Lenfant* did not consult, *Laus. Byzantius*, *Diarium belli Hussitici*; a tract written with great fidelity, and published, though mutilated, by *Jo. Peter a Ludewig*, in his *Reliquiae Manuscriptorum*. Tom. vi. and also *Beausobre's* *Supplement à l'Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, Lausanne 1745. 4to.

(5) [The Bohemians appeared at Constance, 300 men on horseback; among whom were, besides *Procopius*, *William Cosca*, *John Rockyzanus*, a *Calixtine* priest, *Nicholas Galaecus*, a *Taborite* priest, and *Peter Anglicus*. In the name of their countrymen, they proposed the four following articles.—(I) Whoever would be saved, must receive the eucharist in both kinds.—(II) Temporal authority is forbidden to the clergy, by the divine law.—(III) The preaching of the word of God, should be free to every man.—(IV) Public crimes must by no means go unpunished. On these points, four Bohemian divines, and four members of the council, disputed for 50 days. Their speeches may be seen in *Harduin's Concilia*, Tom. viii. p. 1655 &c. The council answered their demands so equivocally, that they deemed it expedient, to break off the negotiation, and return home. *Schl.*]

(6) See *Adrian. Regenvolscius*, *Historia Eccles. provinciar. Slavonicar.* Lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 166. *Joach. Camerarius*, *Historica narratio de fratribus ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia*, Heidelb. 1605. 4to. *Jo. Lasitius*, *Historia fratrum Bohemicorum*; which I have before me in manuscript: the 8th Book of it, was printed at Amsterd. 1649. 8vo. [See also *Jo. Theo. Elsner's* *Dissertationes*, relative to the creed, the usages, and the history of the Bohemian Brethren; in *Dan. Gerdes*, *Miscellanea Groningana*, Tom. vi. vii. and viii. Tr.]

and whose posterity still exist in Poland and in some other countries.

§ 8. In most of the interpreters of the sacred volume, whom this age produced in abundance, there is nothing to be commended, except their good intentions. Those who relied upon their own resources, and did not plunder from the writings of their predecessors, amused, or rather beguiled their readers, with what were called *mystical*, *anagogical*, and *allegorical* contemplations. At the head of all the interpreters, stood *Alphonsus Tostatus*, bishop of Avila; whose ponderous volumes on the holy scriptures are extant, but contain nothing remarkable, except a prodigious amount of book. *Laurentius Valla*, by his little book of critical and grammatical *Notes on the New Testament*, did more for the cause of sacred literature; for he there shewed subsequent interpreters, how to remove the difficulties, that attend the reading and understanding of the sacred books. It is proper to add here, that in most of the countries of Europe, as in France, Italy, Germany, and Britain, the holy scriptures were translated into the vernacular languages: which portended a great change in the prevailing religion, and a reformation of it, from the sources of religious knowledge.

§ 9. In the theological schools, those almost exclusively reigned, who loaded the memory with dialectical terms and distinctions, in order to dispute in a regular manner on divine subjects; which, however, they did not understand. Very few remained of those, who were inclined to demonstrate the doctrines and precepts of religion, by the declarations of the sacred volume and of the ancient divines. Yet there were wise and learned men, who did not fail to discern the faults of the prevalent mode of teaching; and who pronounced it destructive to religion and piety. Hence various plans were formed, by different persons, for either abolishing or reforming it: and the scholastics had no small number of enemies. The mystics, of whom we are presently to speak, were of opinion that all this kind of wisdom ought to be banished from the christian church. Others, who were more moderate, thought that it ought not to be wholly suppressed, but that vain and idle questions should be excluded, the delirious rage for wrangling and disputation be restrained, and the scholastic subtlety be seasoned and tempered with the mystic simplicity. This was the opinion of the great *John Gerson*, who is known to have been assiduous in correcting the faults of the scholastic tribe.⁽⁷⁾ Of the same opinion was *Nicholas Cusanus*, whose tract on *learned ignorance* is still extant: and likewise *Peter de Alliaco*, *Savonarola*, and others.

(7) *Rich. Simon's* Lettres choisies, Tome ii. p. 269. and Critique de la Bibliothèque Eccles. par M. du Pin, Tome i. p. 491. *Jac. Thomasius*, Origines Histor. philos. p. 56. and especially, *John Gerson's* Methodus Theologiam studendi; in *Jo. Lami's* Historia Gymnasii Navarreni, in his Opp. Tom. iv. Pt. i. p. 330 &c.

§ 10. The restorers of the belles lettres and elegant composition, were no less hostile to the wrangling tribe. Yet they did not all possess the same views. For some of them treated the discipline of the schools, with ridicule and contempt; and thought it deserved to be banished altogether, as being nugatory, and pernicious to the culture of the mind. But others thought, it might indeed be suffered to exist, but that it ought to be exhibited with the charms of eloquence and a purer diction. Of this class was *Paul Cortesius*, who composed a splendid work on the *Sentences*; in which, as he says, he united eloquence with theology, and explained the principal subtilties of the scholastics in a polished style of composition.(8) But the designs of all these persons, were resisted, by the very powerful influence of the Dominicans and Franciscans; who excelled in this species of learning, and who would not suffer the glory they had acquired by wrangling and disputing, to become tarnished.

§ 11. While the scholastics were thus sinking in the estimation of men of genius, the *mystics* were gaining strength, and obtaining many friends and supporters. And there were among them several excellent men, who can be taxed with but few of the faults of that kind of doctrine which they followed; such as *Thomas a Kempis*, the author of the *Theologia Germanica*, which was commended by *Luther* himself; also *Laur. Justinianus*, *Jerome Savonarola*, and others. Yet there were other mystics, as *Vincent Ferrerius*, *Henry Harphius*, and *Bernhardin* of Sienna, in whom we must carefully separate from the precepts of divine wisdom, such things as they derived from an over excited imagination, and from that *Dionysius* whom all the mystics held in reverence. The mystics were aided against the attacks of the dialecticians, partly by the Platonists, who were now in high credit in several places, and partly by certain wise and religious men, who were themselves ornaments to the schools. For the former extolled *Dionysius*, as being of their way of thinking; and some even commented upon him, as *Marsilius Ficinus*, that high ornament of the Platonic school. The latter advised, and in fact attempted, a conjunction of the two kinds of theology; as *John Gerson*, *Nicholas Cusanus*, *Dionysius* the Carthusian, and others.

§ 12. Men of talents now labored, much more than before, to confirm and establish the truth and divinity of the christian religion in general, against all the assaults of its adversaries. This is evinced by the works produced; such as the treatise on the truth of the christian religion by *Marsilius Ficinus*, the *Triumph of the cross* by *Jerome Savonarola*, the *Natural theology*

(8) It was printed, Rome 1512, and Basil 1513, Fol. [He was of Dalmatia, protonotarius apostolicus under Alexander VI, and Pius III, and bishop of Urbino, and died in 1510. Besides his commentary on the Sentences of Lombard, he wrote a Dialogue concerning learned men, which was first printed at Florence, 1734. *S&L*.]

of *Raymund de Sabunde*, and other tracts of similar character. Against both the Jews and the Saracens, *Alphonso de Spina* contended, in his *Fortalitium fidei* : against the former only, *James Perezius*, and *Jerome de St. Foi* ; and against the latter only, *John de Turrecremata*. And that these labors were needed, will not be questioned by one who is aware, that the Aristotelians in Italy, had not a little unsettled the foundations of all religion, in their schools ; that the senseless jangling of the scholastics, had produced, in the minds of the more crafty, a contempt for all religion ; and that the Jews and Saracens lived intermingled, in one place and another, with the christians.

§ 13. Of the vain and fruitless endeavors of the Greeks and Latins to terminate their disagreements, we have already spoken. After the council of Florence, and the violation of the agreement by the Greeks, *Nicolaus V*, indeed, again exhorted them to a union : but they turned a deaf ear : and three years after this last letter, Constantinople was taken by the Turks. And the pontiffs, in all their consultations on the subject of a union, since the overthrow of the Greek empire, have found the Greek bishops more obdurate and untractable, than they were before. For there had grown up, in the minds of the Greeks, a hatred of the Latins, and especially of the pontiffs ; because they believed, that the evils they experienced from their Turkish tyrants, might have been repelled, if the Latin pontiffs and kings had not refused to bring them succor against the Turks. As often therefore, as they deplore their misfortunes, so often also they throw blame on the Latins, for their insensibility and their fatal tardiness to afford them succor in distress.

§ 14. Among the Latins, not to mention several minor contests, there was brought up again, the celebrated controversy respecting the blood of Christ, and the worship of it ; which had been moved between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, in the preceding century, AD. 1351, at Barcelona ; and had not been decided by *Clement VI.*(9) *James* of Marchia, a celebrated Franciscan, AD. 1462, taught publicly at Brixen in a sermon to the people, that the blood shed by *Christ*, was distinct from his *divine nature* ; and of course that it ought not to receive *divine* honors, or the worship called *latria*. The contrary opinion was espoused by the Dominicans. Hence *James* of Brixen, the inquisitor, arraigned that Franciscan upon a charge of *heresy*. The pontiff, *Pius II*, attempted in vain to suppress this controversy at the outset ; and therefore, he ordered it to be investigated by some selected theologians. But there were many obstacles, especially the power and influence of the two orders who made this a party question between them, that prevented any final decision.

(9) *Lu. Wadding's Annales Minor.* Tom. xiii. p. 58 &c. *Jac. Echard's Scriptores Prædicat.* Tom. i. p. 650 &c.

Therefore, after many altercations and disputes, *Pius II*, in the year 1464, imposed silence on both the contending parties; declaring, that both opinions might be tolerated, until the vicar of Christ should have leisure and opportunity for examining the subject, and determining which was the most correct opinion. Such an opportunity, the pontiffs have not yet found.(10)

(10) *Wadding's Annales Minorum*, Tom. xiii. p. 206 &c. *Natal. Alexander*, *Historia Eccles. Saec. xv.* p. 17.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Rites of the Greeks.—§ 2. Rites of the Latins.

§ 1. What sort of rites the Greeks deemed necessary in the worship of God, may be learned from the treatise of *Simeon of Thessalonica, on Heresies and Rites*.(1) From this book it is evident, that true religion being lost, a sort of splendid shadow was substituted in its place; and that every part of worship was calculated for shew, and to gratify the eyes and the senses of the people. They indeed, offered reasons for all the ceremonies and regulations which were called sacred. But in all these expositions of the reason of the ceremonies, though there is something of ingenuity and acuteness, yet there is little or nothing of truth and good sense. The origin of the numerous rites, by which the native beauty of religion is obscured rather than adorned, is involved in uncertainty, and not very honorable: and those who attempted to add splendor to them by taxing their own ingenuity, were commonly forsaken by their wits, at the time of the attempt.

§ 2. Among the Latins, though all good men wished for a diminution of the multitude of ceremonies, feast days, sacred places, and other minutiae, yet the pontiffs considered it their duty, to enact new laws and regulations respecting them. In the year 1456, *Calixtus III*, in perpetual remembrance of the raising of the siege of Belgrade, by the Turkish emperor *Mahomet II*, ordered the festival of Christ's *transfiguration*, which had previously been celebrated in some provinces by private authority, to be religiously observed over the whole Latin world.(2) In the year 1476, *Sixtus IV*, by a special edict, promised remission of sins to those who should religiously keep, from year to year, the memorial of the *immaculate conception* of the blessed virgin. No preceding pontiff had thought proper to ordain any thing on the subject.(3) The other additions that were made, to the worship

(1) The contents of it are stated by *Jo. Alb. Fabricius*, Biblioth. Græca, vol. xiv. p. 54.

(2) [This festival had been observed, as early as the seventh century, by the Greeks. The day for it, was the *sixth* of August; and because, *on that day*, the Turks raised the siege of Belgrade, therefore this festival must be every where celebrated through all future time. Tr.]

(3) [The doctrine of the *immaculate conception* of the virgin *Mary*, that is, of her being *herself born, free from original sin*, was first advanced in the twelfth century, by *Peter Lombard*. *Thomas Aquinas* disputed the doctrine; but *Scotus* maintained it, and gave it general currency. The festival of her birth commenced as early as the eleventh century; and was then observed by certain bishops, as by *Anselm* of Canterbury. By other bishops of that age, it was opposed. Tr.]

of the holy virgin, to the public and private prayers, to the sale of *indulgences*, &c.(4) are better omitted, than enumerated particularly. For there is no need of proof, that in this age, religion was made to consist chiefly in mimic shews and trifling.(5)

(4) [The popes now caused indulgencies to be preached in all provinces. The ordinary price was five ducats. They promised to apply the money to a Turkish war; but they often expended it in wars against their christian enemies, in enriching their family connexions, and supporting their voluptuous extravagance. Neither intelligent princes, nor the clergy, looked upon this sale of indulgencies with approbation. They accordingly made ordinances of various kinds against it. For instance: the council of Soissons, in the year 1456, say: *Prohibemus quibuscunque quaestoribus, ne in hac provincia, praetextu indulgentiarum praedicant verbum Dei—aut nihil in suo sermone quaestuosum exponant.* In the council of Constance, AD. 1476, the clergy complained of the sale of indulgencies as a grievance, and said of it: *Absurda et piarum aurium offensiva*, in cancellis, verbum Dei evangelizando committunt. And they enacted, ut deinceps quaestores ad ambores ecclesiarum non admittantur—et omnes debent *quartam partem* rectoribus et plebanis solvere. And in *Harzheim's Concilia*, Tom. v. Suppl. p. 945, it is said of these venders of indulgencies: *Tales collectores emunt et mercantur collecturas ab ecclesiis, x. xiii. libris denariorum, et per annum xl. i. accumulant—mutuo ampliores pecunias colligunt; facinora et scandala committunt, bibunt, noctu ludunt, blasphemant, in tabernas per noctes integras turpiter consumentes, quod ad Dei honorem fideles porrexerunt.* Schl.]

(5) [To elucidate this, by a single example, I adduce the following, from the *Anecdotes Ecclesiastiques*, Amsterd. 1771. 8vo. ad ann. 1499. Among the statutes of the cathedral church of Toul, there is an article, with the title: *Sepelitur Halleluia.* It is well known, that during the seasons of fasting, *Halleluia*, as being an expression of joy, was not sung in the ancient church. Hence, to honour this *Halleluia*, which in time of the fasts was as it were dead, a solemn funeral was instituted. On the Saturday night before septuagesima Sunday, children carried through the chancel a kind of coffin, to represent the dead *Halleluia*. The coffin was attended by the cross, incense, and holy water. The children wept and howled, all the way to the cloister, where the grave was prepared. A custom equally ridiculous, was introduced into a cathedral church near Paris. On the same day, a boy of the choir brought into the church a *top* (*loupie*), around which was written *Halleluia*, in golden letters. And when the hour arrived, that *Halleluia* was sung for the last time, the boy took a whip in his hand, and whipped the top along the floor of the church, quite out of the house. And this was called the *Halleluia whip*, *fouetter l' Alleluia*. So trifling was the character of the church ceremonies of that age, that they could even profane the churches by the plays of children. Schl.]

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. The Manichaeans, and Waldensians.—§ 2. Beghards, Schwestriones, Piccards or Adamites.—§ 3. The White Brethren.—§ 4. The Men of Understanding.—§ 5. The new Flagellants.

§ 1. Neither the edicts of the pontiffs and emperors, nor the vigilance and cruelty of the Inquisitors, could prevent the ancient sects from still lurking in many places, and also new sects from starting up. We have already seen the Franciscans waging war against the Romish church. In Bosnia and the neighboring countries, the *Manichaeans* or *Paulicians*, the same as those called *Cathari* in Italy, built up their societies without molestation. *Stephan Thomasius*, indeed, the king of Bosnia, abjured the heresy of the Manichaeans, received baptism from *John Carvaiolus*, a Romish cardinal, and then expelled the Manichaeans from his kingdom. (1) But he soon after changed his mind: and it is certain, that this sect continued to inhabit Bosnia, Servia, and the adjacent provinces, till the end of the century. The *Waldenses* collected brethren and adherents, both in other countries of Europe, and in lower Germany, particularly in the territories of Brandenburg, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Thuringia. Yet it appears, from unpublished documents, that very many of them were siezed by the *Inquisitors*, and delivered over to the secular authorities to be burnt. (2)

§ 2. *The Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*, or *Beghards* and *Schwestriones*, as they were called in Germany, or *Turlupines*, as in France, that is, persons whose mystical views had thrown them into a species of frenzy; did not cease from wandering in disguise over certain parts of France, Germany, and the Netherlands, and especially of Swabia and Switzerland, beguiling the minds of the people. Yet few of their teachers escaped the eyes and the hands of the *Inquisitors*. (3) Upon the

(1) See *Raph. Volaterranus*, Comment. urbanus, Lib. viii. leaf 289 &c. *Aeneas Sylvius*, de statu Europae sub Frederico III. cap. x. in *Freher's Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, Tom. ii. p. 104 &c.

(2) [The proffer of indulgences to such as hunted up heretics, contributed much to this. *Boniface VIII.*, had already promised an indulgence to every one that should deliver over a heretic to the inquisition; and he ordained, that this should be considered as equally meritorious with a crusade to the holy land. This ordinance was renewed by the council of Pavia. See *Harduin*, Tom. viii. p. 1013 &c. So the provincial council of Constance, AD. 1483, promised indulgences to all those, who should lend their personal aid against the heresies of *Wickliffe* and *Huss*. See *Harzheim's Concilia German.* Tom. v. p. 546. *Schl.*]

(3) *Felix Malleolus*, or *Hämmerlein*, in his *Descriptio Lollhardorum*, which is subjoined to his book, contra validos Mendicantes, Opp. signat. c. 2. a. has drawn up a catalogue, though an imperfect one, of the *Beghards* burned in Switzerland and the adjacent countries, during this century. This *Felix*, in his books against

breaking out of the religious war in Bohemia, between the *Hussites* and the adherents to the pontiffs, in the year 1418, a company of these piously infatuated people went into Bohemia; and they held their secret meetings, first at Prague, then also in other places, and lastly in a certain island. It was one of the tenets of this sect, as has been already stated, that those instincts of nature, bashfulness and modesty, indicate a mind not duly purified, and not yet brought back to the divine nature, whence it originated; and that those only are perfect, and in close union with God, who are unmoved by the sight of naked bodies, and who can associate with persons of a different sex, in a state of nudity, and with no clothing, after the manner of our first parents before their apostasy. Hence these *Beghards*, who, by a slight change in the pronunciation of the name, conformably to the harder utterance of the Bohemians, were called *Picards*, ordinarily went to their prayers and their religious worship, without clothing. For this precept, so entirely accordant with their religion, was frequently upon their lips: *They are not free*, (that is, not duly rescued from the bonds of the body, and converted to God,) *who wear clothing, and especially breeches*. Although these people, in their assemblies, committed no offence against chastity, yet, as might be expected, they fell under the greatest suspicion of extreme turpitude and unchastity. And *John Ziska*, the fierce general of the Hussites, giving credit to these suspicions, attacked the unhappy company of these absurdly religious and delirious people, in the year 1421, slew some of them, and wished to commit the rest to the flames. The unhappy men cheerfully endured such a death, in the manner of their intrepid sect, which looked upon death with astonishing indifference. (4) They were also called *Adamites*; because

the *Beghards* and *Lollhards*, (either intentionally, or being deceived by the ambiguity of the terms,) has confounded the three classes of persons, on whom the appellation of *Beghards* or *Lollhards* was usually bestowed: namely, (1) the *Tertiaries* of the more rigid Franciscans: (2) the brethren of the free spirit: and (3) the Cellite Brethren, or Alexians. The same error occurs in numberless other writers.—[See also *Harzheim's* Concil. Tom. v. p. 464. where there is an ordinance of the provincial council of Constance, AD. 1463, and another, AD. 1476, against the *Lulhards* and *Beguttæ*, and especially the *Tertiarii*.—Here doubtless belongs, what *John Nieder* states, in his *Formicarium* Lib. iii. *Fuit Fratricellus seu Beghardus secularis, qui in eremo austeram vitam vixit, et durissimam regulam tenuit* — — — a Constantino episcopo captus, per inquisitorem judicio seculari traditus et incineratus fuit. Alius fuit, qui velut *Beghardus* infra Rhenum—tandem Viennæ in Pictaviensi dioecesi incineratus est. Dicebat, *Christum in se, et se in Christo esse*.—Currit in partibus Sueviæ, inter personas utriusque sexus, seculares et ecclesiasticas, hæresis et hypoëresis tam enormis, ut eam ad plenum exprimere non audeam. Omnia licere; non jejunant, occulte laborant in festis ecclesiæ; caeremonias omnes, tanquam animalium hominum, spernunt; virginitatem—superstitiones esse; pro minimo ducunt, non obedire papæ aut pastoribus aliis.—Sacerdos quidam feminis persuasit, verecundiam abnegandam; coram clericis talibus se denudarent, sed sine coitu—conjacebant clerici uno lecto, nec ad lapsum carnis procedebant.—De alta perfectione loquuntur—studium librorum subtilissimorum in nostro vulgari periculose, ut vereor, scriptorum didicerunt—ceremonias, festivitates, missas, contemnunt &c. *Schul.*]

(4) See *Jo. Lasinius*, *Historia fratrum Bohemorum* manuscripta, Lib. ii. § 76 &c. who shows fully, that the Hussites and the Bohemian brethren had no con-

they wished to follow the example of *Adam*, in his state of innocence. The ignominious name of *Beghards*, or, as the Bohemians pronounced it, *Picards*,⁽⁵⁾ which was the appropriate designation of this little company, was afterwards transferred by their enemies to all those *Hussites* and Bohemians, that contended with the Romish church; for these, as is well known, were called by the common people, the *Picard Brethren*.

§ 3. In Italy, the new sect of the *White Brethren*, or the *Brethren in White*, (*Fratres albi*, seu *Candidi*,) produced no little excitement among the people. Near the beginning of the century, a certain unknown priest descended from the Alps, clad in a white garment, with an immense number of people of both sexes in his train, all clothed like their leader, in white linen; whence their name of the *White Brethren*.⁽⁶⁾ This multitude marched through various provinces, following a cross borne by the leader of the sect; and he by a great shew of piety, so captivated the people, that numberless persons of every rank flocked around him. He exhorted them to appease the wrath of God, inflicted on himself voluntary punishments, recommended a war against the Turks who were in possession of Palestine, and pretended to have divine visions. *Boniface IX*, fearing some plot, ordered the leader of this host to be apprehended, and committed to the flames.⁽⁷⁾ After his death, the multitude gradually dispersed. Whether the man died in innocence, or in guilt, is not

nexion with these *Picards*. The other writers on the subject are mentioned by *Joan de Beausobre*, Dissert. sur les Adamites de Boheme; annexed to *Jac. Lefebvre's* Histoire de l'Guerre des Hussites. This very learned author takes the utmost pains to vindicate the character of the Bohemian *Picards* or *Adamites*, who, he supposes, were *Waldenses*, and holy and excellent men, falsely aspersed by their enemies. But all his efforts are vain. For it can be demonstrated, from the most unexceptionable documents, that the fact was, as stated in the text: and any one will readily think so, who has a fuller knowledge of the history and the sects of those times, than this industrious man possessed, who was not well versed in the history of the middle ages, nor altogether free from prepossessions. [See especially, *Seneas Sylvius*, Historia Bohemica, cap. 41. *S&M*.]

(5) The Germans also, frequently pronounced the word *Beghard*, *Pyckard*. See *Menkenius*, Scriptores German. Tom. ii. p. 1521.

(6) ["*Theodoric de Niem* tells us, that it was from Scotland that this sect came, and that their leader gave himself out for the prophet *Elias*. *Sigonius* and *Platina* inform us, that this enthusiast came from France; and that he was clothed in white, carried in his aspect the greatest modesty, and seduced prodigious numbers of people of both sexes and of all ages; that his followers (called *penitents*,) among whom were several cardinals and priests, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps that covered their whole faces, except their eyes; that they went in great troops of ten, twenty, and forty thousand persons from one city to another, calling out for mercy, and singing hymns; that wherever they came, they were received with great hospitality, and made innumerable proselytes; that they fasted, or lived upon bread and water during the time of their pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. See *Annal. Mediol. ap. Muratori*.—*Niem*. Lib. ii. cap. 16." *MacL*.]

(7) ["What *Dr. Mosheim* hints but obscurely here, is further explained by *Sigonius* and *Platina*, who tell us, that the pilgrims, mentioned in the preceding note, stopped at Viterbo, and that *Boniface*, fearing lest the priest, who headed them, designed by their assistance to seize upon the pontificate, sent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the false prophet, and carried him to Rome, where he was burnt." *MacL*.]

ascertained. For some writers of the greatest fidelity, assert, that he was by no means a bad man, and that he was put to death from envy ; but others say, he was convicted of the most atrocious crimes.(8)

§ 4. In the year 1411, there was discovered in the Netherlands, and especially at Brussels, a sect, which was projected and propagated by *Aegidius Cantor*, an illiterate man, and *William of Hildenissen*, a Carmelite ; and which was called that of the *Men of Understanding*. In this sect, there were not a few things deservedly reprehensible ; which were derived, perhaps, in great measure from the mystic system. For these men professed to have divine visions ; denied that any one can correctly understand the holy scriptures, unless he is divinely illuminated ; promised a new divine revelation, better and more perfect than the christian ; taught that the resurrection had taken place already, in the person of Christ, and that another, of the bodies of the dead, was not to be expected ; maintained that the internal man is not defiled, by the deeds of the external ; and inculcated that hell itself will have an end, and that all, both men and devils, will return to God, and attain to eternal felicity. This sect appears to have been a branch of the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit* : for they asserted, that a new law of the Holy Spirit, and of *spiritual liberty*, was about to be promulged. Yet there were opinions held by its members, which shew, that they were not entirely void of *understanding*. They inculcated, for example, (I.) that *Jesus Christ* alone had merited eternal life for the human race ; neither could men acquire for themselves future bliss, by their own deeds : (II.) that presbyters, to whom people confess their iniquities, cannot pardon sins ; but that only *Jesus Christ* forgives men their sins : (III.) that voluntary penances are not necessary to salvation. Yet these and some other tenets, *Peter de Alliaco*, the bishop of Cambray, who broke up this sect, pronounced to be *heretical*, and commanded *William of Hildenissen* to abjure.(9)

§ 5. In Germany, and particularly in Thuringia and lower Saxony, the *Flagellants* were still troublesome ; but they were very different from those earlier *Flagellants*, who travelled in regular bands from province to province. These new *Flagellants* rejected almost all [practical] religion, and the external worship of

(8) See *Jac. Lenfant's Histoire du concile de Pise*, Tom. i. p. 102. *Poggius, Historia Florentina*, Lib. iii. p. 122. *Marc. Anton. Sabellicus, Enneades Rhapædiae Historiae*, Ennead IX. Lib. ix. Opp. Tom. ii. p. 839. Basil 1560. Fol.

(9) See the records, in *Steph. Baluze's Miscellanea*, Tom. ii. p. 277 &c. [The mystical principles of these people, are evinced by a passage of these records, in which *Aegidius* is said to have taught : *Ego sum salvator hominum ; per me videbunt Christum, sicut per Christum Patrem* : and also by their coincidence with the Brethren of the free spirit, as teaching, that the period of the old law, was the times of the Father ; the period of the new law, the times of the Son ; and the remaining period, that of the Holy Ghost or Elias. Yet it is manifest from these records, that *William of Hildesheim*, or *Hildernissen*, as being a man of learning, would have been able to state his tenets more clearly and distinctly. *SchM.*]

God, together with the sacraments; and founded all their hopes of salvation on faith and *flagellation*: to which, perhaps, they might add some strange notions respecting an evil spirit, and some other things, which are but obscurely stated by the ancient writers. The leader of the sect in Thuringia, and particularly at Sangerhausen, was one *Conrad Schmidt*; who was burnt in the year 1414, with many others, by the zeal and industry of *Henry Schönefeld*, a famous inquisitor at that time, in Germany.(10) At Quedlinburg, one *Nicholas Schaden* was committed to the flames. At Halberstadt, AD. 1481, *Berthold Schade*, was seized, but escaped death, it appears, by retracting.(11) And from the records of those times, a long list might be made out, of *Flagellants* who were committed to the flames in Germany, by the Inquisitors.

(10) *Excerpta Monachi Pirnensis*, in *Jo. Burch. Menkenius*, *Scriptores rerum Germanicar.* Tom. ii. p. 1521. *Chronicon Monaster. in Antho. Matthæus*, *Analecta veter. ævi*, Tom. v. p. 71. *Chronicon Magdeb. in Meibomius*, *Scriptores rerum Germanicar.* Tom. ii. p. 369 &c. I have before me *Sixteen Articles of the Flagellants*, which *Conrad Schmidt* is said to have copied from the manuscript at Walkenried, and which were committed to writing by an Inquisitor of Bradenborch, AD. 1411. The following is a concise summary of these articles. All that the Romish church teaches, respecting the efficacy of the sacraments, purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the like, are false and vain. On the contrary, whoever believes, simply, what is contained in the Apostle's Creed, frequently repeats the Lord's prayer, and the Ave Maria, and at certain periods lacerates his body with scourging, and thus punishes himself for the sins he commits, will attain eternal salvation. [The same thing appears, also, from the 50 Articles of this Flagellant, which were condemned in the council of Constance, and may be seen in *Von der Hardt's Acta Concilii Constant.* Tom. i. P. i. p. 127. In the same Acts, (Tom. iii. p. 92 &c.) we find a letter of *John Gerson*, addressed to *Vincent Ferrerius*, who was much inclined towards the sect of the Flagellants, dated July 9th, 1417. This letter is also in the works of *Gerson*, published by *Du Pin*, Tom. ii. P. iv. together with his tract, *contra sectam Flagellantium. Schl.*]

(11) The records of this transaction were published by *Jo. Erh. Kappius*, in his *Relatio de rebus Theologicis antiquis et novis*, AD. 1747. p. 475 &c.

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